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INSTITUTION

General History:

OR THE

HISTORY

OFTHE

VORLD.

The THIRD PART.

CONTAINING

That of the Constantinopolitan Roman Empire and the Contemporaries with it: All distinctly by themselves, and yet linked together as the former Parts were.

The Taking of Rome by Odoacer, and the Exile of Zeno the Emperour, to the Depoing of trene and Promotion of Nicephorus:

An Account of the several Actions, Polities, Laws and Things of moment, during the Reign of each Emperour, and the Original Atchievements and Polity of the Franks, the Dominion of the Gaths, Saracens, Arabians and Moors in Spain and Gall within this Period.

By WILLIAM HOWEL, LL. D. sometimes Fellow of Magdalen College in Cambridge.

L O N D O N,

Printed for the Authour's Widow, by Miles Flesher. MDCLXXXV.

The High and Mighty PRINCE

JAMES II.

KING of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

GREAT SIR,

MONG the Crowds of Loyal Counties and Corporations that Address themselves unto Your MAJESTY, vouchsafe to permit a desolate Widow to approach into Your Sacred Presence to Congratulate Your Happy and most Just Possession of the Throne of these Kingdoms, by laying a small Present at Your Royal Feet.

Which is due to Your MAJESTY by a double Title, both by right of Succession to our late Gracious Sovereign, by whose Royal Bounty this Work was encouraged; and also by designment of the Authour, who intended, had not his Death prevented it, to have Dedicated this Book To His Royal Highness JAMES the Duke of York, which I now most humbly offer To the Sacred Majesty of King JAMES the Second.

Whom I befeech the King of Kingslong to preferve beloved of all his Subjects, dreaded by all his Enemies, and renowned to all Posterity in the History of Future Ages.

So prayeth with due Reverence

Your Majesty's most Loyal Subject

Mary Howel.

PREFACE

TOTHE

READER.

HE Authour having Said so much in his Presace to his Second part of this Work, here is little occasion to add much to this, but onely to give an Account in short of this Volume.

The Roman share thereof was composed out of Authours, as they are quoted in the Margent; beginning from the sall of Augustulus, and the Ruine of the Empire in the West, (where the Second part ends) to the deposing of the Empress Irene, and promotion of Nicephorus, with an Account of the several Actions, Polities, Laws and Things of moment, during the Reign of each Emperour (in particular, the new Modelling of the Civil Law by Justinian) and setting forth the Original, and all the History of such Nations as are mentioned in this Method, or had nothing memorable, or very little, but what is intermixed with these Affairs: And also such Kingdoms as were at this Period, but lately begun, and little certainty concerning their matters can be known, are (according to the Method of the First part) handled as they be Considerable.

The French part was taken from their own Authours as they are quoted generally, containing the Original and Progress of them, before their passing the Rhine, their Kingdom in Gall, from their passing the Rhine, to the Death of Childerick the last Pagan King, and the promotion of Clodonee the first Christian one, to the Ruine of the Line of the Meroningians, which was succeeded by

the Carloningians, and continued to the Advancement of Charles the Son of Pipir to the Title of Emperour in the West, with the Original and deseat of those Nations and Countries, which were over-run by the Conduct, Courage, or cuming of the Franks; shewing their Polity, Laws, Customs and Antiquities, out of the Original Tongue, with other critical Remarks sutable to the Nature and usefulness of such an undertaking.

The Spanish part was likewise taken out of their own Authours, containing the Kingdom of the Visigoths, or Western Goths in Spain and Gall, to the Death of King Eurick, the Father of Alatick the Great; then from the promotion of Alarick, to the destruction of this Kingdom by the Saracens: The Original of the Saracens, with an Account of their first sounding their Kingdom in Spain, to the Rise of new Gothick ones, which at length procured the Ruine of it, being all Contemporary with the Constantinopolitan Roman Empire: Lest under his own Hand in writing, which is attested by us,

H. London.
Tho. Roffen.
Sy. Patrick, D. D.
Wh. Denton, M. D.
Rich. Afhfeild, Gent.

INSTITUTION

General History:

The History of the World,

The Third Part.

BOOK I.

Of the Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

CHAP I.

From the taking of Rome by Odoacer, and the Exile of Zeno the Emperour to the Reign of Justinian the Great.

The space of fifty years.

Rome the Elder being in Captivity, the Younger Succeeded as Head of the Empire remaining.

O ME the Elder, being fallen from her ancient Dominion, and now A. D. 476.

a Captive, the Right of Succession to all her Empire remaining, was Bassis of archeology devolved upon her Daughter the younger Rome or Constantinople.

Mand to her sell a very great Inheritance, though vastly short of what her Mother had acquired. For with the Ancient Lady her Western Provinces were gone into Captivity. Hasy with her self was Subject to the Herall; Gall was seized by the Franks and Bargundians; Spain was become the Inheritance of the Goths; Britain to be possessed by Saxons, Scots and Pills; Africk was held by the Vandals; and Pannonia by the Ostrogaths, Huma and other Nations. But thence Bassward as far as the limit of Melopotamia the Roman Empire remained entire to the young Sovereign Mistress; and the Northern Bounds and also the Southern were much the same; a fair Inheritance, as the Reader may find by that Inventary we have given him, at the beginning of the Second Volume of this Work, and therein otherwise is largely related.

Zens the rightfull Emperour at this time.

also the Southern were much the same; a star Insteriance, as the Reader may find by that Inventary we have given him, at the beginning of the Second Volume of this Work, and therein otherwise is largely related.

2. The true and Rightfull Prince and onelly Roman Emperour was Zeno, though now in Exile, being driven away by the Interoachments of Bashifeau the Tyrant, who surpred for about a year and six Months. Proceptus writes that he lost his Power vite Barning within a year and eight months, after he had driven Zeno and his Wille into Islau at Am. 4716 ria; for then he became odious for his Avarice to the Pretorian Souldiers. This 12. Proceeding was not unknown to Zeno, who tiercupon got an Army together and went against his. In this Bashifeau made choice of Armatus for his General, who led his Army against Zeno, and incamped near unto him, but delivered up himself and all his men into

-

his hands, on condition that Bafilifeus, a very Boy the Son of Armatus, being at prefent created Cafar, should be owned by Zeno for his Successour. Basiliscus, thus forsaken by his Souldiers, betook himfelf to the fame Church to which he had formerly fled; and was delivered up into the hands of Zeno by Acacius, who inveighed much against him for his impiety, having been an earlieft beforder of the Herefie of Entiches. Zono having recovered his Power, to keep his promite to Armatus, created his Son Caefar, but in a short time deprived both the Boy of his Dignity. and Armatus of his Life. And Bafilifous the Ufurper with his Wife and Children, he fent into Cappadocia in a sharp Winter, forbidding that they should be supplied Ballifum made with Food or Clothes, or other things which Nature required; whereby it came to pass that being oppressed with Hunger and Cold, they imbraced one another and perished together. So was Bastiseus punished for his wicked Actions, being A.D. 477. Letrayed by Armatus, who the foregoing year had been his Companion in the Pol Combalant Confullhip, though, because of the Usurpation, this following be onely known by Ballister armatic in the Pol Combalant Confullhip, though, because of the Usurpation, this following be onely known by Ballister armatic in the Pol Combalant Confullhip. being after it, or after the Consulship of Basiliscus and Armatus. To what Procopius writes concerning Armatus from others Baronius adds, That being in favour both with Zeno and Bafilifeur, as he was the Kiniman of the latter, when by command of Zeno he was laine, the Citizens rejoyced, for under Los whatfocuter feditions Armans killed. Thracians he good had out of their fidde: Ball for saillediff, of condust, whom coming from his Barbarous Countrey very poor he courtesum received, first made him a Comes, and then Prefett of Illyricum, and furnished him with much Plate for his Entertainments. But for his kindness, he so requited him by his bar- Mill. 116, 2.0.8. barous treachery and bloudy hand. So we bid farewell to the Ufurpation of Bafilif is Action of cus, with this onely observation farther, that Engrius differs so far from Proco- and the state of the cus, with this onely observation farther, that Engrius differs so far from Procopius as to his Death, that he writes that being fent into Cappadocia to be killed, he was flain in a Station called Acousius with his Wife and Children. 3. Euagrius tells us, that Zeno after the Death of Bafilifcus abrogated by a Law

his Decrees which he had written in circular Letters: By these Decrees we suppose he means such Ordinances as he had made in reference to Religion, with which we are not to meddle in this place. And no fuch Law do we now find extant in the Code, though two others made by Zeno, and both at the latter end of the year, in December. One of them directs how an Estimation is to be made, L. 9. Cal. 74s. of Damage sustained by a forcible Entry. The other ordains that no Rescript 1th 8. Th. 4. Dat. 1d. December 1. procured by the petition of any fingle Perfon, (then called Advatatio) nor at the L. J. debuter request of a Body incorporate or Society (termed Pragmatica), be admitted by any fix Recipits of the directions Judge except it manifested that the matter suggested in the perition was true. E. Dat. to. Rel. procuring see every Question or Magister, Servinit that dictated such Rescripts should undergo Report and the perition, and also the Judges that admitted them; and such Memoriales of any

Scrinium, Pragmaticarii, or Adjutores Primicerii as should unlawfully write them so dictated should be punished with the loss of their Girdles. To which afterward Justinian added that the Subscription of the Quastor should be necessary, in which should be contained, between whom, and to what Judge, and by whom the facred Oracle (fuch terms were still used) was directed, otherwise it should not be received by any Judge upon pein of fining in twenty pounds of Gold, and as much by his Office. Of civil matters we meet with nothing more that was memorable this yeare xcept a terrible Earthquake, which happened on the twenty fifth day of September at Constantinople. Many Churches and Houses were demolished, the Rostra utterly defaced, and a vast number of people overwhelmed in the Ruines. Now also fell a Globe of the Pillar in the ordinary Forum, and the Statue of Theodosius the Great, placed upon a Pillar in the Forum of Taurus, with a great part of the inward Wall. The Earthquake continued long, fo that a Stench also seized the City. These mischiess Baronius takes to be fore-tellers of the great Evils that followed, when the Emperour cast off that Vizard of Orthodox Belief, with which at present he was covered.

4. The year following was characterised onely with the Consulship of Illus who A.D. 478. bore the Title at Constantinople without a Collegue. For in the West was none crea- Illo five (with ted, messages passing betwixt Zeno and Odoacer, about a Peace and good underflanding; and as the Emperour would not intermeddle with the Atlairs of that Tract, to the other not taking that Titleupon him, but onely of King, would not Baron ad b.Ann. arrogate to himself so much Power, as one well observeth. This year, for what we can perceive, was almost barren of civil Transactions, stirs again breeding about. Religious matters through the practices of the Eutychian Hereticks. Onely three laws we find bearing the Date of it, and two of them of the same day, or the first of March, directed to the same person Sebastian, the Præfectus Præto-

CHAP. I. The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. Zeno.

> rio, though we cannot say they made up one and the same Constitution. "One of "them secures theright of Children, so as the propriety of things made over to their L. 7. de Secur "Mothers in confideration of Marriage, should descend unto them; and if one of https://doi.org/10.1001/j.j. Tit.

Makes a Law in " the Sons died, his Children should represent him, and exclude the Brothers of "the Deceased. And Sons dying before their Parents, if Nephews by them remained, they should succeed equally to their rights. For hereby Parents were
obliged to preserve to their Children profits rising by Marriage in infinitum;

" yet so as they might have the liberty to chuse one of their Children, and on him " confer the faid profits; as a Son might confer on one of his Children which he " pleased, what descended to him by virtue of a Donation made to his Mother in "confideration of Marriage. By the fecond law he gives greater liberty to the L. 31. de Donate making of Donations than the Emperour Constantine was willing to allow, who in the his time being acquainted with the great cheats and injuries which were committed by profuse, fraudulent and extorted Deeds of gift, whereby persons made havock of their Estates, gave them away to evade the Laws or cheat their Creditours, and were constrained to doe that to which of themselves they had no Inclimation, by several laws he put a restraint upon these practices. As he required a L. I. de Donatio

the Act. And besides this, as he would have no Donation to be made contrary to Law, nor against the will and pleasure of the Donee, required moreover that flould be contained in Writing, and as to the form, would have the Name of the Donor to be expressed, and the right and Title by which he was seized of the thing so given or granted; so he would have the gift Registred in the Register of a

Judge or Magistrate. 5. But as that excellent Prince discharged his duty in obviating the vitious Inclination of the Times wherein he lived, and in reforming the Abuses of use and

custome, so now Zeno it seems, thought fit after feeling the pulse of his own Time, to take off this " Necessity of the Testimony of Neighbours, or others to "fuch Donations as were infinuated at the Acts, or as we fay Registred in the Regifters, or entred in the Records of Magistrates. And even in Donations not Registred, he took off the necessity of Witnesses by this Law, provided the Instruments were written by a Tabellio or publick Notary, or any other, or the "Donor himself, if such was the custome of the place, or even if no writing was made thereof, the Donation might be good, provided there were other infficient Evidence, as Theodosius and Valentinian had formerly written to Hierius the Lag.de Di

Prafectus Pratorio. The third law of those we mentioned to have been enacted onits this year, was in favour of Illustrious Persons, and is directed to one Alexander of that Rank, though whether in or out of Office is not expressed in the Direction, a thing rare in the Constitutions of Princes made after the time of Constantine. For he hath no Title given him, neither yet doth the Law it felf feem to hint that he

did Militare or was in actual Service. "For it declares, that if an Action of Inju-"ry be brought by, or againft, any Illustrious Persons, either in actual service, cod. 3nd 11.12t highin, "(militantibus) or out of Employment, (me cingulo constitutia) their Wives, 12th 35, Dat. 5 Son, Songheres, (their illustrious Fathers and Husbands being yet alive) if the Machaelee wire Action be Criminal, the party accusing shall make the usual Inscription (to un. 1881).

dergo the lex talionis if found to flander,) and doe other things foleranly which are required in fuch cases, but the Accuser or Accused may appear by their Pro-" curatours, without being bound to doe it in Person, to which privilege he forbids " all other persons to aspire, or to petition him for it; requiring that that customary " form of proceeding in Judicature be punctually observed. This same privilege, by a Novel of Valentinian, was given to Bilhops and Presbyters, provided they subscribed

alfo, and the condemnation should be in their Names. Otherwise it was a general Rule, In criminal causes none can transact by a Procuratour.

6. The next year, or the CCCCLXXIX of our Lord, is marked in the Fasti, A. D. 479. with the third Confulship of the Emperour Zeno, who, for what we can see, did zenne very little of moment in it. Yet two Constitutions are still extant in the Code of Conf. "Mothers shall be subject to a Necessity of moving for Guardians, as well for their Mail.

"Natural Children, as those born of lawfull Wedlock; and that Ignorance shall L. ult. Qui pe "not excuse them from such penalties as by Law or Constitutions they are lyable tant Thirds very not excuse them from such penalties as by Law or Constitutions they are lyable tant Thirds very not excuse them from such penalties as by Law or Constitutions they are lyable tant Thirds very not excuse them.

Of Illustrious Persons,

Children when nearer Heirs are wanting. As finall Intelligence have we concerning any thing transacted in the CCCCLXXX year of our Saviour, wherein Baft- A. D. 480.

lius Junior was Consul: But also we find two Constitutions published by Zeno on Basilio jun. Cast.

one and the fame day, or the first of May, though directed to two several Prefeits, as to which a mistake might be committed by some Scribe. Whereas Indulgence was by the laws granted to Minors, or those under the Age of five and twenty so as in respect of their want of experience, if they were deceived in Bargains and Transactions, they might be restored in integrum; such an abuse was made of this L ult. de inine. lavour, that Zeno now declared, That in case they had made use of the Law, and grum restination had the benefit of it, and therein received Damage, no reflitution should be gran-minorum, col. ted to them. And whereas for weighty reasons, the Romans had been wonderfully 7th. 22. strict in the making of Testaments, so as such Lawyers or others as dictated Wills, and fuch as were Witnesses to them, could anciently receive no benefit by such Wills, because of the temptation they had to fallisse their trust, or work upon the weakness of the Testatour; now by use and experience so little damage appeared in such cases, that he gives liberty to Testatours to leave what they think fit, 2.22.de.Testanin a due and lawfull manner to such persons, by way of Legacy or Fideicom. Can. 39th line. Th. 32.

7. The CCCCLXXXI of our Lord had Placidius for Conful, and belides ha- A. D. 481. ving thence a Conful was very remarkable to the East, for the danger that threat- Placidio Conf. ned it and Constantinople. The Authour of this Danger, as Euagrius tells the story, Theodorich mov- Was Theodorich, and him he terms a Scythian by Nation. He writes that preparing ing sguinst Zem, a War against Zeno, he raised an Army in Thrace; and wasting all the Territories lib. 3. c. 25. that lay before him, peirced as far as to the entrance of Pontus, and was not far from taking Constantinople. His design was hindered by those nearest about him, or his most inward Friends, who being vehemently offended at him, conspired his Destruction. This being discovered by him he retreated, but not long after was numbered amongst the Dead though by other means. It happened that in his Camp, his Spear which was double pointed hung aloft according to the barbarous custome; It so hanging, he had a mind to exercise his Body, and his Horse was called for, he leaped upon him hastily, (as his manner was in doing other things) and the Horse being skittish and unbroken, before he could fitly dispose of his Legs, and fit fast in the Saddle, reared on end, so that Theodorich was extremely put to it to hold his hold, not daring to curb him, lest he should come over with him; and by this means being toffed about, and not commanding either Horse or himself, he light upon the Spear and so shook it, that it peirced his side with fuch a Wound, that taking his Bed he died of it not many days after. Now Miscarries Pre- whereas Marcellinus placing this Accident in this year, relates it concerning Theo-

8. To this story of Theodorich, Euagrius subjoyns other designs prosecuted a-8. 10 tills nory of *Incession*, Sengara analysis againt Zeno, which fell out about this time, probably, if not in this year, in that which followed, or the COCCLXXXII of our Lord, which was characterised with A. D. 482. the Confulship of Severinus. These things being done, faith he, Martian the Son Severino Conf. of Anthemius who had been Emperour at Rome, and joyned in Affinity with Leo the late Emperour at Constantinople, began to exercise Enmity with the Emperour Zeno. The truth was, having Married Leonita, the younger Daughter of Leo, he 181d, 6, 26. Martian rebells, aspired after the Sovereignty, which proceeded so far", that in the Palace a great Fight there was, many were killed on both fides, and Martian had the better, forcing his Adversaries to retire, and had been Master of the Court, if by deferring what he deligned till the following day, he had not lost his opportunity, but taken time by the forelock. But the day following, he was betrayed by his followers and left alone, whereupon he fled to the Church of the Holy Apostles, and thence being taken by force, he went to Cæsarea in Cappadocia, where joyning

dorich the Son of Triarius, and writes that he peirced as far as Anaplius, a place

distant but four Miles from Constantinople, and thence purposed to March for Illy-

ricum when he was thus by Death prevented. Baronius blames fornandes or for-

danus the Gothick Historian, for writing this to have been not Theodorich the Son

of Triarius, but Walemir Amalus King of the Goths, the Brother of Theodomir who

was Father of Theodorich Amalus, who this year fucceeded in the Kingdom of the

himself with some Monks, to lie concealed, he was discovered, and sent by the Is forced to en- Emperour to Tarfas in Cilicia, and being shaven was designed a Priest. Euagrius

ter into Orders. adds that these things were very Elegantly written by Enstathius the Syrian, who moreover related how Zeno laid almost infinite Snares to intrap Berina his Mother- Idem Cap. 27. in-Law, that afterwards he Banished her into Cilicia, and then again confined her

to the Castle called Papiriana, wherein she died at what time Illus Usurped. The things that were done by Illus the faid Eustathius very nearly related, then how being laid at by Zeno he fled, as also how the Emperour put to death him to whom he had given orders to kill him, cutting his Head from his Shoulders, to reward him for his fruitless indeavours. But Illus to conceal his Intentions he made Captain of his Troups that served in the East, and he contracted Friendship not onely with Leontius, but Marfus an Eminent man, and Pamprepes, and made his Abode in the Eastern parts. And Leontius was declared Emperour at Tarfus, in Cilicia, but what Fruit those men reaped by their Usurpation, when Theodorich 2000 forceth o. a Goth, by Nation, but held in great Honour by the Romans, was fent General a-

gainst them with an Army, as well of Native Subjects as Strangers, and how they were miserably Slain by Zeno, for the good will they had born him; Moreover how Theodorich knowing the will and defign of Zeno, betook himself to old Rome. the same Eustathius doth nearly deliver in Writing. So Euggrius too concisely, from whom it should seem that these men were persecuted by Zeno, and in a manner Vide B.st. ad h. constrained to become his Enemies.

9. The CCCCLXXXIII year of our Lord, had for Conful Anicius Faustus, A.D. 483. whether in the East or West we are not certain, though the Anicii had their Estate Faustic Conf. in the West, as we have formerly seen, and their Abode at Rome; but that there was a commigration of Roman Families from one Quarter to another, may be eafily granted; as also that Odoacer though he named no Consuls himself, might admit that those now subject to his power, might receive that Dignity. But as this matter is obscure, so are all other Affairs belonging to this year, and of civil concernment; for as to the Ecclesiastical, Zeno was too much employed in those of Religious concernment. But the year enfuing, or the CCCCLXXXIIII, was

CHAP. I.

Triumph, and a Statue on Horseback erected to his memory. This Victory touched at by Enagrius, is rationally thought to have given occasion to the conferring of those Honours mentioned by Jornandes the Gothick Historian. He 6.57. writes that Zeno the Emperour hearing how he was appointed to be King of his Upon what ac Nation, took it acceptably, and by an Evocatory Letter, commanded him to come to the City, where he received him with worthy Honour, and placed him among the Nobles of his Palace, and after some time, to inlarge his Honour in reference to Arms, he adopted him his Son, gave him a Triumph in the City at his own Expence, and he was made Ordinary Conful; which faith the Historian is cried up as the cheif good, and the first Ornament in the World. But this was not all, he also set up before his Palace a Statue on Horseback, to the renown of so

great a man.

10. The year of our Lord COCCLXXXV, had Symmachus alone for Conful, A.D. A and hath also little remarkable, except we take notice of what Baronius hints symmath can from Marcellinus his Chronicon, that Longinus the Brother of Zeno, who had been detained in custody by Illus in Ifauria ten years, now came to him to Constantinople. Him did Zeno indeavour to make Cafar, that he might leave him his Succeffour in the Empire, but because he was a profligate Person, never could he doe it, being amongst others opposed by Pelagius a Patritian, a man of great reputation. For Suida writes, that Longitus and Conne the Brothers of Zeno, make plate Boron and ing use of their power unjustly in all Cities, took the Estates of other men, and h. do. for reward defended fuch as were guilty of most grievous crimes. As for Longinus, being guilty of all forts of Incontinency, he was the daily companion of drunken Perfons, and kept many Pandars about him, who promiting to convey to him the Wives of the greatest men, by bringing in splendid Charlors Strumpers that were curiously dressed, did but cheat him. He dissolved also a company of Nuns after this manner, being told by certain Procurers that they were very handsome, coming often to Pergæ, he fent them certain presents of things to Eat and Wear, and otherwise to divert them from their melancholick Life, and yet entring the Mo-For Langing otherwise to divert them from their menancinonical Line, and yet his discount Life naftery, drew away more of them by force than perfusion. For he was fo wanhis deep his are ton that importunely he would offer violence to Women of ingenuous condition. the Wives and Daughters of Magistrates, and carried himself impudently in all concerns. Nay, when he went abroad, he would cast away Silver Balls, and

Bracelets to entice them. 11. Such diforders were committed by Zeno's Relations; which we cannot wonder that he permitted, when his Government was out of order, by reason of the

Theodorich a Go remarkable for having two Confuls again, and one of them Theodorich a Gothick King, with whom was joyned Venantius: Theodorich was advanced to this Honour Venantic coll for having vanquished the Usurpers lately mentioned, for which he had also a

evil Ministers he indulged, if Suidas be in this matter also to be credited. But he farther Writes, that the Romans had been sensible of an happy administration, if Schaffian an E- Sebaffian, being most powerfull at Court, had not carried him every way as he listed, felling all things as in a Market, and not fuffering any thing to pass in the Palace without money. All Offices he fold, partly keeping the money to himself, and partly dividing it with the Emperour, and who gave most was the man that was preferred. In conclusion, at Court there was nothing that was not fold. If it happened that Zeno gave an Office to any of his Friends, he would redeem it out of their hands, as if it had been a Captive, and fell it for a larger Sum. But what Zem's Son, a wonder should there be that Zeno would suffer such corruption, when he permitted the manners of his Son, and him that was to fucceed him to be so corrupted? He, as the same Authour writes, adorned him with Dignities, and commanded him to exercise his Body for the increase of his Stature. But those about him having got an occasion of emptying the Treasury, took care that the Youth should be corrupted with Sybaritick Luxury, and by their villanous pimping, provoked him to the love of those that were equal with him in years. Therefore the course of his Life carrying him to Pride and Luxury, being removed from all honesty, and bearing a lofty Countenance for his expectancy of the Sovereign Command, he began to go stately, and carry his Head high, and indeed to demean himself to all men, as if they had been his very Slaves. But for his depraved disposition, Providence so punished him, that defiling his Bed for many days without any Sense, he was taken away by Death in an immature Age. As for Sebastian, he was Prefettus Pretorio, several Laws being found directed to him both already, and hereafter to be mentioned.

12. The following year, or the CCCCLXXXVI of our Saviour, had two Con- A. D. 486. should be examined aside and not before the Parties, and that without any prescrip. mound be examined and and not become that a large state of property P and the L 1. Let P river its of Judicature. This is directed to A reading, the P referring; and the L 1. Let P river feecond bearing date of the first of P river P and P river brought concerning private men, their using of Prisons. Theodofus the Great had formerly by an Edict, directed to Erstrius the Prafectus Augustalis, ordained 1. 20. Col. Th. that if any perion should confine any Malefactour to a private Prion, he should confine incur the crime of High Treason. This concerned the Discrete of Expr., or that of Alexandria, which City as above measure it was apt to breed Seditions, so it feems was fruitfull of fuch a kind of Infolence. "That Law was now fo far laid "afide, and forgot, that Zeno was constrained in many words to reinforce it, com-"manding that it should be lawfull to no man in the most splendid City of " Alexandria, throughout the Ægyptian Diocese, or in any Provinces of his Emkeeping of pri " pire, either in their Fields or any where elle at Home, to exercise the custo-"dy of a private Prison, but that the Spellabilis, the Prafeilus Augustalis, for the "time being, and the Clarifimi, the Governours of all Provinces, should doe their

"evident faith he, that fuch as commit this fort of crime, even by the tenor of "ancient Laws and Conflictutions, are to be punished with Death, as Violators of 13. By ancient Laws and Constitutions, that Edic lately mentioned of Theodo-" Majesty it felf, or Traitors. first is principally meant, intended for the same Diocese, and in both Constitutions the crime is declared to be High Treason, it being indeed such to bear ones self for a Magiltrate, having no Authority, and fo he doth who keeps a private Prifon, ind. I. which is one mark and Symbol of Royalty amongst others. Before the time of Theodofius private Imprifonment was onely restrained and punished by the lex Julia de vi; but whereas in his time other forts of Violence were chaftifed by Deportation, or more light Punishments, he thought fit to inslict Death on this by making it High Treason, and for this reason, that whereas other Acts of Violence offended

"indeavour and be always watchfull, that the faid Arrogance of most Wicked sem "men might be suppressed. For after this his most whosome Constitution the said vis inhesis."

" Prafettus Augustais, and whatfoever Governour of a Province, shall without

"doubt incur the crime of High Treason, if he know of such wickedness and do

" not punish it. The same crime shall be incurred by the Primates of Offices, if

"knowing of such forbidden practices committed in any place, they do not pre-" fently acquaint therewith their own Judges to have them suppressed. For it is indeed against the publick Discipline, such as Usurped the Right of Prisons strike at the Majesty of the Emperour himself, whose Prerogative it was by the Magistrates constituted by his Authority to commit to Prison. Indeed of old time such Debtors as could not pay what was adjudged, were wont to be committed to Custody, as appears by the Laws of the twelve Tables; but this Custome was now grown obsolete. By the Lex Julia, concerning Adulterers, A man who found an Adulterer with his Wife, might also detain him at his House, or where he first caught him for twenty hours by Day and Night; but this was not by way of Imprisonment, but for testifying and proving the Fact. Moreover by the Post-tifical Law, Clerks may in private Houles chastise and keep bound their faulty Wives. And Gothofred tells us, that by the Custome of his Countrey, the same was granted to an Husband, after the hearing of the matter, the circumstances of persons being duly weighed; if so be a Judge committed the custody of a wicked and hare-brain'd Wife, to an honest and prudent Husband. Mad-Folks also may be kept up by their Friends and Relations, and the Ergastula or Work-Houses of Slaves and Freedmen, or fuch as fold themselves to Drudgery bore some resemblance to private Prifons; but were not fuch really and meant by those Laws: For hereby was prohibited that reftraint which was put by greater men upon those of meaner Condition in this kind, and particularly by Possessium of Lands upon their Coloni, or Tillers, as Gothofred shews from an Oration of Libanius, written in the time of Theodofius. The Emperours were so tender of the Liberty of their Subjects in this point; that the Stationarii, as we have formerly feen, who were employed in fearching for Malefactours, were forbidden to have a Prifon, and keep them in Custody, though for a manifest Offence.

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14. However, though this Constitution of Zeno was thought fit to be put into offinian after the Code of Justinian, yet Justinian afterwards enacted a milder Punishment for ward mitigated this crime of private Prisons. He forbad them to be used, and subjected such as u-L. 2. Cod. 76st. furped them to pein; and to continue as many days in publick Prison, as they cod. Tit.

kept any in a private one, of whatloever Condition or Dignity they were. They should also loose the Cause they had against such as they so Imprisoned, by the care of the Bishop and the President. And if the President neglected his Duty herein, he should incur danger both of Estate and Life. The third Law made this year by Zeno is concerning the Advocates, which pleaded in the Court of the Prafestus

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Zeno is concerning the Advocates, which preduce in the Perfell, that Late Advocates Number of Add "he will gallow his Highness an hundred and fifty and no more, as formerly had diverging from the been ordered, and such when their term was expired, or they Died, or other distinsus, Collinsus, Coll Profest of Illy " wife their number was diminished, shall be supplied by the choice of his Magnifi- Electione magni "cent See. At the close, whatfoever Privileges had been granted to the Advo-fice tue fedu. " cates of the Prefectihip throughout the East, without any difference, he confers " on the Pleaders of his most glorious See also. As there was a certain and determinate Number of Advocates in each Forum, so of that Number none were perpetual but Temporary. Yet fcarcity of Lawyers about the time of Theodofius the younger caused them to be perpetuated. But then again, when there was plenty of Students, Valentinian and Martian for their Incouragement, reduced the ancient vide Cujacii

Law, which continued thenceforth to be approved and in use. Having executed lib. 16.08/ers. honeftly and with Ability the Office of Advocate for a certain time, they then were promoted to the Patronage of the Fifcus or Treasury, and afterward by degrees to other various Honours, enjoying that of the Clarissimatus upon their leaving the Bar, where, in the Courts of the Prafelli Pratorio and of the City, they were wont to plead for twenty years, or fifteen at leaft.

15. The following year, or the CCCCLXXXVII of our Saviour, was enobled A.D. 487. by the Confulship of Boetius, thought to be the same with Manlius Severinus Boe. Batio Conf. tius that famous person of whom we are to hear much, being of the noble Anician Family. And for little more is this year famous, except it was for the danger into which the City of Constantinople was brought by the defection of Theodorich King of the Goths; for as Baronius well observes, there is very great difference betwixt Authours concerning his carriage toward the Emperour Zeno, some making him very ferviceable and obliging till his very going for Italy, and feizing on that Countrey; and others writing him to have been falle, and indeed to have faln upon the Weft, because he could not become Master of the Empire in the East. But this we must farther inquire into, when we come to relate his Conquest of Italy. Now as to this year, Marcellinus notes that being fatiated with the kind Offices of The drick infelts Zeno, he came as an Enemy with a great Power of his Goths, as far as the Royal City and the town Melantias; and having fet fire to many places retreated to Noven-

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fis a City of Mysia, whence he began his Expedition. As this year was otherwise empty of civil affairs fo far as we understand, so that which followed, or the A. D. 488. CCCCLXXXVIII of our Lord was quite barren, onely it had two Confuls by the phidits Call. Names of which it was marked, viz. Dinacrius and Siphidius.

16. In like manner that which followed, or the CCCCLXXXIX of our Lord, A. D. 489. had for Confuls Probinus and Eufebius, and all the Noise being now in the West, Probine or Esse where Theodorich at length became Master of the Kingdom of Italy, little do we biological hear of in the East or at Constantinople. And though probably Zeno not otherwise diverted might be busier with his Questor in making Lawsthan we can know, there diverted might be builer with his Luestor in thaking Lawsthan we can allow, there being many extant in the Code without date of Conful, yet find we but one Content of third in made this year which was concerning Children, burthened by their Pa-spendium in the content with a truft or Fidei Commission, concerning their retaining a fourth part for the content with a trust or Fidei Commission. For the year CCCCXC onely John John John John Lawston Company of the Senatal Confusion to Radii but other men. Radio. 4. D. 490. one Ferson, Faustus by Name, is nominated as Consul in the Fasti, but others men- Fausti conf.

tion Faultus Junior, and Longinus for Consuls the second time. This year is not Polagins the Patritian, whom Zeno caused to be strangled in the Island called Infula Paganorum; a Person samous in several respects, for Poetry, and for taking the liberty to reprehend him openly for his wicked Actions. At his Death, he prayed to God to punish him for his Cruelty Vide Bar. at h. and Injuffice, which he faid he underwent for repressing freely his Violence and Am. withflanding the making of Cefar his foolish Brother. He wrote an History in Verle, which took its beginning from Augustus Cesar; he composed also Homerolentia and other Treatifes praise-worthy. But besides him, Zeno put to Death Gazaus a Rhetorician, Arcadius a Prefect, and other Illustrious Persons.

17. At length we are arrived at the Year CCCCXCI of our Lord, which brought A. D. 491. the Punishment along with it prayed for by Pelagius, and in which Olybrius alone obtain Conf. was Conful. Caffiodorus notes in his Chronicon, that Zeno died this year, and we cannot fay he died and was Buried, but was first Buried and then died in a fearfull manner. Either seized with the Epilepsie, or dead Drunk, or in a fit of a melancholick Apoplexy, which long after brought Scotus the great Schoolman to the fame end, (if a late Eminent Physician hath made a right Judgment of the Disease,) he Lege Sennorm was laid out for Dead, and as such carried down into a Vault, where recovering de Apoleria mewas laid out for Dead, and as such carried down into a Vault, where recovering de Apoleria me his Senses, he cried out and made an horrible Noise. But Ariadna his Wife bearing him no good will, either out of hatred to his Vices, or because she desired another Bedfellow, would not suffer him to be releived, so that if Cedrengs tell the truth, he was afterward found to have eaten the Flesh off his Arms, and the Buckins he had upon his Legs. To some such end came Zeno with whom we have not yet done, finding many Laws of his making without Date, and therefore not able to assign them to particular years; but of such as are proper to our design we

fhall take notice. Observing how many men, to avoid the discharge of civil Duties, oung days in the Service of the Magistri militum, " he de-" clared that supernumeraries or such as were beyond the appointed Number in the L 3. de official "clared that supernumeraries or such as well beyond the approximation of civil Judges in Mighin Million of him of the Eaft, should be subject to the Sentence of civil Judges in Mighin Million of him of the Eaft, should be subject to the Sentence of civil Judges in Mighin Million of him of the Eaft, should be subject to the Sentence of civil Judges in Mighin Million of him of the Eaft, should be subject to the Sentence of civil Judges in Mighin Million of him of the Eaft, should be subject to the Sentence of civil Judges in Mighin Million of him of the Eaft, should be subject to the Sentence of civil Judges in Mighin Million of him of the Eaft, should be subject to the Sentence of civil Judges in Mighin Million of him of the Eaft, should be subject to the Sentence of civil Judges in Mighin Million of him of the Eaft, should be subject to the Sentence of civil Judges in Mighin Million of him of the Eaft, should be subject to the Sentence of civil Judges in Million of him of the Eaft, should be subject to the Sentence of civil Judges in Million of him of the Eaft, should be subject to the Sentence of civil Judges in Million of him of the Eaft, should be subject to the Sentence of civil Judges in Million of him of the Eaft, should be subject to the Sentence of civil Judges in Million of him of the Eaft, should be subject to the Sentence of civil Judges in Million of him of the Eaft, should be subject to the Sentence of civil Judges in Million of civil Judges in Million of the Sentence of civil Judges in Million of civil Judges in "every Affair, even in reference to Tributary Collations; directing the Constitution 18th, 1. 7th, 29,

" tion to Sebastian the Prefect. 18. To remove a doubt, whether the same Prottor after Sentence given in a Cause, might not prosecute it also in the Court of that Judge to whom it was ap-No one to be "in two Judicatories, but that one should practife as such in the greater Auditory, raminus cal.

No one to be "in two Judicatories, but that one should practife as such in the greater Auditory, raminus cal.

Profit in two Judicatories are for example of the Prefident of the Province, and another in that from which Judicatories are for example of the Prefident of the Province, and another in that from which Judicatories are for example of the Prefident of the Province, and another in that from which Judicatories are for example of the Prefident of the Province, and another in that from which Judicatories are for example of the Prefident of the Province, and another in that from which Judicatories are for example of the Prefident of the Province, and another in that from which Judicatories are for example of the Prefident of the Province, and another in that from which Judicatories are for example of the Prefident of the Province and Province are for example of the Prefident of the Province and Province are for example of the Prefident of the Province and Province are for example of the Prefident of the Province and Province are for example of the Prefident of the Province and Province are for example of the Prefident of the Prefide

"a Cause was appealed or referred, as for instance, that of him they called Judex " Pedaneus; fo that the same man who acted before the latter could not doe it too " before the former, but should make a Translation of the Cause or the Mandate, "to some one of those which practised in the Court of the President of the Pro-" vince, without any charge or expence for a new Caution, the former fufficing. "And he inflicts punishment upon both Protters and Apparitors, who should "neglect this Constitution. For such as were assigned Judges, and not onely Magistrates, had also their Apparitors. And Cojacius farther observes from this Con-open this thirtion, that as of Advocates, so also of Protors there was a certain number in 6.5. every Forum, to whom alone such as had Suits might commit their Business and not to any whatsoever, which holds also at this day. And in the last place, that each Judicatory had its proper and peculiar Under Judges or Judices Pedanei, to whom Causes were delegated or referred. These did not Act in their own Juris diction, nor executed their own Sentences, but to execute them, took some out

from among the Cohortales, out of the Schole or Scrinia, of which we have formerly spoken. But such Judges as were delegated by the Prince himself might have Lien Of lib.12. Apparitors of their own, or fuch as executed their Decrees, as Magistrates them- a.i. felves; and so it is no wonder that they might delegate others, which the Fedanci Judices, or fuch as were delegated by Magistrates could not doe. "This must be " faid, that Zeno of Judicature had a great care, commanding by other Edicts L. L. 11. 12. de Zembada great "that Judges should follow strictly the Law, and not what was irregularly com- Jadicis, Cod. " manded by the Prince. That they should dispatch Business, and it any Judge "at the motion of either of the parties protracted the Suite without necessity, the "other should betake himself to the Prince and make complaint of his delay. Now from one of the greater Judges the Prince was appealed to after Sentence, but a

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complaint might be made to him before Sentence of protracting the Tryal. And before contestation of the Suite, the Judge might be refused; "but Zeno forbad " it should be after the Suite was contested. In case such Judge seemed incompe-" tent, as to some Article or point of the Cause, he should by his own decree remit " that matter to some other Judge that was competent indeed. 19. By the old Law, If a man fued for more than was his own, either as L. de plut, per titionibus, Cal. to time, before it was due, or as to Sum, he lost his Gause. Now this Zeno Justitistibus, cal.

thought unreasonable as to time, as afterward Justinian did as to the Sum it self, where there was no dolus malus or defign of him that fued. As he took off the L.L. 11. 12. cod. rigour of the old Law in this matter, fo he was indulgent to Perfons of the Vide Chincil Obl. greatest Quality about him, and those who were his greatest Officers, or had ex. 116.7.6.27. 6 16.12.6.21. ecuted the greatest places of Trust, when they appeared as Criminals. "He ordaj-" ned that a Patritian or one who had been such, one who had been Illustrious L. 3. Ubi Send. "by executing the Prefectship either of the Prætorium or City, an ordinary totes vel dariff-"Conful, or one to whom the Honour was given by the Prince his Codicills, mil. 670. " one famous for the having undergone the labour of the Magisterian Power, who the 24. " had executed the place of Magister Officiorum or Quastor, who having been his " Præpositus Cubiculi had been made a Senatour, or one to whom he had commit-"ted the Government of the School of the Domesticks, or of his Treasures, of the Res privata either of himself or Empress; if such after having laid down should " be accused of a publick or private Crime, to which they could not answer by a "Proctour living either in the City or in the Provinces, none should have cogni-" fance of the same but himself, or onely such Sacred Cognitor to whom he should "commit the hearing of the Business vice sua, by his facred Letters. Yet so that "by such a Judge not being attended by the Ministery of any Officium or School. " after the manner and order of facred Consultations, without any observance of " fatal days, such Causes should be heard, the Libellenses (Viri Devotissimi he " terms them) of his facred Scrinium performing the Solemnities; He who is ac-" cused (that before proof no Injury may be done him,) having leave to fit in " fome part of the Secretarium, inferiour to that of Judges, but above the ordina-" ry one of fuch as have Bulinels there. And out of respect to these Dignities, the " very Sacred Cognitor himself, after the proof of the Crime, shall not determine "any thing against their Persons or Estates, but in the room of the Prince himself " hearing the merits of the Cause, if the Offence be proved, he shall certifie him

" fed without confulting the Authority of the Prince. 20. "But as for Illustrious Persons living in the City of Constantinople, who "without any actual administration were made honourable by Letters or Codi-" cills, although by the Emperour's command, they had obtained fuch prerogative " as to feem to doe what they never did, in Causes Criminal they should be sub-" ject to the Judgment of the Prefectus Pretorio, the Prefect of the City and the " Magister Officiorum, upon a special Commission issuing out from the Prince, so " as those men shall not have the liberty of sitting in Tryals: but such must know " that they shall not determine any thing about their Persons or Estates, when the thing is proved without consulting him. As for Illustrious Persons that lived in "the Provinces, except fuch as the Cognisance of whose Crimes belonged to him-" felf, or to fuch facred Cognitor as he should depute in his room, and were accu-" fed of some Crime, they should have liberty to sit in the Secretarium at their Try-" als, and their Crimes being proved, the Judges should abstain from giving Sen-"tence against them or their Estates, till they had received Answers from the

"thereof, in whose power alone it shall be to punish offenders of such Quality.

"But he declares it to be Law, as formerly it was, that fuch a Cognitor may ab-" folve such a person and put a stop to the Calumny of the Accuser, except the " Accuser be also of the same Dignity, for then his Calumny is not to be suppres-

"Prince to their Reports. The punishment also due to Calumniatours shall not "be deferred by Provincial Judges, though the Parties have not the like dignity as before was spoken of. By this we see the great Privileges enjoyed by Illustrious Persons in this Age, whereof one was great, to have no Fatal times. And the other of fitting in the Secretarium we have formerly feen allowed, it being ordinarily indulged to the Illustrious in criminal causes in a place inferiour to that of the Judges, both in the City and in the Provinces; but to Honorary or Codicillar Dignities onely in the Provinces. Hence some collect that such respect shall be paid to most eminent Persons, as to answer sitting. We see that in the Secretaria or Auditories of Judges, there were three degrees or forts of Places; one of the Judges themselves, another of Illustrious Persons, and the third of Pleaders and such as had business to transact. It's observable also that this Law gives one exception to that Rule. That power Condemning and Absolving go together, fo as a Judge that doeth one may doe the other. In the last place the Offices of Magistrates being Annual, they neither could ordinarily be Plaintiffs nor Defendants till their time wasout.

21. Zeno, besides what we have already said of this subject, took great care for Took great care remnifining revention and punishment of false Teltimony. A false Witness he would have "prevention and punishment or same remaining the crime of Falshood; of Per-794bb.4.man fall winnels." first impeached of Perjury, and then afterward of the crime of Falshood; of Per-794bb.4.man falshood; of Per-794bb.4. " jury because Witnesses were not heard except sworn. If in the very time of "Teltimony a Witness were suspected to lye, he commands him to be subjected to torture. A person cast by a false Witness, if he pleased might bring a criminal Action against him. If he would bring a civil, he should recover all damages, and besides this, the salse Witness should be punished according to the Laws. "If in the principal matter he was convicted of lying, the Judge might condemn "him in the whole or less, and also subject him to punishment, observing over "and above what formerly the Laws had prescribed concerning false testimonies. " Moreover for prevention of a crime fo horrible and prejudicial to the publick "good, he gave authority even to those called Judices Pedanei to correct false Wit-" nelles and subject them to torture, if they were Plebeians, taking to their affi-.'ence the Præfectus Vigilum. And in case such Witnesses were Decuriones or of "Dignity, that fuch a Judge could not animadvertupon them, he should report the " whole matter to the Magistrate, by whom he was delegated, so as nothing should "be paid for the entring of the report; and if the thing was plain, then the Ma-" giftrate should give his sentence either for admitting or rejecting the Testimony. "But if it required more fearch and fcrutiny, the cognifance of the matter should "again be delegated to the Judge, with a non obstante to any Prescription of the "Court, and any privilege; for Witnesses when they have given their testimony " feem to have renounced all Privileges.

22. " A person who denied his Adversary to be his Kinsman, and that falsely, " and required proofs from him of fuch kindred, he declared should have no right " to succeed as Heir to such person so denied, if he died intestate. And he who " required such proofs should not be heard, except he took the Oath de Calumnia, " and the right of Succession was preserved for him that swore. As for proving "kindred he required five Witnesses, if there were no private Instruments or Wri-"tings, or three if fuch Writings were found; but if there were publick Instru-"ments or Writings they should suffice without any Witnesses. In the last place "one who was Witness to fuch Writings should be compelled to give testimony of "them whenever it was demanded of him, after he had deposed as such. This care that Zono had to prevent false testimonies, was very commendable, nothing being more prejudicial both to lawfull acquiring, and keeping an Estate. But he made another Law, which was also of very great moment, in order to the first of the two, and nothing is more memorable that he enacted. The practice of Monopolies had been complained of in all Ages, and under every Prince, as Pliny writes, and frequent Senatusconsulta had been made against them. Yet the Emperour might grant liberty when he faw convenient to a certain perion or Body Politick to have the fole fale of certain Wares, under a burthen of fuch a Tribute or Imposition to the Treasury.

23. But Zeno by a Constitution directed to Constantine the Prafectus Pratorio thought fit to command, "That no Person whatsoever should dare to exercise L. unde Manus-"a Monopoly of any kind of thing belonging to the fullenance of Man, his, a, in, s, or to any other use, of any materials whatsoever, by his own Authority, or a soft this constitution of this constitution of the constitution o "by virtue of any Sacred Rescript either already procured or to be procured, or of lib. 16. 14. 14. "by any pragmatick Sanction, or any Sacred Adaptation of the Prince. Neither

" tificers in Building and undertakers, and the Professours of other various works, and Bath-holders to agree by compact that none should perfect a work which " another had begun, nor meddle with a Business wherein another man was em-"ployed, giving leave to every one to have a work begun by one man, per-"fected by another, without any fear of detriment, and to denounce all fuch "Acts without any fear or Judiciary charges. Upon him that should dare to "exercise a Monopoly, he imposed confiscation of Estate and perpetual Banish-" ment. And on the Primates of the other Professions, if for the future they shall " dare to oblige themselves by any Compacts or Agreements, either for setting the "Rates of Commodities, or any other unlawfull matters, a Fine of forty pounds "of Gold. In the last place upon the Office of the Prefect a Mulch of fifty, " if fuch punishments, either through bribery, diffimulation or other fault, were "not inflicted on Monopolizers and Politick Bodies committing fuch forbidden " things.

" should any man conspire in any unlawfull Conventions, neither Bargain nor Co-

"venant that the *speaies* of divers Bodies belonging to Trade should not be fold "for less than they agreed of amongst themselves. Moreover he forbad all Ar-

He reftrained

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"in Marriage with the Wives of their deceased Brothers, because after their death iii, Cod. Fust. "they were thought to remain Virgins, supposing according to the pleasure of some likes in s "ancient Law makers, that Marriage was not contracted without Copulation, and fuch Marriages in those times had been valid, yet he Ordain'd by that present "Constitution, that if thenceforth any such Marriages should be contracted, their " contractours, and fuch as descended from them should be subject to the Tenor of "the Ancient Laws; neither according to the example of the Egyptians did they "feem firm, nor to be confirmed. He farther shewed hmself so great an Abhorrer of Incestuous Marriages, that by another Edict he commanded all his Subjects to abstain from them. "And whereas in the time of Usurpation, there were certain indicate. Rescripts, Pragmatick Forms or Constitutions which put the name of Matrimony "upon wicked conjunctions, namely, made it lawfull in wicked Confortship, to "embrace the Daughter of a Brother or Sifter, or her that lived in the bond of "Wedlock with ones Brother, or to commit fuch like Acts, he declared them as im-" pious to be of no force, left fuch wicked licentiousness should receive strength by "diffimulation. This last of the Edicts beareth indeed in the Inscription the name of Anastasius the successour of Zene as its Authour; but Cujacius judges the Inscrip- 06, 16.8. c.28 tion faulty; and that the true one was Idem Angustus Sebastiano P. P. Forto Sebastian (as he hath it, but as it now is to Severian) another Constitution is directed for rescinding the Acts of the Usurper Bastliscus, as this also is designed; which Sebastian, as Suidas writes, was in manners most like to Tribonian, of whom hereafter. But as we have shewn already, this matter of Incest had been variously determin'd of in various Ages, till the time of Constantius and Constant, by whom it was made death to Marry the daughter either of Brother or Sifter. But it feems

have formerly published another upon this subject of the marriage of a Brother's or Sifter's Daughter. "This most grievous wickedness (nefandissimum scelus he territs L, ult. Si montes " it) which formerly under grievous pein had been by most Sacred Constitutions en 19 "condemned, he prohibits by his iterated Sanction all manner of Ways. And he tanno, configuration him for the time to come to Participal him for the life string the "denies leave, for the time to come, to Petition him for such like Conjugium or " Contagium rather as he words it, letting every one know that the Impetration of " what the Petitioners was denied, though by furreption, after that day shall fignifie nothing at all.

fomething of this nature was permitted by Bastlifeus, during his Usurpation.

which Zeno after his recovery of his Power again, declared to be null and void.

By an Edict directed to Bafilius the Præfectus Prætorio, we think we find him to

25. For ending of Suits, Zeno Ordained, "That fuch as bought of the Treasury L. 2. de Qu "any thing challenged by another Person, or obtained such a thing of the Prince time, Cod. July " himself, as Fiscale or belonging to the Treasury, should not be disquieted by 116.7. 111. 27. "the pretended owner or any other laying claim to it; but that for the space of four rum pivatarum. " years any Action should be against the Treasury it self; the prescription of which " years should bar any such Suit or claim. Farther if the Scrinium (or Procu-" rator Fisci as some expound it) consess by Writings that the price is received, Lin. de ration "the Buyer shall be secured for ever. That every Person might attend his own misserm path business and to obviate the rapacity of Officers, he forbad the Governours of Promise characters, with the illustrious dig. Cod. 398. lib. 8. "nity.) p. p. (C. 2. "nity.) p. p. (C. 3. "nity.) p. (C. 3. "nity.)

24 By another Edich he thought fit to restrain the Marrying of ones Brother's Wife. "Although, he said, some Exprisins therefore thought fit to joyn themselves to immission the said of t

"nity) to meddle with publick Works or Buildings, or as it feems the custome " has been to receive one filiqua for every folidus to be laid out, or any other emolu-"ment: but to leave those things to the care and management of the Recenfores, " or as he terms them, the Fathers of the Cities, who were deputed to fuch Em-"ployments. But if any promife or engage by covenant to raife any publick "Work out of their mere liberality, though they be bound by fuch promife or " engagement, they shall incur no damage, nor their Heirs, if the whole sum be "not contributed, or the Work happen to be unprofitable.

A friend to the

26. He was so carefull of the Courts of Cities and Bodies Politick, as in some respect to be more strict than had been his Predecessours against pretences of freedom from their fervice. "For he would have none who from the beginning of L. 64. de Dem "his Reign were obnoxious to the faid Courts, though Comittee Rei privatæ to hu though Co. if " mour his Father-in-law, or Comites Largitionum, or Domesticorum, Questors, or Sebastiano P. P. " Magistri Officiorum, though promoted already to execute such Offices, or who "should be promoted, for or in behalf of fuch Offices, to escape the snares of those Curial Employments as he terms them; but should be bounden to them "with their children whenfoever born, and their Estates after the laying down of "their faid Offices, except they were fecur'd by other Privileges upon this account "by known Laws. For all other lawfull Indulgences and Privileges granted by "Constitutions, he would have remain inviolable. And that persons to indulged " might not feem to enjoy an empty name, if they executed the Curial Offices by "their Substitutes at their own charge, they should have the Privileges of their Dignity entire and without abatement. As for such as obtained the aforesaid "Dignities before the beginning of his Reign; he Decreed that they with their " Estates and their Children should after such dignity be freed from all obligations " and burthens of the Curia. And for those who at any time had been or should " be made Patritians, Consuls, Consulares, Magistri Militum, Præfetti Prætorio. " of the East, of Illyricum, or Præfect of Constantinople, so as to execute the places "themselves, should to all purposes with their Estates and Sons born after their Dignity be free from such obligations. But Zeno was farther so carefull about these Courts and Corporations, to have their services perform'd, as we see it was the great endeavour of his Predecessours, for such reasons as we have heretofore expressed, "That he made it unlawfull for the Decuriones to sell their hereditary " Estates without a Decree of the Court, and this Decree should not be taken for "valid, if onely fignified in a Brief or piece of Paper, but it must be made Viva L. ult. de prelimina for " voce by the major part, upon which a sentence of a competent Judge must be had Decreto non a "for confirmation of the purchase. Now this Law speaking onely of Sale and not namic, Co. Jul. " of Donation, is called Mirabilis or Wonderfull by Justinian, as if there were not sebastian P.P. " reason to take care as well of the one as of the other. But this may be said, that "we more easily fell than give, and therefore there was no such occasion; but "however he thought fit by a Constitution to ordain that no Donation, nor any "Alienation should be good without a Decree of the Court; nay, afterward that a "Donation even with a Decree (for other reasons of that time then moving him) " fhould not be valid.

27. The City of Constantinople was again grown fo vast and populous, that fresh water was become a very pretious commodity with them, and this put Zeno upon making three several Constitutions for security of the publick Fountains and LL 8,910-4 Aqueducts. "By one he fignified to Amantius, Prafell of the City, that if he Aqueducts."

He was carfull "or any of his Succeffours should alienate the Gold deputed to the repair of Aque. 19th librarian. "ducts to other uses, he should restore it out of his own purse. And that there 42. should be a peculiar Arcarius or Treasurer for keeping what Gold belonged to this fervice either proceeding from the liberality of the Confuls or other ways. "By another he declared that a Fountain which either from the beginning was "publick, or afterwards made fo, should not be applied to the use of private men though a Rescript were obtained for that purpose. By a third he forbad the pur-"loyning of publick water by private Pipes, the planting of Trees by the Aque-ducts whereby their Walls were ruined, and deriving the Water to Houses of " Pleasure, Gardens, Watermills, or Baths under such pein of forfeiting the building, "as should not be remitted by the Prince his Letters. And he would have the " Aquarii, or Keepers of those Waters and Aqueducts, to be marked in the Hand as were the Tirones and Fabricenses, with the Emperour's Name, that being known "they might not be forced by the Procurators of the Palaces or others to any other " Employment. And if any of them died, he who fucceeded, should for the same reason, be marked in the same manner.

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. Zeno. CHAP. I.

28. Of Dignities he chiefly, concerned himself for that of Patritian, that it might not become too cheap or common. "He forbad that any should rife to that To keep up the "fublime honour (which, faith he, is fet before all the rest) except he had be- L. 3. de Confull "fore enjoyed the honour of the Confulfhip, had been Prafettus Pratorio of the Juliania, "East or of Illyricum, or was known actually to have exercised the Presectship " of the City, the Office of Magister Militum or Magister Officiorum. And because, "as he faith, he thought it his part to procure the good of the most glorious City, which was Head of the World, all ways possible, he Ordain'd that all who "afterward should by the Emperour's munificence be adorned with the Ensigns " of the Honorary Confulship, should pay the sum of an hundred pounds of Gold "towards the repairing of the Aqueducts, in like manner as they who during the "fpace of a year gloried in the fetting forth of Confular works. For them it also behoved, that the most flourishing City being sustained by the munificence of an " hundred pounds of Gold, should also be sensible of the honorary Consulship. But " for the encouragement of Confulares or Honorary Confuls he declared by another "Edict directed to Sebastian, that those most excellent Men, as he terms them, L4 einst in "either then made or to be made, might proceed and in reality be Confuls for a "year, the Prince his judgment or award therein being procured; so as having "finished the Procession so obtained, they should not seem to have got some new "thing they had not before; but onely to have iterated the right of Confulship "which once the Confular procession had derived upon them, and in adoring the "Purple, and farther obtaining all the Honours of Confulsand their Privileges they "fhould have them commence from the former time of promotion. Moreover " fuch Conful should not be compelled to pay the hundred pounds of Gold for "the Aqueducts of that famous City, enjoyned by a Sacred Constitution, which " being but Confularis he had formerly paid.

29. Thus we see how carefull Zeno was for preserving the Grandeur of Dignities, especially that of the Patritian, and yet Justinian thought this was not enough; but out of his rather superabundant care, as he himself confesseth, ad-

ded unto it. "He Ordained that those high Persons should upon receipt of the L. 5-50 ull. ejust." Emperous's Codicils immediately become Patres familias or Heads of Families, and til. "be freed from that Paternal power which the Roman Laws gave to Fathers over "their Sons not Emancipated, lest they who were honoured as Fathers by the "Prince, should be subject unto others, it being a thing not sufferable, he judged, "that a Father should be in capacity by Emancipation to release a Son from such "obligations, and that his Imperial Highness should not be able to free him whom "he had chosen for his Father, from the power of another person. But so he will "haveit, that the Imperial Majesty be not diminished. It being sufficiently certain, "that fuch a thing rarely happened; for no man, faith he, can eafily remember a Son " of a Family to have been promoted to the honour of Patritian, as is usual in the "Confulship; but lest such a thing in time should happen, and be found without di-" rection of Laws, he thought fit to Ordain. Taking fuch scope to provide for

things which not onely did utually happen but might possibly do so, he might well be so numerous in his Laws, as we shall find he was upon his new model. But this reason He freed as well of the Rarity of the thing ceased to be a reason with him afterward, when he Novel. 81-"also communicated the same privilege of being freed from the Paternal Power "upon other persons; upon better thoughts, as he saith, even upon Consuls really

" fuch, and by Codicils; the Præfetti Prætorio, the Prefects of both Romes, and the " Magistri Militum. He esteem'd it a thing, he saith, unbecoming both his Laws " and times, that persons who were Judges, over so Great men, and commanded "others to continue under the Paternal Power should themselves be subject to it. "He would have this taken for a general Rule, that every Dignity and every "Girdle which freed persons from Services of Corporations, should also free them " from the power of their Fathers, to whom this should be so great an honour that "they had fuch fons, that they should with joy give them their Peculia and other "Rights which were wont to follow Emancipation, the Privileges of which were " not to fucceed these thus conferred by Imperial Authority. In the last place he will "have this Privilege of freedom from Paternal Power to extend to Spiritual Fa-"thers or Bishops, who also from their Ordination were freed from that of the " Curiæ.

30. By other Laws made in behalf of the Primicerii of the Notaries, and the vide Timber 2. ten Tribunes after them, the Silentiarii, the Principes of the Agentes in Rebus, and 16, 22, 30, 41; the Scholæ; Zeno much obliged these forts of his Courtiers, moderating Fees to be libra Cost Info received of them in Courts of Justice, and gratifying them otherwise in particu-

lars which are too tedious here to be related. He was so carefull of his Army that it might be furnished with fit Souldiers that should be at his devotion, "That " he forbad that any Horseman or Footman in any Numerus, or in any Limit should " for the future be received or listed without the Warrant (Probatoria) of the Em-"perour, antiquating the custome which had formerly obtained, which gave to Lult.de remi-"the Magistri Militum, or Duces the power of granting such Licences. If the most E. lib. 12.111.36. " minent Magistri Militum for the timebeing, or the Spectabiles, the Duces thought it " necessary to fill the places of the Dead, after the debating of the matter they should " fignifie to the Prince, who and how many were to be added, and in what Nume-"rus or Limit, that to they might become Souldiers by his Majefty's order and Au-thority." And he inflicts a mulct of an hundred pounds of Gold upon the Office " of the Magister Militum to whom he directs his Constitution, if it was violated " in any part. Some other Laws we find made by Zeno, but they are either of fuch matters as relate so nearly to the Jus Primatum that they are not so proper here to be mentioned, or else made in favour of the Officers of the Scrinii, of which we have faid so much already to give the Reader an infight into those matters that no more is now to be added, It's time to take our farewell of Zeno, with this farther note, that he Reigned seventeen years and five months.

31. Zeno being removed, Longinus his Brother having been by him advanced to great Authority, purposed to set up for himself, and little doubted to obtain the Euagrius lib. 3. Empire. But Ariadne the Empress had another man in store, one whom with cc. 28, 29 more love and less noise she could take to her Bed, and make her Partner in the Throne; for she was resolved to play at no smaller a game, Zeno having not left her any Children. This was one Anastrasius probably a very comely man, as having little else to recommend him to the favour of the Lady, and by her to the greatest of Earthly Dignities. For he had never reached fo much as the degree of Senator, onely was enrolled in the Schola of the Silentiarii, fuch a company as had little of business and publick employment as we have heretofore seen. He was born as Enagrius writes, at Epidammus, afterward called Dyrrachium and enjoyed the Imperial Sceptre with the Wife of Zeno, in the year CCCCXCI, and the Confulling Opiniocon.

of Olybrius.

32. The first thing he did was to fend down into Isauria, Longinus of whom we now fpoke, under what Guard, or upon what security for his peaceable demeanour we know not, but Euagrius, who tells this flory, adds, that to several others of that Countrey who defired it, he gave leave also to depart thither. As he had made a shew of great Piety while a private man, he did not at first throw off that vizard. He was agreat maintainer of Peace and Quietnoss, not permitting any great alteration either in Church or State, which Principle (if that according to Euagrius, was the Principle of his Actions) might make him hold the Maintainers and Oppugners of the Chalcedonian Council in equal esteem and balance. The same principle put him at his first coming to the Empire upon such courses as might tend to his own ease and establishment, however he otherwise appeared when he thought himfelffast upon his Seat. He banished Informers out of the City, and did another Banisheth Infor- thing, which Euagrius terms a wonderfull or Divine Act, and the History of which he cannot but deliver to posterity, though to speak thereof according to the Dignity of the Subject, he stood in need of the Tongue of Thucydides or some more eloquent

33. There was a wicked Tribute (he calls it) odious to God and Man, highly Identitide 439. unpleasing even to the Barbarous Nations and abominable to all professing Christianity, which yet was exacted of all the Subjects of the Roman Empire, but not regarded (as such) till this time of Anastasius, who acted by Royal and munisicent Principles took it away, not without the applause of all people under Heaven. This Tribute, called Chryfargyram, was imposed on Whores and Bawdy-houses especially, upon Beggars, Slaves, and Freed-men, Divorced-women, upon all forts of Men of what condition foever, for their Horses, Mules, Asses, Oxen, Dogs, vid. stabentists and fuch like Creatures, nay, Dungit feli, and that with all rigour imaginable. & magintalize Every fourth year it was paid in to the chief Magistrate by the under Collectors, and the control of the chief Magistrate by the under Collectors, and the control of the chief Magistrate by the under Collectors, and the control of the chief Magistrate by the under Collectors, and the control of the chief Magistrate by the under Collectors, and the chief Magistrate by the under Collectors are chief to the chief Magistrate by the under Collectors and the chief Magistrate by the under Collectors and the chief Magistrate by the chief the chief Magistrate by the under Collectors and the chief th and by them unto the Prince his Coffers; those that were employed in it, being none of the meanest, nor the Office it self esteemed base and contemptible in the Commonwealth.

34. Anastasius weighing with himself the whole matter, acquainted the Senate with his fentiments, told the Fathers what an heinous and horrible thing it was, commanded it should be quite abolished, and burnt the Rolls and Records made for Levying of it. Having done this, he counterfeited great trouble and anxiety of

He confers Offi-

mind, accused himself of folly and madness, of vain glory and inconsiderateness, in that he had taken away so great a Tribute, and of solong continuance, not fore-seeing the inconveniency which would follow thereupon, particularly in the pay of Military men who are the Bulwark of the Commonwealth, and in the fuftenance of those who were by it maintained in the service of God, no less conducing by their Prayers to the fecurity of the Empire. Making no man acquainted with the depth of his defign, he declared his will to be that the Tribute should wholly be restored, and calling to his presence the old Receivers, told them he was heartily grieved that he had burnt the Records; that he knew not what to doe, nor how to excuse his folly, they being consumed. They bewailed their loss, and deplored the condition into which they were irreparably faln, not knowing what overture to make for the restitution of their late employment. He, in extremity as it were of passion, begged of them that they would use yet their utmost endeavour, and try whether they could not find some Papers which might give them some light to fettle the Tax in such a method as it had formerly been raised. He commanded all the Records in the Countrey to be fearched, and every Scroll wherein mention was made of this Tribute to be brought to him, that he might use the most effectual means for its restitution.

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35. He feemed exceedingly to rejoyce at the fight of fuch as they prefented to him; demanded where they found them, if they were to any purpose, and if they thought there were yet any more left undiscovered. They answered that their labour and travel had been great, that they had rode about night and day, had fearched Town and Countrey, and they fwore by the Emperour's life, that in all his Dominions there was not one Scroll more than what they produced. Then commanded ne a Pile to be made, and all the Papers, Registers, Records, Bills. and Bawdy notes to be put thereon and burnt to ashes. When the fire had done its part, he commanded water to be cast upon the Cinders, either quite to obliterate them, or to carry them away with the stream, hereby intending fo far to abolish the monuments of this filthy Tribute, that neither spark, ashes, letter, nor any thing relating to it might remain to posterity. To this purpose Eugerius words it in commendation of Anastasius, and in the two following Chapters inveighs against Zosmus for mulitiously writing that Constantine the Great first invented the Chryfargyrum, and for otherwise slandering that Emperour. How far Zosimus is to be credited, we have seen already in the particulars enumerated and aggravated

36. Others relate that Anastrasius at his first coming to the Government farther obliged the State by conferring those Offices of Magistracy gratis which had been wont tobe fold by his Predece flour. That by other Acts of generofity he fo far wrought upon the hearts of his people, that tober and understanding persons conceived great hope of an excellent Prince and a fiourilling Commonwealth. But if Suidas be to be credited, those goodly appearances vanished to nothing as soon as once he thought he had fettled hintelf; His gerierous humour degenerated into Covetousness, and his good Government into a fort of Oligarchy, by his fetting all Offices to Sale, winking at heinous crimes for reward, spoiling the Provinces and exhausting the wealth of his private Subjects. Enagrius also, whom we lately heard playing the Oratour in his commendation, represent himself as proceeding too far in a toid c. 42. Panegyrick, telling us that as the Acts formerly mentioned were noble, worthy of Anastalius and the Majesty of an Emperour, so immediately after he did such things as blurred the lustre and stained the glory of the former. For, he devised another fort of Tribute called Chrysotelia, and, to the great damage of the Empire, made Merchandize of the Souldiers wages together with other exactions. For he took from the Courts the usual exaction of Tributes, and in every City made those that were called Vindices, at the infligation, it was faid, of Marinus Syrus his chief Minister in the Palace. Whence it came to pass that a great part of the publick Revenue was soft, and the reputation of Cities vanished. For before that time the Names of Nobles were entred in the Register of all Cities, which esteemed those that were made free of their Courts, and honoured them as a Senate. From a fenie of this alteration in him, or upon other occasions, it came to pass, that even in the first year of his Reign a Sedition is faid to have happened amongst the Plebeians at Con-Vide Barun. ad flantinople, wherein the greatest part of the City and Cirque was burned, at which h. An. time it's also thought, that the most sumptuous Hospital of St. Sampson perished, as also that incomparable Church of St. Sophia, rebuilt afterwards in a more magnifi-

cent manner by Justinian.

the Chryfarg)-

37. Now after we have heard Historians, and those little diligent, especially in Civil matters, it would be well if by any Edict or Constitution found in our Law Books, we could give testimony to what they write about his taking away the Chry-Jargyrum. One other Constitution indeed he made in his very first year, and remide in his first Jury rum. One other continued also to the subject, but nothing of that nature: L. ult. de funda extant concern- "For in the first he Ordains that in all Dioceses and Provinces whosoever hath post-

ing the Christian felled the Patrimonial lands of the Prince, those anciently belonging to Temples Cod Justinia. "or those called Agonothet ai or deputed to sports and pastimes of the Empe-Dat. Matronians or those cancer agometrics as the state of forty years, shall retain them, whether he P.P.; Radon, "rour by combate, for the space of forty years, shall retain them, whether he P.P.; Radon, "held them by a just or unjust title, or with paying the Canon, or without paying see seasons." "it, for the faid space of forty years, in the same way as before he held them. Nay Cod. Juff. 116.6. we find by another Edict dated in this Consulship of Olybrius, "That all it. 39. " Actions, though they concerned the Publick, which were not limited by "the term of thirty years, or under, should be excluded and extinguished by a " prescription of forty; a Constitution memorable in this respect of forty years,

" which therefore, he faith, he published, that he might cut off all opportunities of "doing mischief. This his Edict was large, and in such general expressions, that this Prescription of forty years was pleaded by certain persons who by their originals L.1.5.6.ejuli.in. were bound to the service of the Cariæ, and by such as were indebted in publick payments, whom by two other Edicts he undeceived and confirmed their former

obligations. We have nothing else of this year agreeable or contradictory to the flory of Euagrius concerning the Chrylargyrum, which Cedrenus relates him to have taken away at the Importunity of the Monks of Jerufalem, and upon occasion of Timotheus Gazzess a moltwise man, his writing a Tragedy upon this subject.

38. The year following, or the CCCCXCII. of our Lord is famous for little, A. D. 492.

except it be for the first Confulship of this Emperour, which he bore together with Anglasha Ruffinus. It's little more memorable for having one Conflictution bearing date the Ruffine first of March, whereby Anastasia forbad under severe penalties, "That any should first of March, whereby Anajuan initial interest and Conditions of the Denote men (as he terms them) serving L. ult. de offices and Conditions of the Denote men (as he terms them) serving L. ult. de office and conditions of the Denote men (as he terms them) serving the office and conditions of the Denote men (as he terms them) serving the office and conditions of the Denote men (as he terms them) serving the office and conditions of the Denote men (as he terms them) serving the office and conditions of the Denote men (as he terms them) serving the office and conditions of the Denote men (as he terms them) serving the office and conditions of the Denote men (as he terms them) serving the office and conditions of the Denote men (as he terms them) serving the office and conditions of the Denote men (as he terms them) serving the office and conditions of the Denote men (as he terms them) serving the office and conditions of the Denote men (as he terms them) serving the office and conditions of the Denote men (as he terms them) serving the office and conditions of the Denote men (as he terms them) serving the office and conditions of the Denote men (as he terms the office and conditions the office an " (Militantes) in the Sacred Scrinium Memoria. But it also is said to have given a original to the Ifaurian War which continued five or fix years, as several relate, Juffilia singe and as Euggrius Writes was raised by Longinus the Brother of Zeno. This man, Lib 3-624 though he had been Competitour for the Sovereignty, he sent as was said into his own Countrey, and with fo little Guard and Watch upon him, it feems, that he had opportunity to raife men and make great preparations, and the Bifnop of Apamea in Syria joyned with him. But in the contell Anaflafius had the better, and an end was put to the War, partly because the Ifaurians, who joyned with Longinus, were utterly defeated, and partly, Euagrius fays, because the Heads of Longinus and Theodorus were by John a Scythian sent to Constantinople, which Heads the Emperour caused to be set upon Poles over against the City in a place called Syea beyond the water, which was, he adds, a gratefull fight to the Citizens who had been formerly much plagued by Zeno and the Ifaurians. Another Longinus firnamed Selinantius (whom others make the fame with Zeno's brother, one of the Principal Conspiratours) and another called Judas were sent alive, and with chains about their necks were led in triumph through the Streets and the Cirque, to the great rejoycing both of the Emperour and Citizens. By this means the Tributes called Isaurian, which had been paid yearly to the Barbarians, amounting to five

The Isaurian

thousand Pounds, were brought into the Emperour's Cossers. 39. Such is the Relation Euagrius gives us of these matters, wherein are some parto later Writers, ticulars which badly agree with the reflexions made on them by later Writers. For whereas he faith that the Heads of Longinus and Theodorus when fet upon Poles were a delightfull spectacle to the Citizens of Constantinople; Suidas on the contrary writes, that the said Longinus the brother of Zeno for his profuseness was exceedingly beloved by the multitude; and the Civil War or Tumult which Marcellinus hints to have happened at Constantinople against this Emperour in the third year of his Reign, and the Confulhip of Albinus and Eufebius (though Albinus be Albinus be and alone for this year by Califodorus) is therefore judged by * Baronius to have * 20m udad proceeded from this very caufe, the Rabble being inraged that it's good Mafter and home Patron was put by the Succession, which as well the Multitude as he himself, defired impatiently. But it feems the Multitude being without an Head, the Tumult came to nothing, though it flew to fo fawcy height, that the Statues of Emperour and Empress were by Ropes tied to them dragged about the Streets. This Tumult probably happened at the Circenfian Games: Yet it's faid farther by Marcellinus that Julianus a Magister Militiæ fighting by night, was killed by the Geticks fword in Thrace.

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. Anastasius. CHAP. I.

> 40. Passing to the year CCCCXCIIII and the fourth of Anastasius, we find two Constitutions made by him, and little or nothing else of moment. Neither is the one of those of such concern here as we think it proper to mention it. By the Lade by other he obviates an abuse committed in those times against a wholesome and necesfary law and custome. This was in time of want and necessity to impose the finding iii. 13 of Wheat, Oil, and other Species upon particular Provinces, as we have feen heretofore, which fort of Charity and Neighbourly course for one Member of the Empire to relieve another, some persons were so far industrious to evade, as to procure a Brief under the Emperour's hand, a Pragmatick Sanction or a Judicial Decree to that purunder the Emperour's nand, a regentian control of the first the first fishes for far dispressed as to declare all fisch Licence should be void for L. 1. at sensition of the furnishing of recessfaries, leading the time to come; and farther declared, that from such furnishing of recessfaries, leading to the first fishes the first fishes and farther declared, that from such furnishing properly the comp. July like 100. " according to their proportion, none should pretend exemption, no not his own tite 27. "House, or that of his most Serene Wife or Empress. The succeeding year is remarkable for nothing; not for the Consulship of one Viator, thought lone joyn to him Emilianus as a Collegue. That following, or the CCOCXCVI of our Lord, A.D. 496. had one Paulus for Conful without a Collegue, and feveral Constitutions of Ana- Pauls Co stafius we find bearing date of it. We have formerly told the Reader how great Privileges, as to making Testaments, Souldiers enjoyed, so as no Solemnicies were required of them therein, when in expedition. "Now there were some who at-"tended on the Magistri Militum called Scriniarii, and Apparitores who executed mento militis.

A charitable Conflitution

"their orders, and their names were also entred into the Matricula or Muster cod Just lib.6. "Rolls, being much of the nature with those they now call Secretaries to Gene- tit. 21. "rals, or great Commanders; and those men as Souldiers pretended to the same "Privileges as to making Wills. But fuch perfons feeming, but not being Souldiers "in reality, he declares that by no means they shall enjoy that Military Right by " an Edict dated on the Ides of February. 41. By another bearing date of the last of April, he partly confirms and partly L. 32. de Dona-

repeals a former made by Leo concerning the Infinuation or Registring of Donations. "So far he confirms it as to Decree that they shall be infinuated by the Ma- iit. sa. will gifter Cenfus, but whereas Leo permitted out of Conflantinople in the Countrey
Infinuations also to be made by other Officers, he will have it as well in Countrey per circum the

"as in City by a Magifter Confus alone, under pein of twenty pounds of Gold, to rifferent that receive, desire and procure such preceded In-Magistram con-"finuations, as also the Tabelliones shall give their testimony in no incompetent sus tantummed." " place and Judicatory. On the first day of the same Month', we meet with ano-"ther Rescript directed to Anthomius the Prafettus Pratorio, as the other is to " Euphemius, which we should have mentioned in the first place. By this he took

Angleiur takes care for his Revenue that it should not be diminished by Relevations or Relaxacut of this Retions of simplifience upon Castal Case of all and the case of the Retions of Impositions upon Cattel, too usually granted it seems at this time. If a "Province or City petitioned for any such Relevation, or for an Inspector of Pera-" quator, it should be by Petition referred to the Prince himself, and upon Oath "first made; and the Præfettus Præferio should give no answer, but after fully having " instructed the Emperour, and by receiving a form from him, which was to be Ladle de Amer

> "for this Relevation of the Capitation of Animals; a Corporation or Province cod. Juft. 16. " might. Other matters transacted in reference to the Tributes he would not have "valid without licence of the Prince himself had in Writing, under pein of ma-king good to the Treasury all wherein it was damnified, and inflicting the fine of "fifty pounds of Gold upon the breakers of the Law. And he ordains that all Fifcale "Dues shall be paid in at thrice, as also those called Armeniaca, viz on the first of " January, the first of May, and at the end of the Indiction (which began in Sep-" tember) divided into three equal parts, without any innovation to be made by "Collatours in the mean time. But because the Prestation of the Armenian Tributes "was divided into two Pentions, they might, if they pleafed, observe that Cu-

> " respited the whole September of the future Indiction. But that called the Before-"fent, should asit ought be paid in at the beginning of every Indiction, even as the Luli, de craft "very name imported. As by this Law he took care for his own Revenue, fo ribus Trib "by another in July following, that the Subject should not be harasted by Com-lib 10. iti.19. " pulfors as to the payment of it; but Compulfors he did allow after a time, which

" frome so as to pay them in in two Pensions, and another half in the September of

"the next Indiction. But if they would pay in at three payments they should be

"Officers were afterwards taken quite away. 42. The CCCCXCVII year of our Lord had for Conful Analkalius, the second A. D. 497. time, and him alone. And we find him to have had so little of other Civil Employ- Anaftation A. 2. Conf.

" observed in all particulars. But he would not permit a private person to Petition nie of Tribuits,

Emancipated Brothers called

He ordains di-

ment though with Ecclesiastical he busied himself too much; that he had leisure to give attention to the suggestions of his Comes rei private, and the Proconsul of Afra. "To these Persons had been presented Petitions by the Advocates of their L. 1. de Advocates "Courts, destring that through the liberality of the Prince they might after the it directions time of their Advocation was expired, be honoured with some Dignity. This he Indiana, Cal. "granted, permitting that after their time was out, they should be esteemed and Districtly in granted, permitting that after their time was out, they should be esteemed and Districtly in the state of the state "held in the rank of Clarissimi, and that of the first Rank or Order of Comes. This Privilege he granted to those Advocates at the end of this year, and being so kind to this Profession that by several other Constitutions he enlarged the Privileges also of those that belonged to other Courts, we shall here take notice of them together as they occur in the same title of the Code. Four years after he declared, "That such Advocates as belonging to the Court of the Præfettus Præ- L-2. ejuld. in.

declared, Instruct Advocates as belonging to the Court of the Trajectus Tre-dat, 12 Call be, "tario of Illyricum were promoted pro tempore to the degree and office of Advocate comb." of the Treasury, should together with their Sons born and tobe born, be loofed Pairio & Britis & Br "Patrimonies, in like manner as were receive navocates of the I rejected 1 lectorio car, federica of the East, and of the Prefect of the City. And he gives this reason to Thomas submissioned the submission of the City. "of the East, and of the Presect of the Confliction is directed, that seeman the Præsecus Præserio of Illyricum, to whom the Confliction is directed, that seeman the Præsecus Præserio of Illyricum, to whom the Confliction is directed, that seeman the Præsecus Præserio of Illyricum, to whom the Confliction is directed, that seeman the Præsecus Præserio of Illyricum, to whom the Confliction is directed, that seeman the Præsecus Præserio of Illyricum, to whom the Confliction is directed, that seeman the Præsecus Præserio of Illyricum, to whom the Confliction is directed, that seeman the Præsecus Præserio of Illyricum, to whom the Confliction is directed, that seeman the Præsecus Pr " these three Prefectships were Germanæ Potestates.

43. Four years after this he declared by another Edict, "That the Primate of the L. 3. find in "Advocates belonging to the Court of the Comes of the East, should for two years Dat.Cal. Ju." execute the office of Patrons Fife, or Advocate of the Treasury, and have the Sassinan of Treasury. "Emoluments. That the number of Advocates in that Court should be reduced A.D. 505. " to forty, so as those that were at present Supernumeraries, should not be rejected. "That those who had discharged the Office of Patronus Fisci should not be prohibi-"ted to plead for themselves and near Relations, though it was against the Trea-" fury it felf. That their houses should not be subject to the Metatus or Quarter-"ing. That the Sportule paid for them, for their Coloni and Slaves should not be excessive, but according to a Table presented to the Emperour. That none in should be added to their number till he had completed the time of Study prescribed "by the Laws. That the fons of Advocates and of fuch as had executed the Office "at the Treasury, whether alive or dead, should be preferred before Strangers "coming to be admitted, provided they had finished their time of Studies, and "that without any expence or Fees. That the Profits due should be acquired not "onely by fuch as had been Advocates of the Treasury, but if dead by their "Heirs; that fuch Advocates should not be compelled to employments, molested "with the burthen of exhibition without the Authority of the Prince speci-" ally intervening, and being fued should be cited by decree of the Comes of the "East, if in his Province, before whom the cause should be heard as the competent

44. He was so great a favourer of these Patroni Fisci, or Advocates of his Treasury, that he was still adding new honours to them. For, the following year, being farther apprehensive of their merits, as sensible how both laudable and necessary the Office of an Advocate was, he Ordained, "That when in actual fervice they L 4 ejugl. in. "fhould be admitted, on the first of January of the year they served, to receive Datria Labor admitted for gifts among the Comites spellations of his Consistory. That after their laying mellat of the contract of the contra "down, if they had Legitimate Sons, they should be admitted amongst the Cla- A.D. 506. "riffimi, the Notaries, and receive the Letters, without Fees for moving it. That "they, should confess a Debt without any Arbiter before one or two of the present "Advocates of the Treasury with the usual solemnity of Registring. So if they " had a mind to declare any thing concerning their children, though no Instruments " of Dowry had been drawn upon intention of Marriage. That before them "Slaves might be manumitted as before the Glorious Confuls. And belides, he " confirmed all other Privileges granted them by other Laws. These four Constitutions were directed to Eusebius the Magister Officiorum, to Thomas the Prafectus Pratorio of Illyricum, and to Constantine and Eustachius with the additions also of P. P. But of what Districts these two last were Prefects is not expressed; it feems the Advocates belonging to the Court of the President of the second Syria were not concerned in the former Edicts; for two years after we find them to have petitioned the Emperour that they might also be considered in the like sort. "And L. 5. sipilatin." to them he granted the Privileges expressed in the third Constitution, reducing Dancat De-"their number to that of thirty, so as the present Supernumeraries should also be Another of "confidered. This is directed to one Sergius with the addition too of P.P. being, A.D. 508. it's to be supposed. Presect of the East, wherein was this Province of Second Syria.

And thus we thought fit to give the Reader a view of all the fivetogether, because of the fame subject, observing out of the third, that whereas the Primate of the Advocates is named, as also in the last; there was a distinction of Advocates, the Vide Annatura Primate being diftinguished from the rest. Whereas also in the third Edict men- in L.L. tion is made of the time appointed for Advocates to study the Law, it was at first four years, before which expired none were admitted to plead, and afterwards Juffi-

nian thought fit to enlarge the term to that of five. 45. The Year of our Lord CCCCXCVIII would be as barren of Intelligence as A.D. 498.

45. The Year of our Lord Conflictation directed to one Polycarp a Prefetting From & Paragraphy Paragraphy of the West of the Conflictation of Father and Conflictation of Father Conflictation of Fath Pretorio on the first of April in the Consulthip of John (a Scythian he is essewhere called) and Paulinus. This Emperour Anasiasus had by a certain Law formerly given right of Succession, in case of the death of a Brother or Sister Germans, to one who had been Emancipated, (by which Emancipation or discharge from the Paternal Power, a man was understood to be discharged as it were of the Family) so as he should succeed such Relations dying Intestate before all other Kindred. Now it was convenient and just that he who had the profit should also have the burthen, and was convenient and just that it was a convenient and just that fuch an Emancipated Brother thould therefore the Emperour now declared, "That fuch an Emancipated Brother thould L.4. de legit. therefore the Emperour now decisive, Anatomic Patentines and Sifters in their mino-materials cade to be a lawfull Tutour or Guardian to Brothers and Sifters in their mino-materials cade "rity, without any excuse of such disparge from the Paternal Power, to be ad-Patentines of the mitted. The ensuing year, or the CCCXCIX, had for Confusion Fibra first and provided in the confusion of the confusion of the confusion without any good Authority when the confusion of named Gibbus, with whom some joyn Asclepius, but without any good Authority. Johnne Gibbs Anastralian having little of Givil business to artend, was witfolly intent upon Church Cost. Affairs, and so bent to encourage Hereticks, that as Baronius observes from the Chronicon of Marcellinus, he was this year chastized for so doing by the Bulgarians, who invaded and wasted Thrace. Against them marched one Ariffus, who commanded the Emperour's Forces in Illyricans, with fifteen thouland armed Men. and five hundred and twenty Waggons laden with Instruments necessary for Battel. A fight was fought near the River Zarta, where about four thousand of the Romans were cut of either in their flight or in falling from the Precipice of a Bank that had no Water running by it. And here the flower of thy is intellight, Niether his finite internal at, Tancas and Aquilinas, all Comites, being flain. To flishfish was added another, caused by a great Earthquake, wherewith the Countrey of Pohrus was staken. But Ana stafius bought off and rettrained the incurrions of the Bulgari with a great furn of Gold

flassus bought off and reitrained the incursions of the Bulgar's with a great sum of Gold.

46. We are now arrived at the year D. which is noted with the joynt Cosmil. A.D. 500. Ship of Partinis and Papatine; in which inceeding with robthing effect of Civil con Partinion of Ship of Partinis and Ship of Partinion and the same delition of Partinion of Part and Emoluments. By them he declares, "That those Silentrarii of his Palace L. ul. de exa-

"who ferved (the word is Militantes) at his fide (circle latins) shall be excused fatining runfrom Tuttons and Curations: These what-they gelt by this fervice or Militia the mode, and from future and the from the first of the fir "fhall enjoy all relating to the fale in the same manner. That their Sons, if they " come to be adorned with the Dignity of Comes spettabilis or Tribune shall not if " unwilling be compelled to be Prators. And these Privileges he added, should be " enjoyed not onely by those in present service, but by such as should succeed them, " and now onely during the time of their fervice, but after they had laid down "their places. As for the excusing them from Guardianships, he hints that they "cannot attend the Affairs of other men, because through the attendance they " give to him, they could not diligently manage the concerns of their own Families. But it's observable that he gives them but the title of chariffing, though elsewhere they have that of Spectabiles, but this variety was incident to many Officers, their Dignity being enlarged or diminished according to the pleasure of the present Emperours, the Fountains of their Honour.

47. For the year Di. Anienus and Pompeius were Coffills, Anienus was firmamed A. D. 501. Faultus, had been ordinary Conful above ten years fince, and was descended from the Anien & Pommott noble Family of the Scipie's, which Baronius observes to make him some return process. for his Orthodox and Pious demeanour toward Symmachus the Roman Bifliop. And on the other fide he observeth concerning Anastasius the Emperour, that being of the contrary aliposition, the people reviled him openly as an Heretick; and that he to

punish them as well for so doing, as to be revenged on them for favouring the Cause of Longinus and the Isaurians, this year took that opportunity which while he was alive he dared not to doe, and caused them to be fall'n upon, while they beheld the Spectacula in the Theatre unarmed, with fuch Violence and Execution, that above three thousand were slain, besides such as got away wounded to their Houses. One Constitution besides what we have already mentioned we find of Lust, de Trans Houles. One Confitution bettees what we have already mentioned we find or administration this year (if not rather of the foregoing,) but merely belonging to the flux privation, fight hashing, fight hashing, fight hashing the young the property of the followed. Animum the young A. D. 50. ger, Son to him of the former year, was Conful together with Probus. This afforded matter which Baronins had also reason to mention as a punishment of Anasta. Prob Cas.

The Bulgari in-flus. For now the Bulgari again invaded Thrace without any refiftence. And he rading Thrace, being accultomed to buy off the Barbarians for a Sum of Gold, diverted them from are bought of the Eaftern Provinces to the West, where the year after they were defeated by by Annifalium. Theodorich now King of Italy, who took Syrmium and joyned it to that Countrey. This year also was Amida a strong Garrison of the Romans in Mesopotamia taken by Cabades the Persian, after a Siege of six months, by the Treachery of certain Monks. The occasion of it Procopius declares fetching the matter a little higher. 48. Cabades the present King of Persia became in Debt to the King of the Eph- Bell. Persician.

thalites, and not being able to pay it, he prayed the Emperour Anaftasius to lend him the money. The Emperour confulting with fome about him, they diffwaded him from it, telling him how inconvenient it would be, if he should confirm with his money the Freindfhip of the Barbarians amongst themselves; and that it were better for his Concerns that they should ever class with one another. Upon his refusal Cabades resolved to invade the Romans, and into Armenia he brought the first News himself with an Army. Having foraged the Countrey, he sate down Cabales the Per- though in the Winter before Amida a City of Mesopotamia, the Inhabitants whereof though they had no Garrison (as having lived before peaceably and quietly,) and wanted all manner of Provisions, yet stood out against the dangers and inconveniences of a Siege. At that time one James a Syrian, a just and very Religious man, had for many years been a Recluse, at a place distant from Amida but one days Journey, that so he might not be interrupted in his godly Contemplations. And those of the Neighbourhood, to be helping to his good intent, had pitched a Pale about him, with spaces wide enough onely to see and confer with such as came to him, with a Roof to keep off from him Rain and Snow. And there he had long continued not yielding to Heats or Colds, feeding on Roots, and not of them every day, but fasting sometimes a good while together. Some Ephthalites ranging about the Countrey espied this James and offered to shoot at him, but their hands were fuddenly benummed and they could not draw their Bows. Cabades hearing the report would himself be an Eye witness of the Miracle, and seeing it, was assonished as also those that were about him. He humbly belought fames to pardon his men their offence, which he did at the first word, and they were instantly free'd of their fears. Cabades then bad him demand fomething, thinking he would have asked fome great Sum of money. But he prayed him onely to bestow on him fuch men as in this War should come to him for Protection. Which Cabades granted, and left him Letters for their affurance. And the rumour being spread a-

broad, many from all parts came and were preferved. 49. But Cabades with his Rammes battered Amida on every fide, and the Inhabitants avoided the strokes of those Engins by cross Beams, in such a manner that the Wall became impregnable, so strong were their Buildings in ancient times. Failing therefore this way, he raifed a Mount fo high that it commanded the Wall. To this the Defendants drew a Mine from the Town, and by carrying out the Earth, from within the Mount made it hollow, the outfide retaining still the form it had, and giving no suspicion of any design to the Enemy. The Persians came upon it, thinking as upon firm Ground to Shoot into the Town; but company preffing upon it, the Mount funk, and almost all perished. Cabades at this despaired, and refolved to raife the Siege, commanding the Army the next day to retire. But the Townsmen, as now secure, slouted the Barbarians from the Walls, and some common Women drew up their Clothes, shewing Cabades those parts which should not be seen by men. Hereupon the Magi forbad his Retreat, assuring him that eer long the Amidenses would shew him all their secret and hidden things. The Camp continuing in its former poslure upon this their suggestion, some days after a Perstan near one of the Turrets found the mouth of an old Vault, covered onely with a few small Stones, he entered it alone in the Night, and when it was day made the matter known to Cabades, who, resolving not to loose the advantage, CHAP. I. The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. Anastasius.

the Night following went with part of his Army and scaling Ladders to the place. The Turret was Guarded by Monks, (the strictest fort of Christians,) who that day observed an Annual Feast, and being wearied in their Solemn Assembly, and having taken a greater proportion of Meat and Drink than usual, they perceived 50. The Persians entered the Town by a few at a time, and ascending the Tur-

ret killed the Monks as they lay fast asleep. Then did Cabades set scaling Ladders to the Wall adjoyning to the Turret, and when day appeared the Besieged oers to the Wall adjoyning to the Turret, and when one appeared the beneged who guarded the next Turret, perceiving the danger they were in, hafted to the refcue. And after an hot Conflict they had the better of it, for killing many men that were already got up; they kept off those upon the Ladders, and were very near quit of the Danger. But Cabades drawing his Scimiter, forced his men up the Ladders, threatning Death to the comers down, and thereby overpowring the Defendants by numbers took the Town after eighty days Siege. Great flaughter was made, till Cabades riding into the Town, his fury was affwaged by an old Priest of Amida, who told him that it was not Royally done to kill men now at his mercy. Cabades yet angry, demanded why then they would fland out against him. Because, Sir, replied the Priest, God would give you Amida, not by our wills, but your own Valour. Cabades pleafed with this Reply, fuffered no more Execution to be done, but permitted his Souldiers to fack the City and take Prifoners, of which he had the principal to himself. Then leaving in Garrison a thoufand Persans, under one Glones, and some wretched Citizens to serve them with necessaries; with his Prisoners he Marched home. Yet with the Prisoners he dealt very Princely, for he let them all go home free, and gave out that they ran away. Analiafius also dealt kindly with them, remitting to the Countrey their Tribute for feven years, and conferring many Benefits both upon the City and private

men; fo that they foon forgot the mifery they had undergone. 51. But Anastassus having the News of the Siege of Amida, immediately dis-

patched away an Army against the Enemy. This Army was cheisly Commanded by Areobondus General of the East, who Married the Daughter of Olybrius the late Western Emperour, Celer who Commanded the two Palatine Cohorts called by the Romans Magister, with Patritius the Phrygian and Hypatius the Emperour's Sifters Son, who Commanded the two Legions in Conffantinople. These were accompanied by Justin, who was Emperour after Anastasfus, by Patriciolus and Vitalianus his Son, who afterwards rebelled against Anastasfus Pharasmenes of Colchos an excellent good Souldier, with Godidfelus and Stefas Goths, both Gallant men and expert Souldiers, who followed not Theodorich into Italy. Of this Army Procopius affirms that so brave one went not against the Persians before nor after to his time. The Prefect of Provisions was Appian an Egyptian, 2 principal Patritian and Valiant, whom the Emperour declared his Partner in the Empire by Codicills, that he might have absolute Authority in the expence of the Army, which Marched not together, but each of the four Commanders led his own Forces. They found the Enemy gone home with his Spoils after the taking of Amida, which now they would not Besiege hearing it to be surnished with all Necessaries, but The Romers in made an Impression into the Enemies Countrey, Marching not in one Body, but vade Pusita.

**Colleges being presented being passed being passed by the passed encamping feverally. Cabades being near and having notice, entred the Roman Borders with his whole Army, which being understood by Areebondus, though at first they thought he had with him but some small party, he quitted his Camp and ran to Constantina a City distant two days Journey. The Enemy took the Camp and Baggage without any men, and thence with speed went to the Quarters of Patritius and Hypatius, who having met with eight hundred Ephthalites, who were marching before the Persian Army, had killed them all; and not dreaming of the Army with Cabades were making merry like Conquerours, laying down their Arms and preparing for Dinner. Some washed their Meat in the adjacent Brook, and others troubled with heat were bathing themselves, which made the

52. Cabades having heard of the ill fortune of his Ephthalites, Marched apace toward the Enemy, and by the thickness of the Water ghest at the matter, and that the Romans were unprepared. And commanding to drive on with full speed, he came upon them at Dinner and Unarmed; and being so suddenly surprized, Some are defer- and not able to abide the charge, they ran away without making relittence. Some ved by Cabadet. were overtaken and slain, others fled to a Mountain, and for fear leaped down the Rocks, not one of them escaping. This done, Cabades standing in fear of his Enemies the Hunnes, who now invaded his Territories, went home with his whole

Army, and had a long War with them upon his Northern Borders. In the mean time the other Roman Forces came, for Celer was not before this Defeat come up to the rest; but they did nothing, having no Commander in cheif, and the Generals with their Equality of power ever crossing one another in their opinions. Celer passed the River Nymphius, which ran by Martyropolis, and was distant from Amida thirty five miles, and having foraged the Countrey foon departed home. The Emperour fent for Areobondus to Constantinople, and the rest sate down before Amida in Winter, where failing to be Conquerours, they refolved to force the place by Famine. The Befieged did really want provisions, but the Roman Generals knowing it not, and feeing the Souldiers weary of a Winter Siege, imagining also that the Persian Army would e'er long return, made haste some way to rile and be gone. The Perfians also were doubtfull of their condition in these straits, though they concealed their wants, and made shew of plenty, but they defired they would make fome handlome Retreat. In conclusion, an Agreement was made. Amida recove that the Persians for ten Centenaries of Gold should surrender the City. The Articles were performed, and the Son of Glones, who was flain in an Ambush by the Treachery of a Peasant that betrayed him, receiving the money gave up Amida. He was vexed that he could not stay to revenge his Father's Death, but burnt the Church of St. Simeon where he Lodged. Other Buildings neither Cabades nor Glones nor any Persian defaced in Amida, nor about it.

53. Thus the Romans recovered Amida by money, two years after the taking of it. Being got within it, their own negligence appeared, and the absterniousness of the Persians. For it was found by confidering the quantity of the Victuals left, and the Barbarians that went out, that not above feven days Provision was remaining; yet Glones and his Son had delivered it out to the Persians more sparingly than their need could well endure, and to the Romans in the Town nothing at all, fo that they were forced to Eat unufual Food and abominable, and at last one another. The Generals finding themselves thus deceived by the Barbarians, reproached the Souldiers for their Intemperance and Disobedience, who having it in Dishonourably. their power to take the Town with all the Persians in it at mercy, had dishonourably parted with the Roman Treasure to Barbarians, and gotten Amida as some Merchandize for money. But afterward the War with the Hunnes growing long, the Persians made a Truce with the Romans for seven years, which was concluded by A Truce for fe- Celer on the part of the Romans, and by Aspevedes on that of the Perfians. And fo ended this War about Amida, but something farther happened betwixt the Romans and Persians in the Reign of Anastasius concerning the Caspian Gates, so cal-

led; which Gates described, and the matter it self you shall have from the Relation

also of Procopius. 54. The Mountain Taurus of Cilicia passeth first by Cappadocia, then Armenia and Perfarmenia, Albania and Iberia with other Nations that way, then either free or subject to the *Persians*. Extending thus through many Countries, the farther it goes it grows to a greater height and breadth. But beyond *Iberia* you come to a narrow place, reaching some fix Miles, and ending at a steep one unpassable, where for the way out, Nature hath built a kind of Gate, anciently called the Caspian Gate or Straits; beyond which were then fair Champions well watered, and large Plains for Horse Pasture, where were seated the Nations of the Hunnes. These Hunnes extended to the lake of Maotis, and passing the Straits in their Inroads into the Roman or Persian Provinces, came with their Horses freshand lusty, not fetching a compass about, nor being ingaged in ragged places, those five miles into Iberia excepted; whereas fuch as took other passages arrived with much toil, and could not make use of the same Horses, having been forced to many circuits and craggy ways. Alexander the Great confidering this, built Gates there indeed, and by them a Fort, which through the Hands of many Owners came at length to Ambazules a Hunne, a friend of the Emperour Anastasius. This man now grown old and near his End, offered to Anastastus for money to put the Romans in posfession both of the Gates and of the Fort. 55. The Emperour, who was not wont to doe things unadvifedly, confidered

ties, and having no Nation near it that was subject to the Romans, and gave the man many thanks for his good will, but would not meddle with the thing. Am-Possessed by Ca- bazules soon after Died, and Cabades forcing out his Sons, possessed himself of the Gates. Anastasius also after the Truce with Cabades was expired, built a very strong City at a place called Daras, distant from Nishbis about twelve miles, and from the Persian Frontier three miles and an half at most, and named it Anastasia.

that it was not possible to maintain a Garrison in the place wanting all Commodi-

This building the Persian defired to hinder but could not, having his Hands full of the Hunnes; but this War being once over, he expostulated with the Emperour for Building fo near his Confines as contrary to the Articles of Peace. Anaftafius put it off, fometimes threatning, fometimes pretending friendship, but especially by large presents. Another City also he Built upon the frontier of Perfarma-Cities to official has, which before had been a Village, and from Theodofius was called Theodofia. Anosthaffus compassed in with a strong Wall a little before his Death, which no less than the other troubled the Perfians, being both as Rampiers upon his Coun-

> 56. For the year of our Lord DIII Dexecratus and Volusianus were Consuls. A.D. 503. In this year was the Defeat given by the Ferfian King to the Roman Commanders Descerato & lately mentioned. While they managed their matters unfuccesfully abroad. Anastasius lustano Cost. at Home managed a War against the Orthodox Christians. But he employed his Questor in making Edicts in behalf of Emancipations that such as were emanci- L. 18. de Colla

Heis favourable Pated by the Rescript of the Prince should enjoy the usual Privileges of Descent as timib. Cod. Just. to Emancipated did other Children, which still continued under paternal power in the Family, L. 11. de legiticontributing their own goods, and should also succeed their Brothers dying intestate. mis Haredis lib. end. tit. 68. These things he enacted by one Constitution divided now, according to the Contents of it, into three feveral Laws by the Compilers of Juftinian's Code. For they timis, lie, & have all the same Inscription, and all bear date in July, though a little alteration Jule Colarii there be in the numbers of the days before the Calends of August. Of the follow-Object. Ill-18. ing year we have nothing here to observe, but that it is marked with the Conful- 6.18. ship of Cetheus alone, for which Baronius would have Cetegus to be read, which was a Roman Name. Of which a famous Senator flourished at this time, to whom are Letters found directed from Ennodius Ticinensis or of Pavia.

57. The year DV. was fignalized by the Confulship of Theodorus and Sabinianus. Vide Baron, ad The former was firnamed Manlius, and being Namesake too is also reported to be hance down descended from that Theodorus Manlius or Mellius of whom we have so much spoken when Conful, in the Second Volume of this Work. Whereas Theodorich who had obtained the Kingdom of Italy had along time had for his friend Anastasius, at least as some have believed; now they began to be at open Enmity, and its said that this year the Empire was invaded by the Goths, under Conduct of one Mundo by this Defignment, and that Sabinianus the Conful being fent against him was defeated, and having lost his Army he himself escaped with a few. The year next ensuing had Messala Consul at Rome and Areobondus at Constantinople, and presents us with nothing of civil Concernment though too much of Ecclefiastical, the Emperour concerning himself fo far in behalf of Schiffmatical Perfons, that he gave Inous the diff. great offence by such his carriage to the People of Conflantimple. And the year please of the which followed wherein he himself the third time, and Venantine Devins were Contested. fuls, we are told things grew to fuch extremity in the City, that the People fell into a Sedition in the Cirque, where usually meeting to behold the Sports they

were always wont to use licentious freedom toward the Emperours. 58. The year of our Saviour DVIII was known by the Confulship of Venantius A. D. 508 Junior and Celer. Now were the Differences betwixt Anastasius and Theodorich Venantio Jun. 20.

Emily betwist King of Italy grown into open Emmity. For Theodorich endeavoured to get into him and Trees his hands Pannonia which was accounted to belong to the Eaftern Empire. And withing the Angle of the Empire withing the Angle of the Empire withing the Angle of the Empire. Anastasius sent out a Fleet against him, under the Conduct of Romanus the Comes Domesticorum, and Dasticus who Commanded the Schole, on board of which were eight thouland Armed men. They proceeded as far as Tarestum, which they attacqued and wasted the Coasts of Italy, and so Romanus having exercised Piracy against the Romans, brought home their Plunder to Anashasius. He might be incouraged to this undertaking by the Absence of *Theodorich*, who this year Warred against the *Franks* in Gall. The year DIX had *Importunus* for Consul, and in the West it's thought, being the same with him whom Theodorich advanced to the Degree of Patritian, being of the ancient Family of the Decii. The year that followed was enobled by the Confulship of Boetius, that excellent Person of whom we have much to fay in the History of the Italian Kingdom. Of these years little else of civil Concernment do we find in the East, onely that the Saracens subject to the Persians, wasted Arabia and Palestine, while Anastasius made great stir at Conflantinople about Religion, and distressed those of the Orthodox Party which made the people turbulent and seditious. The year DXI is for nothing eminent, except it be for the Consulship of Felix and Secundinus; which Felix was a Gall by Nation; and was promoted to this Dignity by Theodorich as we may fee here-

59. The year DXI. had for Confuls Paulus and Muscianus; and nothing is it A.D. 512. remarkable for, except a Tumult and Sedition of the Citizens of Constantinople Paulo of Magic against the Emperour upon the account of Religion, and his acting still against the and care Orthodox Christians. And the same we hear of him in that following which was characterized with the Confulship of Probus and Clementinus, as the Chronicon of Cassiodorus hath it, though some call him Clementianus. And for the next enfuing, the Authour of that Chronicon himself, or M. Aurelius Cassodorus Senator, the great Minister of *Theodorich* attained to this Dignity, of whom much is to be said in the History of that Kingdom of the *Goths*. Here it is onely proper to obferve that he was Conful alone, having no Collegue out of the East, though in the East the Roman Empire, and consequently the Consulship could onely properly be found. All the reason that can be given for this is, that the disturbances about Religion were so great at Constantinople, that Anastasius had other things to doe, than to think of conterring this titular Dignity.

These stirs arrived at sogreat an height, that the Orthodox Bushops were expelled from their Sees, and in their places were Hereticks preferred by the Emperour, against whom it is observed by Baronius. that God Almighty stirred up Vitalianas a Scythian, as Marcellinus calls him, who gathering together such Roman Horse as he could raise in three days time, came as tar as the place called Septimus, and encamped himself. There disposing of his men from Sca to Sea, he proceeded as far as the Golden Gate of Conflant inople without any loss, affirming he came to affert the Orthodox Faith, and to succour the Bishops of the City, unjustly banished by the Emperour.

Variously re-

He is worsted

60. Yet by the diffembling and perjuries of Anastrasius, managed by one Theodorus whom the Emperour employed, he was prevaild with to leave the City the eighth day after he came thither; though as Cedrenus writes, having feized on all Thrace, Scythia and Mysia, he had following him an Army of Hunnes and Bulgari, and had taken many Cities together with Cyril the Governour of Thrace. But Anastasius being in a desperate condition begged Peace, and swore that together with the Senate he would restore the Banished Bilhops to their Sees, and call a Council. Marcellinus relates that Vitalianus, departing from Conflantinople, got by craft unto Odyffus a Town of Thrace in the night time, and there caught Cyril, who was more talker than fighter, fleeping betwixt two Whores, and there killed him; after which he shewed himself an open Enemy to Anastasius. But Eusgrius makes this Lika-643. enmity to have been rather, for that Vitalianus affected the Sovereignty. He writes that being a Thracian, with such a design he wasted Thrace and Mysia as far as Odyssis and Anchialus, and hasted to Constantinople with a mixed multitude of such Nations as were wont to wander about without any fixed habitations. That the Emperour fent Hypatius against him, who was taken Prisoner and ransomed with a great fum of Money. After him Cyril undertook the charge, and at first they fought doubtfully, till Cyril fo bestirred himself that he put the Enemy to slight, and had the better of it; but Vitalianus rallying his men, turned back against him, and his Souldiers for faking him by reason of their ill will to him, he took him in Odyssus. After this Vitalianus made excursions as far as Sycæ, and wasted all with Fire and Sword, having no other thoughts but to destroy Constantinople and to ob-

61. Having encamped himself at the place called Sycae, the Emperour sent against him Marinus Syrus with a Fleet, because it seems his strength lay at Sea. and the Navies faced each other, one toward Syce, and the other toward Constantinople. And at first they onely faced and viewed each other, but at length began to play and give the chale as it were in jest, till it came to a Battel in good earnest, fought near Bythanæ. Herein Vitalianus was forced to turn tail, and having loft many men, in great fear and aftonishment fled, which example of his they followed, which had fought for him; infomuch that the next day not one of them could be found either in the passage, or about the City. The report went that Vitalianus himself for some time lay quiet in Anchialus. To this Narration Euagrius adds that another fort of Barbarians who lived without Houses, passed the Sea, and made an Incursion to the Pyle or Gates of Cappadocia. And at the fame time Rhodes was now the third time miserably shattered with an Earthquake happening in the night, and was almost destroyed. So briefly doth this Historian write concerning this War betwixt the Emperour and Vitalianus, attributing it to the ambition of a Rebel, and not to any Religious concern; for which Baronius leaveth him and follows the account given him by Marcellinus Comes in his Chronicon, who digefts the feveral particulars he relates according to the years wherein they were done.

62. The year of our Saviour DXV. had Anthemius and Florentius for Confuls. A. D. 515. This year Vitalianus (in behalf of the Catholick Faith fay they) became more Ambemio Floring fierce against Anastasius. He sent before a Party of Horse, and some Boats by rentio Coss.

Water, and he himself with his Foot entred a place called Predium Sixtinense. where he took up the Palace for his Mansion. Now were sent unto him Senatours to make a peace. As a Ransome for Hypatius he received ninety pounds of Gold. the Emperour's gifts excepted, besides one thousand and one hundred pounds he had when Vranius was taken Prisoner. Being made Magister Militum in Thrace, he sent back Hypatius, whom he had kept in Chains in a Castle called Acres, to his Uncle. To these conditions Baronius as an Ecclesiastical Historian adds, that an Occumenical Council should be called; of which we are not here to give an account. This year also died Ariadne the Empress, having passed at Court no fewer than fixty years, and them to the great detriment of the Church, as is observed. Moreover this same year was samous for Wars and devastations, for the Hunnes roved through Armenia, and wasting all Cappadocia, proceeded as far as to Lycaonia. The next that followed, which was characterised with the Consulship of one Peter without a Collegue, was passed over without any considerable thing but what relates to the Ecclefiastical Historian. Onely Anastasius for fear of Vitalianus and his Orthodox Army diffembled greatly, and commanded certain Bishops, whom he had formerly banished, to return to their Sees. But when upon his dissimulation Vitalianus retired, and he now feemed to be fecure; Baronius judgeth of him, that as having obtained a glorious Victory, and the Rebel being conquered not by Arms but cunning; the Bishop of Rome, being also cheated as to the hope he had of Ecclefiastical concord, the year following he erected as it were a Trophy, and took the Title of Conful; which Title he now bore the fourth time. And to him was

given one Agapitus a Collegue for the West. 63. He had but a small time to reap the fruits of his conceived Victory, and to pride himself in his triumph, though what time he had, we are told he improved to the advantage of his own and the perfecution of the Orthodox Party. This Perfecution is faid to have proceeded fo far, as that it entred into the very Court, where under pretence of a Plot against the Emperour, the throats of many eminent Perfons were cut, and Justin with Justinian his Nephew, both of them famous at home and abroad, were hardly preferved by a terrour struck from Heaven into him: For Zonaras reports, that when he designed to put them to death, a terrible man appeared to him in a dream, and bade him doe them no harm; for each of them in his time should serve God. Euggrius relates how the people of Constantinople being tu- Lib. 3. c. ult. multuous against him upon the account of Religion, and for banishing their Bishop Macedonius, not onely the Nobility came into extreme danger, but many excellent Buildings were burnt, and barbarous murthers being committed, the flame of Sedition raged fo far, as bringing all things into danger, the Emperour by necessity was driven to commiseration. He put off his Crown and came to the Cirque, sending Criers before him to proclaim to the people, That He was most ready to lay down the Sovereign Power, but all of them could not be placed in that Dignity, which could receive but one who must Reign after him. The People beholding him suddenly chang'd it's opinion as from a Divine admonishment, and intreated Anastasius to reassume his Crown, promising upon that condition to be quiet. Anastasius after this lived but a very short time, dying when he had governed the Empire twenty seven

years, three months, and as many days.

64. But as he lived an impenitent Perfecutour, he did not depart this World without terrible notice given of his difinal end, the same Ecclesiastica Writers obferve. Marcellinus relates that in the Province Dardania twenty four Castles were ruined by an Earthquake in one moment. Of these, two sank down with uthquake pre- the Inhabitants; of four was destroyed one half, and also of those that lived in them; of eleven the third part of the Buildings were undermined, and also a third part of the people loft; and feven, by being ruined, a fourth part, with a lofs of a fourth part of those that inhabited them, struck a great terrour into the Neighbourhood. Scupus the Metropolis was utterly defaced, though without the destruction of its Citizens who had formerly left it, flying from the Enemy. Many of the Mountains of this Province were by this Earthquake cloven in funder, Rocks were rent, and Trees being torn up by the roots, a great hole was made thereby. Ina certain Castle of the Region called Canifa, by name Sarnonto, the Veins of the Earth were so bursten, that the Earth vomited abundance of Water. They recount from Zonaras another Dream Anastasius had after the discharging of Justin and Justinian, how again he saw a terrible Man in his sleep, who holding a Book in his

hand, faid, Look, for the perverseness of thy Faith I blot out fourteen years of thy life. And to this Cedrenus adds, that when he awaked he told his dream to Amantius his Fræpositus Cubiculi; who let him know that he had also dreamt, that flanding by him the Emperour, there came a great Hog and plucking him down which wasfore by his cloathes devoured him. Upon this Proclus the Fortune teller came and de-cell by Proclus, clared that both of them in a short time should depart this life.

65. But as for this Proclus he was not, as appears from Zonaras, a mere Fortune teller, but the greatest Mathematician of this and many other Ages. He was famous as well for Philosophy as Mechanick knowledge. He not onely understood all that was known by that famous Artist Archimedes, but he himself found out fome new things; for by him was invented that Engine which defeated the Fleet of Vitalianus. This was made of Looking-glasses, which being hung upon the wall over against the Navy, reflected the Sun beams with such violence upon it, that it burnt both Navy and the Men that were upon it, which yet Dion reported Archimedes to have invented, when the Romans belieged Syracuse. But that you

His favourire.

and one who ronius farther tells you out of saidas concerning this Proclus, that he was a Lycian, wore sainst ronius farther tells you out of suidas concerning this Proclus, that he was a Lycian, the Scholar of Syrianus, and an Hearer alfo of Plutarch the Philosopher, the Son of Nestorius. That being himself a Platonick Philosopher he was overseer of a Philosophick School at Athens, where Anastasius endeavoured to restore the Academy. That his Disciple and Successiour was faid to be Marinus the Neopolitan. And afterwards reckoning up his Writings, he adds, that he wrote eighteen arguments against Christians; that this is that Proclus who next to Porphyrius whetted his impure and contumelious tongue against Christians. But John the Philosopher most famously refuted his Propositions, and shewed him to be rude and unskilfull in Greek I earning, for which he had a great name. But at this time (that they may not be confounded) lived also another Proclus far different from the other, a man most abstinent, and tenacious of the ancient Decrees, the Quaster of the Emperour Justin. 66. It had been, its faid, told to Anastasius that he should die by Thunder. To

avoid this he caused to be made a Building, which Baronius justly termeth a mad

Work, whereby he hoped to avoid the danger; and Proclus the Philosopher and

Mathematician he thinks to have been Authour of it, which is probable enough; but let us hear how the end foretold him was brought about. It Thundring and Lightning exceedingly, he was terrified, and went down from one Room into ano-Anaflafium killed ther; and passed from this Chamber into that, but was found dead in his Apartment. cording to the Having been told he should die by Fire, he opened a Cistern in the Palace with large Greek many windings and surplus at each farthirth as a Cistern in the Palace with large Greek many windings and surplus at each farthirth as a Cistern in the Palace with large Greek many windings and surplus at each farthirth as a Cistern in the Palace with large Greek many windings and surplus at each farthirth as a Cistern in the Palace with large Greek many windings and surplus at each farthirth as a Cistern in the Palace with large Greek many windings and surplus at the Cistern in the Palace with large Greek many windings and surplus at the Cistern in the Palace with large Greek many windings and surplus at the Cistern in the Palace with large Greek many windings and surplus at the Cistern in the Palace with large Greek many windings and surplus at the Cistern in the Palace with large Greek many windings and surplus at the Cistern in the Palace with large Greek many windings and surplus at the Cistern in the Palace with large Greek many windings and surplus at the Cistern in the Palace with large Greek many windings and surplus at the Cistern in the Palace with large Greek many windings and surplus at the Cistern in the Palace with large Greek many windings and surplus at the Cistern in the Palace with large Greek many windings and surplus at the Cistern in the Palace with large Greek many windings and surplus at the Cistern in the Cistern in the Palace with large Greek many windings and surplus at the Cistern in the Cister many windings and turnings, at each of which a Vessel was placed; endeavouring by this means to evade the Oracle, but to no purpose. Such was his end, as it is told by Zonaras and Cedrenus the later Greek Writers, though Euagrius speaks nothing of this manner of it, after he had reigned twenty seven years, three months, and twenty nine days, as fay fome; though as others, three days over and above twenty seven years and three months. His memory was very odious upon the account of his favouring Herefie, and perfecuting the Orthodox Bishops; so as his name, together with that of his Predecessour Zeno, are said to have been struck out of the Sacred Diptychs. As for Civil matters we have feen how he took away the Chrvfargyrum, though it's said he brought up another as severe an Imposition. Euagrius farther Writes, as to the good things of his Reign, and his commendation, that the Barbarians called Scenitæ, that fort of Saracens (because they lived in Tents) being grown arrogant, rose up against the Roman Empire to their own loss. They overran Mesopotamia, both the Phanicia's and Palestine, but being grievously beaten by the Commanders in the Provinces made a peace with the Romans in the name of all their Nation and then were quiet. In reference to these matters, the Perstan

of Anastasius, and then died. 67. Whether Euagrius had it from him or others, he adds that the Perfian War 13630000 being over, he built the place called Daras (fome faid from Darius his being there utterly overthrown by Alexander) in Mesopotamia, being situate in the utmost borders of the Roman Empire, and as it were the terminus or boundary by which that and the Persian Kingdom were distinguished. From a field he changed it in-

War about Amida and other affairs, its pity that the History of Eustathius is lost,

which is fo far commended by Euagrius, that he tells his Countrey-men, that if

any of them had a defire to have a perfect account of them, and to get an accurate knowledge, they should reade that Writer, who with great Eloquence, vast labour

and exquisite Elegancy, brought down his Narration to the twelfth year of the Reign

His Buildings to a City. First he compassed it with a most strong wall; then he raised various Structures in it, and those very goodly, as Churches and other Houses, Royal Porticus's, publick Baths, and fuch like Works, wherewith famous Cities were wont to be adorned. Farther, this same Emperour was the Authour of a vast structure The long Wali.

being as memorable a work as any other, and this was the long Wall raised in a convenient place in Thrace. It was distant from Constantinople at most two hundred and eighty furlongs. Both Seas, like to some Strait, it fronted for four hundred and twenty furlongs, and made the City almost an Island from a Peninsula; and it conveyed those who had a mind to fail from Pontus to the Propontis and the Sea of Thrace with great fecurity. In conclusion, faith he, it repells such Barbarians as make excursions from the Euxine Sea, from Colchis and the Fenns of Maotis, as also such as should invade from the places beyond Caucasus and from Europe. Thus much doth Euagrius write concerning the long Wall, which is to be taken notice of, because that in the course of the Byzantine History frequent mention is made

68. As for the general demeanour of Anastasius, it's to be feared that the Ecclefiaftical Historians are much in the right, though fomething be to be allowed to interest and passion. Of all other testimonies they may well have most reason to cite what Suidas hath written of him, to make good the very evil character they give him. He tells of him that changing for the worse, after some things well performed at the beginning of his Reign, he turned the whole Empire into a kind of Aristocraty. That he sold all Offices of Magistracy, and pardoned Offenders for Money, with an infatiable defire after which he burned. Thence came it to pass that the Military Rolls being exhausted, the Provincials were plagued with things unwonted and Foreign. For henever drave away the Barbarians by force of Arms. but still would redeem Peace with money. Besides this he made enquiry into the Estates of deceased persons, and brought common poverty upon all. To such as he had deprived of their livelihoods, a little after he would be charitable as it were by giving them fomething back again. Places that he had made void of Inhabitants he would adorn by repairing their structures, especially he was kind to his own native place, which he compassed as it were with three Crowns. Under him the Cities of Libya were grievously afflicted by those they called Larici, for he set over them Marinus, his Nephew by his Daughter, one that was young and of a light disposition; and after him Bastanus his Son, who exceeding his Predecessour in naughtiness, it happened that the Provincials wished for their former condition Laws of his mas Suidas fets him out. But there remains something more to be said, which will candle duly give light to discover the Constitution of the State. If not of the Discover him out. give light to discover the Constitution of the State, if not of the Prince himself. For we have several other Laws extant in the Code which bear his name, though they be without day or Conful, and so cannot be certainly assigned to any particular years; we shall make mention of such of them as relate to the Government and the jus publicum of the Roman Empire. . .

69. And the first Law we meet with of this fort without Consul or day, is for removing a grievance in the Government proceeding from the Emperours Orders, often furreptitiously and fraudulently obtained. Complaints being urgent upon this

account, by an Edict directed to Matronianus a Præfectus Prætorio, " he admonish- L. wh. Signets "ed all Judges throughout his Dominions that they should suffer no Reservice, no jungueod 39th.
"Pragmatick Sanction, no Sacred Adnotation, which was against the general Law, 1th 1.1th 22.

He forbad un- " or publick utility to be made use of in the canvasing of any cause; in the mean landiffications a time not doubting but they were strictly to observe the general Sacred Con-"flitutions. Now for an understanding of these several terms, Rescript was a general one. Of Rescripts some were Law and some were not, some were Personal and some were General, some were Temporary and others Perpetual, some were of Force and some not. More particularly a Pragmatick Sanction was solemnly made concerning the judgment of Council at the petition of some other Person. An Adnotation was made briefly, the name of the Prince being noted or written Adnotation to the Petition. That they termed an Oraculum was some simple command subnoted by the Quafter alone, or the Magistri Scriniorum. A Mandatum was given about a Suggettion or a Petition. But as for general Constitutions made to bind all, as this whereof we now write, they being better and of more weight than simple Reicripts were to be obeyed.

70. By another of this fort directed to one John who was Magifter Militum L. 4 desflict 70:: By another of this fort directed to the form one place to another. Medition of through 'Hyricum, " He forbad Souldiers to be removed from one place to another. Medition of the Emperous's " But if it happened that there was fome urgent and necessary cause, then he tells " In the first happened that there was fome urgent and necessary cause, then he tells " In the first happened that there was fome urgent and necessary cause, then the first happened that there was fome urgent and necessary cause, then the first happened that there was form urgent and necessary cause.

"him the Pratorian Prafetture, and his See, (viz. of the Magister Militum) ought Tim amplifi-"to provide for the publick utility and fecurity without delay, and fend to the Ern num Profits num Profits perour their fuggettions, which should declare as well the places from which the rum, quies num "Souldiers should be removed, as those in which they were to quarter, and the federa, Gr. "names of the most valiant Numeri, in which the said Souldiers were listed; "withall, the quantity of their Annona, and especially the cause why they should "be removed, that after fuch suggestion, he might give such orders as he should "judge convenient. This also was remarkable and praise-worthy in Anastasius, L.22. Mandait that he reftrained a course which procured great vexation in Law matters, where trisman, Out by a Suit was fold or made over for consideration to one who otherwise was a stran-

ne rentranca the Action, and this was called Coffio actionis: This he forbad, except in certain cases; and Justinian afterward coming to consider of it approved of this L.L. 23,24 civil. Constitution first, then regulated the cases wherein Cession was permitted, and in in. Constitution first, then regulated the cases wherein cellion was partition, and with culculor would have it absolutely to take place, onely in case it was made lib. 16.616. for Donation sake, and for the cause of mere liberality, without distimu-71. We have formerly feen how kind Anastasius was to Emancipated Sons in giving

them right to succeed as other Children, though by being out of the Paternal power, they seemed also out of the family. But as he gave them the profit and advantage, he seemed herein unequal that he did not also impose the usual burthens upon them. And this was it feems to clamoured, that he found it convenient to fatisfie the Subject herein by an Edict directed to the People it felf, wherein taking notice of his omission, he decrees that according to the Law of the twelve Tables they should be omition, he decrees that according to the Law of the twelve labels they include the decrease Curatours or Guardians to their Brothers and Sisters that were distracted, as Legitimi, the Funish vel manapated per-fons to be Cora- or fuch as were Tutours and Curatours as nearest a-kin. For of those persons Prodigical. which governed the perions and effates of Infants and others not able to govern Julian je. themselves, the Romans had three sorts, either such as Parents assigned by Testament, or fuch as they called Legitimi, who were by the Law of the twelve Tables of course to take this charge as the next a-kin; or Dativi, which were given and affigned when the other failed by the Pretor or other Magistrate. The reason of the custome was to protect and affift those who were not able to help themselves; and this inability proceeded not onely from Intancy or Minority, but also from madness and distraction, by which disease they were rendred as infirm and helpless, and in a worse condition than the other; because the prevalency of a disease is very dangerous, whereas nature outgrows the inabilities of Infancy or Minority. And because Justin Infancy or Minority. fuch as were deaf and dumb were also incapacitated thereby to see to their own af. 1. iii. 23. fairs, as also such as laboured under some perpetual disease, they, and generally all who could not provide for themselves, had Curatours assigned them to doe it.

72. But such was the care the Roman State had of its Members, that not onely fuch as could not, but also some that would not, had also Curatours affigned them to take care of their Aslairs. And that this is the meaning and sense of this Law is also concluded, the Title in the Book being concerning the Curatour both of a Mad-man and of a Prodigal, and as to Emancipated Brothers the reason was the fame. And the Roman Law esteemed a Mad-man and a Spendthrift to be very little different in their intellectuals, both being acted by diftempers and those of the Imagination, which produce very fuitable effects, though the Prodigal hath not the excuse from vice and fin which may be pleaded for the other. Now he was esteemed a Prodigus who neither had any measure nor end of his expences, but tore in pieces and diffipated his Estate. Some indeed are of opinion that nothing expelly, was ordered by the Law of the twelve Tables concerning fuch anone, but that by way of Interpretation it was fo taken. But Juftinian in his Inflitutions ex. Vide Vinii am prefly faith it, concerning as well Prodigals as Mad-folks, that although they were in Infin. elder than twenty five years, yet they were under the Curation of their Adguate or nearest a kin who were to succeed them in their Inheritance) and that by the Law of the twelve Tables. But at Rame he adds, the Prefect of the City, or the Pretors, and in the Provinces the Presidents were, after inquisition, wont to assign

73. Paulus the great Lawyer, in the third Book of his Sentences, hints that it came by cultome, that the Prodigal was interdicted the management of his Effate, and some are of opinion that it was the custome at Rome for the Aguari to take care of the concerns of a Spendthrift, and that afterward it became inferted amongst the Laws of the twelve. Tables. But it is made some question whether a Spendthrift, and one who lives luxuriously, be understood to be interdicted; his Estate ipfo jure, and by the Law of the twelve Tables; or he is first to be inquired

Was carefull as

into and pronounced to be a Spendthrift by the Magistrate. Now he who is such an one indeed as we have described him, is in reality and morally a Prodigal, forasmuch as vertues and vices do not depend on man's knowledge, approbation or censure, but have their own forms and nature. But yet as to what concerns the management of Estates, no man Politically and with effect of Law ought to be accounted a Prodigal, till such management upon hearing the matter be taken from him by Decree of the Magistrate. For the depriving one of the management of his Estate, or an interdiction, is not properly of Law but of Jurisdiction: that is, the Law doth not fpecially and particularly interdict any one the govern-ment of his concerns, nor can interdict him, but it in general commands that all shall be interdicted their Estates by Decree of the Magistrate, who shall be found to be such upon hearing of the cause, and will have such to remain in Curation of their Agnati. Now Madness is a distemper which sufficiently discovers it self, and there is no such need that a Distracted person be interdicted his goods by the Magistrate, but that a person is a Prodigal ought to appear by many and various circumstances, of which the Magistrate ought to give judgment; for lightly no man is to be forbidden the management of his own affairs, every one being prefumed in a condition to doe it till it appear otherwise. Indeed if a man contract with one who is manifestly luxurious, and who he knows will cast away the money he is to receive, he may thank himself for so doing. The Decree of the Magistrate, when he interdicted any such person the management of his Estate, was of this Form; Forasmuch as thou masses where the property of the state ment thereof. A course which would doe good in our days, wherein there are ways enough to get Estates, and for the circulation of Riches, besides the advantage taken at the madness of Prodigals, who because they will not live upon fomething, must afterward live upon little or nothing, whether they will or

74. We do not hear from Historians, but though Anastasius was not acceptable to the people, especially of Constantinople, upon the account of Religion, yet he well enough pleased his Courtiers and the Nobility. Answerably we find in the view of his Laws, that he chose rather to oblige his great Officers than the Curiæ or Bodies Corporate. For whereas Zeno his Predecessor in favour of these Courts obliged fuch persons as had attained to be Comites Rei private, Comites Largitionum, Domesticorum, Quastores, or Magistri Officiorum, but at the beginning of his Reign were obnoxious to the fervices of the faid Courts, to remain with their of his Reign were obnoxious to the lervices of the lead to Policity of Zeno, as to L. 65, de Dra-Children bound to the faid fervices; "He repealed the Conflictution of Zeno, as to L. 65, de Dra-children bound to the faid fervices; "He repealed to Policing the Profession Francisco (1875).

He faroured his "this point, releasing them by an Edict directed to Polycarp the Prefectus Pretorio rin "from such obligations, together with their Children born after such administra- lib. 10. 111. 31. " tion, and their Estates; although it had happened that they had been subject to " and obeyed the faid Constitution. Which was to have its effect and force from

the day wherein it was promulged, it being agreeable he faith, that Laws fet con consolid Rules to future things, and not fitr up reprehentions to what are paft. However Legs finishers, and more than the consolid imports. Anastasius might manage his matters by Money rather than Arms, as we are told sular imponere, by some Historians; yet out of desire to be furnished with Weapons, "he forbad summiss excitat. "the Fabricenses or those that belonged to the Forges, to be either Hirers or Managers of other mens Lands and Estates, under pein to such as employed them

"if they knew them to be Fabricenses of the loss of the land or thing so hired, britensibus Co "and grievous punishment to the men themselves, with forfeiture of their Estates Justines." " and perpetual Exile. And farther, for the Removal of the Arms forged by these " Fabricenses, when there was need thereof, he orders Eusemius the Magister Offi-" ciorum to whom he directs this Law, that his Sublimity, as he terms him, fend "out his Letters to the most eminent Prefectship, to which he must therein de-clare both the number of the Arms and from what place they are to be removed;

"that according to the quantity the Prefect may iffue out his Precept to the "Clarissimi the Governours of Provinces, on obedience to which Angaria (beasts of "burthen or carriages) as also Boats might be prepared. In case of failure the Numerarius in present attendance at the Presect's Office, and others concerned should incur a Fine of fifty pounds of Gold to be paid into the Fiscus; and the Governours of Provinces, and alfotheir Apparitours, one of thirty.

75: He was farther to civil to dignified Persons, that he permitted both them Lat. de Digni-He was kind to and fuch as enjoyed Illustrious titles onely honorary to return out of the Countrey to its 12.11 in 1. Confinite Per Confinition of the Country of the 12.11 in 1. Confinition of the Country of the 12.11 in 1. Confinition of the Country of the 12.11 in 1. Confinition of the Country of the 12.11 in 1. Co Conframmople without Letters revocatory. The permitted that the conframmople without first several, viz. his own and him belonging to his Empres, thoughout of Office, if they first several historically, viz. his own and him belonging to his Empress, though out of Office, if they first several historical visits and the conframe hi

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were of the Senatorian Rank, when they went into the Countrey to fee their Estates, or upon other occasions to wear the Girdle, it satisfying, as he saith, their defire, and being injurious to no other persons. To the Confistorian Comittee of Lutt. de Comitithe Order of Spetlabilis, he granted the same Privilege, both as to protection, bus Confilerianis, and acting, as Zeno by his Pragmatick Sanction had granted to the Clariffini the in 10 Principes of the School of the Agentes in Rebus. These three Constitutions were directed to Eugebius the Magifler Officierum, and possibly for Eugemius lately mentioned, Eugebius is to be read. To the same Eugebius also he published another L 1.1. de Prairie. Edict in favour of fuch as ferved in the Scrinia; "If the Sons were unfit to fucceed ram, &c. Cd. "their Fathers, fuch as were fubrogated in their places, flould pay to the Heirs or Jafl. tib. 12-tit. "children of the deceased, an hundred folidi. Besides this he was kind to them as 19. "to the Judicature in which their causes should be tried, whether Criminal or "Civil, the caution they were to give, and the Fees, in another Edict directed to one Celer by the title also of Magister Ossiciorum who was their proper Judge. L. 12 cipil in. And with this Edict another feems to have made up one and the fame Conflitution, L. ul. de Frago-

being directed to the fame Perfons, and giving muchwhat the fame Privileges, finit demining granted to the Agentes in Rebus and their Principes. "He was favourable to the rebus."

Southless in profess expenses on a those they called Military and their rebus. Souldiers in present attendance, or those they called Milites prasentales, as to "Souldiers in pretent attendance, or those they can be an Edict directed to one deciding their Controverties, and paying Fees; and by an Edict directed to one deciding their Controverties, and paying Fees; and by an Edict direct Souldiers should Lash, den Mary John, as Magister Militum Prasentalium, he Ordained that facility but before the limit, Colly his properties. To the Milites "not be convened before the Magister Militum through the East, but before the sib.12 iii. 36. " Magistri Militum Præsentales, and the Duces, though the Duces themselves were

under the command of the Magiffri Militum through the East.

76. Anastasfus being dead, Justin a Thracian on the Ninth day of the Month Panemus, by the Romans called Jusy, and in the five hundred fixty fixth year from the time that the City of Antioch was 60 named (according to the computation of Euggrins) was proclaimed Emperour by the Pratorian Souldiers. He was of a very mean Original. His first employment was the keeping of Cattel, which having changed for that of a Souldier, he managed himself with that personal valour and conduct, that he arose to the Dignity and Command of a Tribune, and afterward we are told to the highest Office of Prafedus Pratorio, thence was he Elected to the greatest of Earthly dignities, but by what method and by what means is not so clear and evident. Euagrius delivers it for truth, that his advance- L416.1,2,3 ment was altogether furprifing and unexpected to himself, there being many and very worthy Persons allied to Anastasius still surviving, who were in a very slourishing condition, and seemed to be qualified with such circumstances as were wont to prefer men to the Imperial Diadem. At this time Amantius, a man very Potent, was Prepositus Cubiculi to the Emperour. He knowing well that no Eunuch could succeed his Master, and consequently that he himself was incapable, endeavoured by all means to advance Theorritus his intimate friend, and for this purpose sending for Fustin, delivered to him a great sum of money to be distributed amongst such as had greatest power in the Election. Justin having got the money made his own markets with it, by purchaing the favour of the Guards, which having done and attained his end, he immediately made away Amantius, Theocritus and some others.

77. Such is the Relation of Euagrius with which some other accounts do not at all agree. Baronius acquaints us how from the Letters of Justin, written to Hormifda the Roman Bishop, it appears that he was created Emperour by the Nobility, Senate and Army, much contrary to his mind and inclination. Here we may call How he secured to mind how Anastrasius was terrified in a dream, and diverted from his purpose of killing Justin and Justinian his Nephew, as was reported; which if true he may feem referved and appointed by God for this Dignity in an extraordinary manner. By what way or what steps soever he mounted the Throne, he gave the people fuch fatisfaction in his Government as obliterated the memory of his finister and underhand actings, if such they were, as also the despicableness of his Birth and former condition. This he did chiefly by adhering to the Orthodox Faith, and restoring such as had suffered upon that account in the time of his Predecessour. Having hereby obliged the People foas tolecure himself from Popular Tumults and Seditions, it feems he thought not yet his Estate sufficiently setled so long as Amantius and the rest continued in being. Therefore did he by one means or other make them away, having a double advantage by fo doing. For he both prevented all Tumults and Dangers, which they might have procured him, and thereby it's thought he farther ingratiated himself with the Multitude, which hated them upon the account of Religion as having been the Instruments of Anastasius. Some say

Amantius and Andreas a Gentleman of his Chamber he caused to be beheaded. Misciel and Ardabures he banished to Sardica, and Theocritus the Minion of Aman-Januaries de tius, on whom he purposed to confer the Empire, he caused to be beaten and sto. Torandes the ned, and then cast into the Sea, thereby depriving him as well of Sepulture as of the ram facelifies. Sovereignty, after which he had gaped.

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78. In the year of our Lord DXIX Julin the Emperour allumed the Confulhip. A. D. 519. and took to him for Collegue Eutharick Strnamed Cillica the Son-in-Law of Theo-Julius Act Extended the King of Italy. He was now very much busied with Church matters, endeavor-in-therio Coll. ring to undoe and rectify what had been done amis by his Predecessour. And not onely did he thus act in things purely Ecclefiastical, for one thing we find which had relation to civil Affairs. Anastrasius had made a Law in his fourth Consulship, which he bore with Agapitus, whereby he gave leave to flich as, having no legiti- L. 6. de Naturamate Children, kept Women in the place of Wives, to hold the Children begotten librathering of the Women as their own true Sons, in their paternal power, and legitimate Cod. 791. lib. 5- and to transfer upon them their Estates, either by Will, by Donation or any other ways known to the Laws, if so they pleased. If the Parents died Intestate, such Children should succeed them in their Inheritances, without any question or alteration to arife concerning them and the Kindred (Agnati or Cognati) or any others, upon any pretence or quirk of Laws or Constitutions. Notwithstanding, whoever should have such Woman in the place of a Wife, the Instruments of Dower being made, the fame rule should be observed for his Issue, lest the liberty of acquiring his own Patrimony after a manner by his Children should be taken from him. Moreover Sons and Daughters adopted (properly arrogated) with the Prince his Licence should enjoy the benefit of this most provident Law, as he himself calls

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79. From this Law Justin would have Children begot in Incest, to have no be- L. 7. Einstd. 111. nefit. "And for the time to come he admonished all his Subjects to seek for "Off-spring in the way of lawfull Matrimony, declaring that unjust and libidi-" nous Conjunctions should find no pardon, as if the Constitution of Anastasius had " never been, which Piety moved him now to abrogate, and leave the former Laws in " force, so as no pretence of Adoption, no craft in procuring the Prince his Let-"ters should avail; forasmuch as fortresses were to be made for Vice, whereby it " should be lawfull to serve wantonness, and the Right and Name of a Father " which was indeed denied to fuch Perfons should be pretended by the colour of a "Law. Afterward Justinian approved of this Constitution of his Uncle, for repea-Monel 89. c. 7. ling the faid Law of Anastasius, and prohibiting the Adoption of Natural Children, in that it contained much abfurdity, and indifcreetly superinduced them as fo many Strangers upon the legitimate. But fuch as had already received any benefit from that Act of Anastasius he did not design to deprive them

80. The year of our Lord DXX had for Confuls in the East Vitalianus, and in A. D. 520. the West Russians. Of Russians who was created in the West, we hear no farther Findians Russians than that he was so honoured; but Vitalianus rendred the year remarkable, not lie Cast. Findings the onely for his Confulfhip, but the fad end he came to in the feventh month thereof, the Palace by feventeen wounds. rianus and Paulus his Abettors. Baronius improves this passage in Marcellinus, to fliew how he was punished for his patronizing the Eutychian Monks against the Legates of the Roman Bilhop. But Euagrius fetcheth the matter higher, and ascribes his punishment to another fort of guilt. He writes that this Vitalianus who lived in Thrace, and indeavoured to depose Anastasius, was sent for by Justinto Constantinople; for he stood in fear of his power, and of Fortune which is wont to be doubtfull and uncertain in War, of the reputation he was in with all men, and the ardent defire he knew him to have after the Empire. And he rightly conjectured, that by no other means he should be able to bring him under but by a shew of friendship; and therefore composing his Countenance to deceit in a wonderfull manner, he designed him one of those Officers call'd Prasentes, and the more powerfully and effectually to overreach him, promoted him to the honour of the Confulship. Being made Conful, and conversant in the Palace, in a certain Gate behind the Court he was flain by treachery, and so received punishment for the wicked Acts he had

fo inconfiderately committed against the Roman Empire. Those Acts, doubtless, Euagrius means, which he committed against the Government and Person of Anasta-

fius. And yet Baronius his principles moved him to affirm, that for them he was to be highly commended, if what he did, he did not out of defire to Reign, but out

of respect to true Religion. So that, saith he, it plainly was made to appear, that

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Things rightly done, if they want a right Intention, are not wont to attain to a

81. The year DXXI was remarkable for the Consulship of Valrius in the West, A.D. 521. and of Justinian the Nephew of the Emperour Justin in the East, who indeed ren-Justinians Vadred it remarkable. For surpassing in magnificence all other Consuls of the East, as serious. Marcellinus notes, he exceeded so much in Consular liberality, that he conferred Tullinian the two hundred and eighty eight Sefterces of Solidion the People, and upon the Spectacula. Consulhis great He exhibited on the Amphitheatre a shew of twenty Lions, and thirty Leopards, besides other Wild Beasts, at one time. He presented also a numerous sight of Horses adorned with their Riders in the Cirque, though he gratified not the mad multitude in all it defired. Upon this occasion Baronius observes, that though the bloudy Speltacula of the Gladiators were taken away, yet still such Shews were retained in the hunting of Wild Beafts, and fighting with them, inhumane practices, and much more unchriftian; the Bodies of Chriftians being torn in pieces, for which Christ had shed his bloud. The following year was rather more famous for its Consuls. fuch a pair as these Ages seldom produced. These were Symmachus named in the East, and Severimus Boëtius for the West; of which Boëtius this probably was the third Confulship. For two Consulships of Severinus Boëtius are mentioned in the foregoing years, and they might be of the same person.

82. About this time Cabades the King of Persia was much troubled in his mind, o2. ADOUG THE MILE CHAPTER OF THE STREET OF legal claim, but him he could not endure, therein over-ruling both Nature and the he replice that. ancient Constitutions of that Kingdom. His second Son Zames the Laws excluded, because he had lost an Eye, prohibiting a King to be made who had that or any other maim. He chiefly affected Chofroes, born of the Sister of Apfemedes; but feeing the Persans admire the valour of Zames as a good Souldier, and a favourer of Vertue, he feared left taking Arms against Chofrees, they might ruine his Family and his Kingdom. Hereupon he resolved to make a Peace with the Romans, by procuring his Son Chofroes to be adopted by the Emperour Justin; and this he conceived to be the onely means to preferve the fecurity of his Empire. To this purpose Cabades the Per- he dispatched Ambassadours to Constantinople with Letters to Justin. Therein he

the victory, who being in the right are yet willingly put to the worst to gratifie their friends. But for this he must demand a savour; which would bind them two and their Subjects by Alliance, and consequently by good affection, and so for ever fettle the bleffings of Peace in their poslession. This was, that he would adopt his Son Chofroes, who was to succeed him in his Kingdom, for his Son. 83. Justin was glad of the proposition, and so was Justinian his Sisters son and

fuccessour designed, urging the speedy dispatch and drawing up of the Adoption after the Roman form. But Proclus the Assessor to the Emperour, whom the Romans, Procopius saith, called Quastor, a known just man, not to be bribed, nor who haftily passed Edicts, or altered things setled, crossed it. He told the Emperour, that he did not use to meddle with Novelties, which of all things he feared most knowing that they could not fland with fafety. But had he been a very daring man, he thought he should have shrunk and trembled at the storm which was to be expected from such an Act. He said he could not perceive but the Consultation was to betray the Empire to the Persians with a fair pretence, who in plain words without difguise or modesty, now prayed them the Romans to let them take it from them, covering their gross deceit with simplicity, and their impudent proposal with a pretended desire of quietness. He told the Uncleand Nephew, that they had both need to oppose this delign of the Barbarians to the utmost of their power; the one left he should prove the last Roman Emperour, and the other New General, left he should block up his own way to the Empire. Some tricks he added, covered with fair pretences, need an Interpreter to the common fort : But this Embassage bluntly at first dash would have this Chofrees Heir to the Roman Emperour. He bad them consider, that by nature the Estates of Fathers were due to children. All Laws though differing in other things yet in this agreeing both among Romans and Barbarians, so that yielding to their first request, the rest they must necessarily

84. The Emperour and his Nephew approved of this Discourse, and consulted what was to bedone. In the mean time came other Letters from Cabades, defiring Justin to fend to him men of experience for concluding a Peace, and to fignific the

form that was to be observed in the Adoption. Upon this Proclus more earnestly opposed the proposal of the Persians, and urged that they should rather adopt to themselves the Roman Power and Dominion, declaring it to be his opinion, that it was fit they should conclude a Peace as speedily as might be; and withall that fome persons of eminence should be sent, who being demanded by Cabades in what manner the Adoption should be, should answer, as was fit for a Barbarian; for the Barbarians adopted Sons not by Writings, but by Arming them. Accordingly Ambassadours were sent by Justin with promise of some greater men to follow for confummating all toward the Peace, and concerning Chofroes; and shortly after were fent Hypatius a Patritian, Nephew to the late Emperour Anastasius and General of the East, and Rufinus Son of Sylvanus a principal Patritian, and one well known to Cabades. From the Perfians came Seofes their most powerfull man, who had the chief Command over all Armies and Offices, and with him Mebodes Mafter of the Palace; these met upon the Frontiers and treated. And Chofroes came down to the Tigris, two days journey from Nifibis, that the Peace being concluded, he might go to Constantinople. Many discourses passed about their disferences; amongst others, Seofes alledged that Colchis, afterward called Lazica, anciently belonged to the Perfians, and that the Romans held it from them unjustly. The Commission On the other fide, the Romans took it very ill that their title to Lazica should be over differ and questioned; and when they said that the Adoption must be performed in a manner

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fit for a Barbarian, the Persians thought it unsufferable: So they broke off and went severally home. And Chofroes returning to his Father vowed to revenge this

Ambaffadours on both fides

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affront upon the Romans. 85. The Ambassadours afterward accused one another. Mebodes accused Seoses They accorde one for mentioning Lazica without having received any Instructions from their Master for fo doing, purposely to break the Treaty, and for dealing therein first with Hypatius, who bearing the King least affection, crost the conclusion of the Peace and the Adoption. Seofes being charged with these and many other things, was called to a Trial before the Persian Senate, who all were displeased at his new Office, and offended at his behaviour. He was a man free from corruption, and very just, but extremely arrogant; which though a vice natural to the great Officers of Persta, yet in him they thought reigned in extremity. Besides what was now mentioned, his Accusers laid to his charge, that not contenting himself with the ancient customs of the Persians, he worshipped new Gods, and that lately he had buried his Wife, the Persian Laws prohibiting the burying of dead Bodies in the Earth. They condemned him to death, and it was executed upon him; for, Cabades would not pardon him, though he feemed to grieve as for a friend, professing that she himfelf was not offended at him, but he must not infringe the Laws. Indeed Softs the Per. he owed his life to Seofes who contributed most to his living and Reigning. But, simput odeath his Office as it began so it ended with him, none after him having the like general

Hyperische R. Dower over all Offices and Armies. Ruffinus also accused. Hyperiscs to the Empe-mandischarged rour, who upon it discharged him of his Office. He caused also to be tortured of his Employ: forme about him. but finding on truth in the accusion. 86. Cabades then burned with a defire to invade the Romans, but found this im-

pediment to his design. The Iberians of Asia, who were seated by the Caspian Gates to the Southward, had next them to the West Lazica, and to the East part of Persia. These people were Christians as devout as any, and had always been subject to the King of Persia. These Cabades would needs force from their Religion, writing a command to Gurgenes their King, to doe all things as the Persians did, and not to bury their dead Bodies in the Earth, but to cast them out to the Dogs and Fowles. Hereupon Gurgenes revolted to the Emperour Justin, and defired affuterelis to Justin. rance from him that he would not leave him to the mercy of the Persians. He willingly granted his request, and sent Probus the Sisters Son of Anastasius late Emperour, a Patritian, with Money to raile an Army of Hunnes for his Affiltence. Probus returned without doing any thing, and then the Emperour fent Peter as General into Lazica with some Hunnes to aid Gurgenes; at which time also Cabades sent an Army against him, under the command of Boes a Persian, the General of his Forces. Gurgenes found the Roman Succours not competent, and himself too weak for the Persians, and thereupon he fled into Lazica with his Wife and Children, the chief men of Iberia and his Brothers, whereof Peranius was the eldest. In the confines of Lazica he staid, and fortified himself in the Fastnesses, which hindred the Persians that pursued him, from doing any thing to purpose. Afterward some Iberians came to Constantinople, and Peter was called home.

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The Lazians also refusing to help to guard the Province; the Emperour sent an Army commanded by Irenæus.

87. Formerly the guard of two Forts at the entrance of Lazica from Iberia was carefully maintained by the Provincials, though they endured much. For no Corn nor Wine grew near, nor other commodity; nor, for the Fastnesses, could be brought thither, but upon mens backs, and they lived, being used to it, upon Panicum or Mill-feed there growing. But the Emperour now took thence those Warders, and put Roman Garifons to keep those places, and them at first the Lazians supplied with Provisions, though hardly; but after they resused the service, and the Romans thereupon abandoning the Forts, the Perfians seized on them. In Expeditions of the mean time the Romans, under conduct of Sittas and Belifarius, invaded Perfar-

the Persian Do. menia, and having foraged much of the Countrey, and taken many Prisoners, retired. They were then but youths, their beards springing, and Lanciers of the Guard to Justinian the chief General, who soon after held the Empire with his Uncle Justin. Another inroad Sittas and Belisarius made into Armenia, and were fuddenly met and put to the worst by Narses and Aratius, who not long after revolted to the Romans, and ferved under Belifarius in Italy. Licelarius also a Thracian made an Invasion about Nisibis with another Army of Romans, but they retreated or ran away, none charging them. Thereupon the Emperour discharged Licelarius, and gave to Belifarius the Command of the Forces in Daras, and then was Procopius Writer of the History chosen his Counsellor or Assessor. Shortly after, Justin died, having before declared Justinian his Sisters Son Emperour with him. These things thus falling out betwixt the Romans and Persians in the time of Justin, we thought convenient to relate altogether, and then to continue our furvey of the

other year remaining of this Emperour's Reign.

88. The year of our Lord DXXIII had Maximus Conful alone in the West. A.D. 523.

Some wonder it is that we have no certainty of any one named at Constantinople; Maximus Conf. The Confulling for leifure enough they had there, for any thing we can perceive to have atmost dwind-led to nothing. been transacted by them of Civil concernment; but this Dignity began now to dwindle fo much, that in a fhort time it was quite extinct. The year following, being the DXXIV of our Saviour, had for Confuls Justin himself the second time, and Opilio, fuch an one by name as he had formerly been by Trade and profession.

Justin as he had formerly been kind to the Advocates of the Treasury, in restoring Jolin kind to to them their Salary given them at first by Zeno and taken away by Anastafius, L. 1. 6.7.8.9. Advocates for this year was favourable to the Advocates pleading in the Court of the Prefect de Advocates. of the City, defining their number of Eighty, and confirming to them their Privi- cum, Cod Full. leges; but withall regulating their time, and restraining their absence; as he for- lib. 2. iii. 8. bad the Advocates of the Treasury should be preferred per saltum, the person of , Menander onely excepted. What concerned the Advocates was afterwards extended to those that served in the Forum of the Prefect of Illyricum by Justinian. Besides what concerned Advocates, we find that this year Justin Enacted something he found wanting in the matter of Testaments, as he had done three years before. Of what he did we shall give an account altogether.

89. It had formerly been a question, Whether a blind man could make a Testament, because of his imperfection; at length it was resolved he might, because, as Panlus faith, he could call Witnesses together, and hear such as would bear him Sentent. lib. 3. testimony. The Law for the like reason permitted such an one both to adopt and 4. be adopted, much more to manage his own Estate, insomuch that a Curator was not wont to be affigned a blind man, but he himself might make a Procurator for the management of his business. Now Justin thought sit farther to Ordain, L. 8.Qui Testam. that a blind man whether so born, or by disease or accident, might make a Testa-facere possent. ment by Nuncupation; provided there were present a Tabularius, and seven Wit-tit. 20 nesses, which the Law required in other Testaments. The way and method he Perfons Power neries, which the Law required to be inferted; but this liberty thus given, Leo one to n-ake Nuncu- preferribes is not fo proper here to be inferted; but this liberty thus given, Leo one

of his Successors thought not large enough, but gave to blind persons leave to make Wills fecretly as other persons did. By another Edict bearing date of the latter Novel. 69. wills tecretly as officer periods that the state of the s "made by former Emperours, that the last Wills and Testaments of persons dynamic, College ments, College in Constantinople, should be proved or infinuated onely in the Office of the Ma. Dat. 13, Kal. "gifter Cenfus, and there recorded in the publick Monuments. That where the December. Declares the In- "Inheritance exceeded not an hundred Acres, neither the Magistri nor their Officers

finuation of " should dare to take any Fees or Reward for the Infinuation of them. He admo-Telaments to be onely in the "nilheth not onely the Judges of Tribunals, but the Defenfors of Churches alfo, Magifter Cenfus." among whom a most filthy fort of Intimation had crept, that they meddle not Снар. І. The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. " with that which onely belonged by Law to the Magister Census; affirming it

"abfurd, that Employments should be disturbed by promiscuous Acts, that one "should freal from another, and especially Clerks, to whom he saith it is a shame to precipit to pretend themselves skilfull in the disputes of Courts. The breakers of this wish, within a specially clerk in the sanction, he punishes with a Fine of shifty pounds of Gold. And he adds, that viting easting a special associated in the same of th

"it is not to be permitted that the laft Wills and Teflaments of the dying, should expansion for be rendred any-whit invalid by any improper Infinuations, while such as are " improper for that work boldly usurp the practice of it. But what this and other former Constitutions enjoyn concerning the Magister Census in Constantinople, was in the Provinces performed by the Prefidents, Magistrates, or Defenfors. Afterward in the time of Leo it was committed to the Quaftor. But it will not be amis

here to acquaint the Reader with the ancient form of Infinuation of Testaments be-

fore the Defenfors and the Curia of Cities.

90. Such a year and fuch a day the Defensor and all the Court of that City be-The form of In- ing present, Titius that followed the business, said; I desire of you most worthy Vide Notas to (Optime) Defensor, and you the laudable Curiales and Municipes, that you command the publick Records to be laid open to me, for I have some things in mine hands which I desire may be roborated by the Allegation of those publick Acts. The Defensor then and Curiales faid, The publick Books are open to thee, proceed according to thine own defire. He then replied, Gaius an illustrious person hath employed me to insinuate his Testament amongst the Municipal Acts as the Custome is. Then said the Defensor, The Mandate we have heard, but we must also hear the Testament which thou sayest thou hast in thine hands, and then it shall be confirmed by publick Acts as thou requirest. After the reading of the Testament, the Desensor and the Curiales said, Let this Testament now recited be put among st the publick Acts. After this said, the Party implyed; Most worthy Defensor, I farther desire that the Gests may be publickly delivered to me. The Defensor and Order of the Court answered, Forasmuch as the Testament and Mandate are rightly made, and we have found them confirmed by the hands of honest men subscribing, it is sitting that the Gests when they are subscribed by us, and published by the Amanuensis, be delivered to thee as the manner is, and at length be preserved in the publick Acts. In like manner were Donations or Deeds of Gift recorded, in the publick Registers.

91. Thus we see Testaments were opened in the life time of the Testators, that 11. Hus we ree Atlantance was one open an another might be given to them, if for the Wilde Main ad. Testator pleased. They were again opened publickly after the death of them L. Lega- Agentalmatum that made them, that is othey might be known to Heirs, (or Executors) Lega- Agentalmatum taries, those that had Trusts, Slaves manumitted, the Treasury to which the Tollmanus. Sec. 17. The Cold. Typl. 1th. 6.

Now Telements twentieth part was due, and others therein concerned. They were opened in the in-32-were opened such as presence of Witnesses or honest Persons, by those that were present within three or Telemon. Frederick by the absent within the like space of time after their coming to five days, and by the absent within the like space of time after their coming to those places. The Witnesses or the greatest part of them that had signed the Testament were there. They having owned their Seals, the thread was broken, the Testament was opened and read, and a Copy of it was permitted to be taken, and then it was closed with a publick Seal, and committed to the Archives; that if the Copy were loft, the lofs might thence again be fupplied. Afterward it was read, the same Persons of repute being present in the Forum or the Basilica between the

hours of Eight and Four. But to our matter.

92. The year of our Lord, DXXV. had Probinus (some have it Probus) and A. D. 525. Philoxems for Confuls, it being the Eighth of Justin the Emperour: little we have Probine of Philos Civil concernment managed this year by our Emperour; who most employed laxmo Cast. himself in things relating to Religion. His zeal for the Catholick Faith carried him fo far as to take the Churches from the Arians, which endangered the breeding of very ill bloud between him and Theodorich King of Italy. For, he being of that perswasion caused the Bishop of Rome himself accompanied by Theodorus, Importunus and Agapetus Senatours, and Exconfuls, and another Agapetus a Patrician to undertake an Embassy to the Emperour. Their instructions were to obtain a re-Sits about Re. Vocation of the Edicts made against those Hereticks, otherwise he threatned to deal n betwint as feverely with fuch Orthodox Christians as had their Abode in his Domithe and Theo nions. How John the Bishop behaved himself in this Employment, and what his Entertainment was it will be more pertinent to declare upon another occasion, as also that he was at his return cast into prison and so hardly treated that therein he died not long after. But we are told that while he remained at Conflantinople, he Crowned Justin; not but that this ceremony had been formerly performed, but the Emperour would have it again performed out of piety by the Successour of St. Peter,

whom he was overjoyed to fee within his Dominions. So Baronius and others de- Ad h.Amets See liver the flory, who also observe (and in this justice doth not contradict them) that the City of Antiach having been profittuted to Hereticks, and become the Assertion lum, first of Nestorius and Nestorians, afterwards of Eutychians, and Theopaschites. now received double for her fins, and drank deep of the cup of God's wrath. It belongs not to us to assign such a cause; but for the calamity that Antioch underwent at this time, it ought not to escape our observation.

93. About the time that John the Bilhop of Rome was employed in the message Greivous Cala- before related, a most dreadfull Earthquake happened at Antioch, which as Euagrius writes, had been ushered in with frequent and grievous fires, and was attended by other great calamities. In the Seventh year of Jullin, he faith, though Baronius from Marcellinus refers it to this, in the tenth month, or Artemisus, by the Romans called May, on the nine and twentieth, being Friday, at noon time of the day, Emerim like a (Marcellinus faith just at dinner time) fell out such a ratling, quivering and shaking 6.6.5.6. of the Foundations, as in a manner overturned the whole City. After it, came Fire again, which joyning as it were in a league offenfive with the other calamities almost madean end of all. For what the Earthquake did not destroy, on that did the Fire prey; and after the raifing of most dreadfull flames, consume to ashes. What parts of the City were confumed, how many men perified both by Fire and the fall of Houses, and what mischief happened, to strange that no Style could sufficiently describe them, John the Rhetorician (he tells us) set forth with lamentation in his History, which concluding with this fire could not but move the passions of the Reader in an extraordinary manner. And for a conclusion, and which was another calamity to this City, Euphrafius the Bishop perished in the ruines, that none might be left to provide necessaries for the City.

94. And yet, as he himself observes, the carefull and loving Providence of God towards Mankind, which is wont before the arrival of a Plague or punishment to provide a remedy; to blunt the fword of wrath with clemency, and when things grow to a desperate point, to set wide open the fountain of mercy, raised up Euphræmius Prefect of the East to take care of Antioch, so as nothing necessary (afterwards it feems) should be wanting to it. This the Citizens took so well, as reverencing Kad # 'Ampana the man for his Zeal and Charity they made choice of him for their Bishop, and he and the man for his Zeal and Charity they made choice of him for their Bishop, and he obtained the Applifical See as a reward of his forecast. Again after two years and five months Antioch was shaken with Earthquakes, and then for Antiochit was called Theopolis, obtaining also more effects of the Emperour's care and vigilancy. Indeed others give Teltimony of the Christian compassion shewed by Justin upon occasion of the former Earthquake; how he received the news with grief and aftonishment, put of his Purple, laid afide his Diadem, clothed himself with Sackcloth and sate iolitary in Ashes many days together; and afterward relieved the distressed Antiochians with all necessaries to his great charge and trouble. But it appears farther from Euagrius that he had several other objects of his pity and compassion, of this c. s.

And other places very feet, these Calamities being frequent in his time. For Dyrachium of old cal-led Epidamnus was forely shaken also with a trembling of the Earth. So was Corinth in Greece, and Anazarbus the principal City of Cilicia the leffer, which underwent that calamity now the fourth time: which Cities Justin repaired not without the expence of valt fums of money. About the fame time Edeffa, that most ample and happy City of the Ofroeni as he calls it, was defaced by the overflowing of the River Seirtus which ran by its side, so that many Houses were carried away by the violence of the Waters, and an infinite number of men was drowned. Both Edeffa and Anazarbus received a new name from Justin, being each of them called Justinopolis. 95. The DXXVI year of our Lord was marked with the sole Consulhip of A. D. 526.

Olybrius. This year is famous for little transacted by Justin, except this be to be obstine on taken notice of, that growing toward the end of his own life, he was moved to Enact fomething in favour of the deceased. By the practices of some Persons he was constrained to declare, "That it was unjust, and a thing strange in those times, " to offer injury to the Reliques of the Dead by them who pretending the Party " deceased was their Debtor, and to Exact their Debt, hindred his Burial: That * for the time to come no such injury might proceed, he now took order, imposing or the time to come no near many magnetic that should be found guilty of such wice L. all. de State of Fifty pounds of Gold upon one that should be found guilty of such wice L. all. de State of the control of the con

a rine or mry pounds of done upon one that model to contain gains of near way. Leth despite kedneds, or if he was not able to pay it, he should undergo Corporal punishment den edalend for at the award of a competent Judge. This humanity towards the Dead, his No-Falldaghats phew afterwards extended to the Dying, Ordaning that if any going to the house Novel. July 60. of a dying person should molest him or others belonging to him, or not observing a r legal proceeding should mark or seal any of his Goods, such an one should lose his

Action after the Parties death, the Executors or Heirs of the deceased should recover as much of him; he should forfeit the third part of his Estate, and be noted with infamy. The fame punishment should he incurr who should hinder the Funeral. Nav he decreed that before Nine days, to be reckoned from the death of the deceased, no molestation should be offered to any belonging to his person, otherwife fuch Action should be invalid and ineffectual, after those days of mourning, no damage yet hereby coming to the Creditour by reason of the stay of the Nine

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire:

96. The DXXVII of our Saviour had Mavortius for Conful without a Collegue. A. D. 527. This year was famous for Justin his taking Justinian to be his Partner in the Em. Masonin Conf. pire. This Justinian was the Son of Sabatius (by the Illyrians called Islocus) and of Bigleniza the Sister of Justin, which Woman the Romans, by reason of the likeness of the found, termed Vigilantia. By his Countrey-men the Illyrians he was vide Notas in called Oprando, or Right Justice, to express the fignification of his Latin name. He Promit Secu-was born at Taurefium, and educated at Bederina the native place of Justin, Towns fituate in the Borders of Illyricum near to Thrace, upon which account by later Writers he is called a Thracian, it being ordinary when Cities are so placed to be reckoned by feveral Authours as members of both Provinces, especially it being obfervable, that the Partitions of Provinces are not the fame in all Geographers and Historians. Hereupon Justinian himself in his ninth Novel, placeth Justiniana prima, and Bederina, in Pannonia Secunda: When a Youth, he was fent an Hostage to Ravenna to Theodorich King of the Goths by Justin his Uncle then General of the Army. He began to learn the Military Art at the beginning of his Uncle's Reign, who about this time adopted him, and gave him the title of Nobilifimus. Vitalianus being flain in the Palace, in the place called Delphicum; by his Faction it's faid, and some say by his procurement, he was made Captain General of the Roman Legions in his room. Now when Justin had reigned eight years, nine months and three days, as Euagrius punctually observes, he began to Reign with him, and he received the Title on the first day of the month Xanthicus, or of April. 97. But what the Title was doth not so clearly appear, whether that of Augustus

or of Cæsar onely, betwixt which there was a vast difference, as may be seen by what we have faid in the preceding Volume. Some Writers fay he created him Cafar, and some that this day he designed him his Successor in the Empire, which words rather make out to us that he was Cafar not Augustus, or the complete Collegue of the Emperour, though Writers generally speak of his making him his Partner, which might be in such sense as we have formerly related; though Casar as fuch was a Subject, and we have heard how as a Subject, and even as an Apparitor or fervant, Diocletian made one of them run by his Chariot. As Polities and Governments with time decay and alter, the Cæsar possibly at this time might be in greater Authority than formerly. But let us from Historians betake us to our Law Books, without which, lame Histories must be written both of this and other times. And so it happens that after this his Promotion we find a Constitution still extant in his Code, bearing the name both of him and his Uncle: The Land Manda Tion till extant in in Code, testing in the property of the Baffler in Property of the Baffler in Property by Cujacius, and as now it is placed in the Code being translated into Latin, the Cod July lib 1.

Publishers of the Book have prefixed this Inscription Impp. Justinus & Justinianus A.A. and not without reason. For though from the Greek it self no such thing appears, as either that Justinian was now Augustus or indeed joyned with his Uncle in the making of the Edict, yet from another Novel Conflitution he made upon this Subject it is evident that he was joyned with him. The matter was

98. Because much inconvenience happened in the Provinces through the impudence of Persons who pretended to have secret Instructions or Mandates from the vide China Emperour, a Law had been made in the time of Gratian, Valentinian and Theodofius, 081. bb. 124.31. which forbad that any credit should be given to any such pretended Instructions or Mandatis Prin. Mandates, except exhibited in Writing, and the Prince his Letters appeared, be dyam cod. 74.2. the Messengers of what dignity they would, whether making a shew of the dignity lib. 1. 111. 12 of Tribune, Notary or Comes. After this another Constitution was made, or that which Cujacius restored out of the Basilica, and repeats in a manner the same thing, left Judges should mention in their Sentences that the Emperour had commanded by word of mouth, that fuch an one should be brought into Judgment, or some Sentence be given, which should be divers from what was wont to be. For the Mandates of Princes fo far bind, as they are reduced into Writings or Letters; but this Constitution excepts when the Emperour Assigns an Assessor or Assistant to a

Judge, or commands a Sentence to be rightly given. In fuch cases they might mention that they had such mandate from the Prince his mouth, or else from the most glorious Quastor of his Palace, or some of the Spettabiles, the Referendarii, and obedience was to be given to such Mandates without writing. Now in a Novel Constitution made some thirteen years after, Justinian expressy makes men-Novel 124 4.4. tion of a Law as well of his Father of pious memory, as of his own Tranquillity; (fuch was the phrase used at this time,) which disposed that Judges should by no means write in their Sentences, as if it had been commanded them by word of mouth from the Emperour and not written, to bring forth certain Perfons into Judgment, and to the same purpose as before. Now though the Names of Casars, as we have seen, were added to those of the Emperours in the Inscriptions of Laws, yet it was with the Distinction of Cesars, and such as had not Sovereign Authority had not legislative power, though to grace and honour them this was done. But Justinian makes this Law as much his as his (adoptive) Father Justin's. And to confirm this our opinion that he was made Augustus and not Cafar; Baronius Ad h. A. hath exhibited the Image of a Coin, to be feen in his Annals, wherein are both the Emperours expressed in shape, both adorned with Diadems, with an Inscription of three Augusti, by which he saith its certain that Justin, Justinian and Theodora his Empress are designed. If so, some late Writers though very learned ought to have been more accurate than to fay he was created Cafar, betwixt which

Title and that of Augustus there was so great a difference.

99. But the Title though he had with the usual Concomitants and Effects, how he came by it is not fully agreed. The pretended secret History of Procopius makes him to have affected the Empire, to have Exercised a Tyranny, covering violence with a shew of doing business. Affirms that they saluted him King or Emperour together with his Uncle, if it was legally done; for the Senate by fear and threats were drawn into that Suffrage. Another writes that Justin the Emperour made Justinian his Casar Nephew, at the supplication of the Senate, he being unwilling Vide Neural Justiman in S. Cajar Nepinew, at the improved of the thing, and Zonaras Prosis or to doe it. But others say that all the Senate approved of the thing, and Zonaras Prosis or tells this story how it was performed. The cheir of the Senate defiring the Em. 1911. Highliam the coll held of the Durch & Bantime of perour that he would take Justinian for his Collegue, he took hold of the Purple h. and told them they had reason to desire that no younger Person should have that Post come on his Back; and at that time he rejected their Petition. However, after pinis. Inline fome little time they decreed the Title of Nobilifimus to Juftinian, and obtained of Ang Juftinian the Emperour a confirmation of their Decree by his Letters. Not long after, the financian full-Emperour a committation of their Better State of the Indicates Indicated Fulfilling ill of a wound in his thigh, and being in danger called Epipha-cationenium nius the Patriarch and the cheir of the Nobility to him, declared Juftinian his No-Calcum fair. phew Emperour, and fet the Diadem on his Head with his own Hands. The fair down party of the Company of the Com People being affembled in the Cirque, Justinian made his Entry with the Diadem, Edit. Ties Site and was received with health accompanions by all and returned to the Peles Lain. dii 1600. and was received with lucky acclamations by all, and returned to the Palace being at that time forty five years old. Presently after his Wife Theodora was declared Empress, and not long it was before Justin died when he had Reigned Nine years and twenty days. Thus much Zonaras, who might be mistaken as to the time of making him Nobilifimus. To this Cedrenus adds that as foon as he was made Emperour, he gave away all his private Estate to the Churches of the Holy Apostles and of the Holy Martyrs Sergius and Bacchus whom he much reve-

100. Justin having promoted thus his Nephew, whether to the good liking of himself and the Senate or not, died of an old wound he had received in Battel by the flot of an Arrow, (in his Foot fay fome, or as others in his thigh) four months after, about the first of August, having Reigned nine years, one month, and three days; and lived feventy feven. A mark of extraordinary Fortune, which wrought fo wonderfully, that from a Keeper of Cattel, he should rife to be a Commander of men, first of Souldiers, then of the Pretorian Guards, and at last of all men within the Roman World, having escaped two Imprisonments. Yet was he Analphabetus as the Greeks termed him, or one who could not read, or knew no Letters, which had not happened to the Romans before in the opinion of the Authour of the fecret History ascribed to Procopius. Whereas the Emperour, he faith, was wont when he ordained any thing to add to the Paper the Letters of his Name, he could neither ordain, nor was able to doe business, but Proclus who executed the Office of Quafter, and was his Affelfour governed as he pleafed. But that there might remain some shew of the Emperour's Hand, he that waited or the cheif Secretary (who from that thing formed to the shape of a little Dog, wherein the Ink was contained had the Title of a Caniculo) found out a way. They ingraved in a polisht peice of wood the form of four Latin Letters, which being laid on a Paper, a pen dipped in the purple Ink with which Emperours were wont to write, was put into Justin's Hand, which those about holding stirred it about and drew the pen through those clifts of the wood or forms of Letters, and so carried away their Writings figned.

101. This Invention by ingraving onely four Letters in the Table or piece of wood, did not onely provide for the Convenience of Tultin, but retained the ancient custome of the Romans, who, as Alamannus observes from Plutarch, were not wont or two as C. N. or three as Sex. Ser. Juftinian afterward, as he gathers from Corippus the Poet, used the fingle Letter I. to denote his Name; but these customs were a little after intermitted, when the Eastern Emperours put down their whole Names to Writings and Instruments, but Women in certain secret knots and foldings of the Letters, as appears by their ancient Diplomata, and otherwife, which our men at this day imitate upon their Coaches. Concerning the Eucauftum or purple Ink made of the Fish Murex we have formerly spoken. The Person who attended at it, and from the shape of the Standish wherein it was kept, had the Title of a Caniculo was usually of the King's bloud, and his Dignity and Authority were very great. To return to Justin, who is said to have been very ignorant and blockiss, his Marriage if possible was lower than his first condition. The Name of his Wife was Lupilina or Lupilia, derived it seems from Lupa, by which the vilest Strumpet was wont to be called. This she brought not with her to Court, for her Husband and the People of Canstantinople when the came to be Empress changed it for that of Euphemia. As she was Barbarous she is said to have been very ignorant and un-Vide alam polisht; but having taken the Name of the Martyr Euphemia, she built a magnifi-in Notis. cent Church at Constantinople, and dedicated it to her, wherein she placed her own

CHAP. I.

102. We find Justin by this time dead, but yet have not done with him, for there being some Laws of his making extant without day or Conful, they cannot properly be placed in any one year of his Reign, and therefore are to be spoken of in gross when his Reign is out; we mean such of them as illustrate the Jus publicum, and shew the manner of Administration in his time. He was a Souldier, and though otherwise said to be dull and heavy, yet might sufficiently understand what were Clogs and Incumbrances of the Military profession. Yet did not he find out one certain particular of these mischeifs which was too prevalent in his time. till the common observation presented it to his view, as should seem by the remedy he prescribed, which is not directed to any one private man, but to the Senate it felf. In a certain Law or Oration thus directed, he takes notice of it as manifest. that his Predecessours had enacted many things concerning Souldiers, who undertook to manage Estates under the Title of Hiring; but so little were they regarded, that fuch Souldiers forgetfull of the punishment threatned, dared to undertake fuch fordid Employments, and neglecting their care for the Publick, and their Victorious Standards, hasted to turn Tenants to other men, and converted the sharpness of their Weapons not against their Enemies, but to misuse their Neighbours, and perhaps the miferable Husbandmen they had undertaken to manage. Wherefore he was constrained to betake himself to the making of another Constitution, more deeply and fully to remove the Cause. He Commands therefore all that bear Arms, or Souldiers both of greater and leffer Rank for the time to come. to abstain from all hiring of other mens Estates. And by Souldiers he saith he means as well those who served under the High Magistri Militum, as them who were involled in the eleven most denote Scholæ, as also such as under divers Options were graced with the Name of Confederates. Such shall know, that upon fuch Contract they shall ipso facto, without any sentence given, forfeit their Military Employment, without possibility of being restored to their former Degree, either by the Emperours Indulgence, or by confent or permission of the Judge, under whom they undertook to discharge the Duty; that so by such new undertaking they may not loose their esteem, being from Souldiers rendred Pagani, and Infamous from men of repute; and that after fuch turning Tenants, which he absolutely forbids, what they had received from the Publick they be compelled to restore without all delay. In conclusion, such as let their Estates out to Souldiers, should be deprived of all help to recover them into their own Hands again. There are other Laws bearing his Name without Day or Conful, which relating to Marriage are to be considered of diligently in the place proper to the Character and Marriage of Justinian his Nephew and Successour.

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CHAP. II.

Containing the long and active Reign of Justinian the Great.

The space of Eight and thirty years, three months and thirteen days.

SECT. I.

Containing his Wars especially.

COSTINIAN was advanced to the Imperial Dignity, being as some write forty five years old, in the second year of Athalrick King of Italy, the second of Fælix the Fourth, the Roman Bishop, fifty years after the Destruction of the Empire in the West, and the fall of Augustulus, the DXXVII of the ordinary Æra of Christ, in the sole Consulship of Mavortius.

2. Having vast designs in his Head, he took at his first Establishment a right course to attain unto them. He began with the Service of his Maker, by directing his Subjects into the right way to know and serve him, by suppressing such as would lead them out of the way into the by-paths of Herefie, and by feveral Acts of Charity and Royal Bounty, as our Ecclefiastical Writers observe, though they had no real kindness for him. His vast designs were of all sorts which a Prince is capable of cherishing, extending both to the security and imbellishment of the Empire he received from his Ancestours, and to the inlargement of it by recovering what had been loft by his Predecessours. The former part he performed both by his Sword and his Pen, by opposing its Enemies and modelling the Laws; and the latter by a vigorous afferting of his Right, for fo he efteemed it, to the members which lately had been Provinces; and though they were now become Barbarous Kingdoms, yet he thought the Pretenders to them could not plead fuch Prescription, as to invalidate his ancient Title, if his Arms could but procure him a reentry. How all these things he discharged, with other matters, is to be shewn in due method and place. And first, e'er his Uncle was well cold in his Grave, and he himself warm in his Seat, he found himself concerned to curb the Insolence of his Neighbours, for such he esteemed the Persians, but grudged to vouchsafe the Title to such Barbarians as had fet up for themselves in the Roman Soil. The times requiring that much now should be said of the Transactions of the Persians with the Romans, it may be very convenient to fetch their matters higher, to give an account of the Succession of their Kings, and of fuch actions as either have been omitted, or onely touched at in the Relation of Roman Affairs. For the Dignity of this Kingdom requires that it should here also have a place by it self, if we were furnished, besides the Succesfion of Kings, with any confiderable bulk of History relating merely to it felf, and not as conjoyn'd and interwoven with the occurrences of the Roman Empire. Forassuch as since the Conquest of Alexander the Great, and the fall of their Empire with Darius, their Affairs have been scatteringly related, we shall now take the opportunity to prefent the Reader with a view of them. But first, it will be requisite to give an account of the Dominion of the Parthians, who not long after the death of Alexander became their Masters; and because the Kingdom of Persians and Parthians may by those that heed not well be confounded together, a clear distinction is necessary to be made of them.

3. It must be observed that the Persians being cast down from the grandeur of Perstant Slaves Empire and Sovereignty by Alexander and his Macedonians, were first subject to Perpans of the Parthians. his Successours, and then for a long time Slaves to the Parthians. The Parthians Parthians who were a Banished Company of Scythians; for in the Scythian Language, the very ride Ompany of Market Scythian Language, the very ride Ompany of Scythians; word is faid to fignify fo much; and during the Empire of the Affyrians and Medes m, p. 257. were most obscure. When the Persians arrived at the supreme power of the East, they were but an abject People, becoming a Prey to the Conquerour. They ferved the Macedonians in the like fort, as long as they defired they should; but when

after Alexander's death his Empire came to be divided, none of his Captains would accept of them, and so they were delivered as Booty to Satagenes a Stranger Associate. But the Captains falling into Civil Wars, they together with the rest of the Nations of the upper Asia, followed Eumenes, and he being overcome, went over Revolt from Set to Antigonus, after whom they came into the Hands of Selenus Nicaror, and afterwards of Antiochus and terwards of Antiochus and his Successions; from whose great Grandson Selenus upon what cothey first revolted, at what time the first Punick War depended. C. Attilius coffin. Regulus and L. Manlius Vulso both, the second time, being Consuls; in the year of Rome DIIII. The Discord of the two Brothers about the Kingdom, viz. of Seleucus and Antiochus, gave them the advantage and opportunity who mutually striving to dispossess each other, regarded not this People which by falling off, diminished what they strove about.

4. The Authour and Procurer of the Revolt was one Arfaces, a man as of uncer-

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

Jorneth the

CHAP. II.

tain Original, fo of manifest Valour, who being accustomed to live by violence and robbing, and believing that Seleucus was overthrown in Afia, without fear of the King's power, with a Number of Robbers entred Parthia, and killing Andragoras the Governour made himself Master of the Nation. Not long after he seized on the Kingdom of the Hyrcanians, and entred into League and Society with Theodotus King of a thousand Bactrian Cities, after which he gave Battel to Seleucus, who came to reduce him and his fellow Revolters; overthrew him and put him to flight. This Day was afterward observed as Solemn, and the beginning of their liberty. Seleucus being gone into Asia, he then formed his new Parthim Kingdom. He raised men, fortified Castles, secured the Cities, and Built a great one called Clara on the Mountain Thabrotenus. By these means Establishing his designed Kingdom, Arfaces became no less famous and memorable to the Parthians than was Cyrus to the Persians, Alexander to the Macedonians or Romulus to the Romans; and moreover lived to be an old man. After his Death, out of reverence to his memory, the Parthians called all their Kings by his Name, as the Romans named their Emperours Cafars and Augusti. His Son and Successour, Arfaces also by Name. with wonderfull valour ingaged Antiochus the Son of Seleucus, though followed by an hundred thousand Foot, and twenty thousand Horse, and at last was admitted into his Friendship and Alliance. The Third was Pampacius who had also the Sirname of Arfaces, and dying in the twelfth year of his Reign left two Sons Pharnaces and Mithridates. Pharnaces the Elder succeeding his Father, subdued the Nation of the Mardi, and left his Brother Mithridates his Successour by his Testament, who Conquered the Medi and Elymi, and so many other people, as to extend the Dominion of the Parthians from Mount Caucasus to the River Euphrates. 5. After him came Phrahartes his Son, the Sixth King of the Parthians, who first

Phrahartes.

Arfaces.

Pampacius

of all defired friendship of the Romans from L. Sulla then Proconful, who in Asia then carried on the War against Mithridates King of Pontus. He was killed in a War against the Scythians, and was succeeded by his Uncle Artubanus, as was Artabanas by his Son Mithridates. He from the greatness of his preferment, obtained to be called Mithridates the Great; for he waged many Wars with his Neighbours. and brought under the Partbian Yoke feveral Nations, and fighting fometimes profperoufly against the Scythians, revenged the Injuries done to his Ancestours. He made War also against the Armenians, but was for his cruelty driven from the Kingdom by the Parthian Senate, and was fucceeded by his Brother Orodes. He waged War with the Romans, and destroyed Crassus with his Son and almost the whole Roman Army. Pacorus his Son being fent to dispatch the Roman War did great things in Syria, but was suspected and called back by his Father, and in his absence all the Parthian Army was Cut off in Syria by C. Cassius the Quastor of Crassus, with all its Captains. During the Roman Civil Wars, the Parthians fent aid to Pompey against Cafar, as also to Brutus and Cassius, against Octavius and Antonius. The Wars being overrunder the Conduct of Pacorus and Labienus who had been on Pompey's fice they invaded and feized on all Syria. But P. Ventidius Bassus the Roman General gave them Battel, and killing Pacorus and Labienus destroyed almost the whole Army, neither in any Wardidthe Parthians receive a greater blow; and it is observable that Pacorus the Son of Orodes was flain on the fame day that Craffus was destroyed, whose Death they accounted thereby revenged. Not long after Orodes was most wickedly Murthered by his Son Phrahartes, who seized on the Kingdom.

6. Against Phrahartes M. Antonius the Triumvir made War with sixteen most valiant Legions, because of the Aides that had been sent against Casar and himself. The Issue of it was that being tired out with many Battels, with Famine, Pestilence and Tempests, he fled from Parthia with his Army much lessened. With this suc-

Reigned one and thirty years.

Iustinian.

Sect. 1. cess Phrahartes was made more Insolent, and thereupon doing many cruel things, he was driven by the Parthians into Banishment, and his Kingdom was delivered Driven into Ba- to one Tyridates, whom yet by the affillence of the Scythians, he drove away and recovered his Station. But he scarcely thought himself secure in it, when he heard Recovers his how Augustus, after his dispatching of the War of Spain, talkt of making another upon him. It put him into fuch a fright, that he caused the Captains which had Anothin frights been of Crassus or Antonius his Army, to be gathered out of all Parthia, and with the Military Enfigns to be fent back to Augustus. Moreover he delivered over to him his Sons and Nephews for Hostages. So that Augustus with the mere terrour of his Name did more than another Prince could have effected by his Arms. But Phrabartes being Dead, his Son of the same Name, and the twelfth King of the Parthians succeeded him. And after him followed Orodes.

7. Orodes was flain; and then came Messengers or Ambassadours from Parthia to Rome, to defire that Vonones the Eldest of the Sons of Phrahartes might Reign amongst them, whom his Father had formerly delivered an Hostage to Augustus. He was fent by Tiberius accordingly, but shortly after was driven out and had Artabanus for his Successour. Vonones retired into Armenia which then had no King, and Artabanus ran the same risque of Fortune, being laid at by his Subjects, and having War with the Romans, he was through the endeavour of Vitellius the Legaus of Syria, driven from his Kingdom by Tyridates one of the bloud Royal of the Arfacidae. Tyridates then became the fixteenth King of the Parthians, but not long to continued, for he was driven out by Artabanus, whom the Hyrcanians and Caramanians affified, and fled to the Romans into Syria. Artabanus having recovered the Kingdom, had again like to have been betrayed by the Treachery of one Sinnaces, whom having flain, the third time he recovered his Condition, and at length being thus toffed by various Accidents, was with his Wife and Son killed by his Brother Gotharzes, who became the Eighteenth King. To make good the Custome, Gotharzes was expelled by his Brother Bardanes, whom yet having slain he recovered his Estate, and overthrew in Battel Meherdates, whom Claudius the Emperour had fent to feize on the Parthian Kingdom, and taking him alive onely cut off his Ears. He being Dead, Vonones who governed Media became the twentieth King of the Parthians. Of him there is nothing observable, but that he was Father to Vologeses, who became most famous in the Roman Annals.

Vologefes 2.

ly fometimes an Equal, but a Superiour also. In the time of Nero, he took from them Armenia, and put under the Jugum two Roman Legions to their great Infamy. Having done extraordinary things he died an old man, and left his Son Vologeles his Successiour; whose Actions are as obscure as his were remarkable. After him Chifdres wor Chofdrees was King of the Parthians, upon whom the Emperour Trajan falling, took Chiffrest wor.

Trom him first Armenia, and then Mejopotamia and Affyria, and him he drove away, for that the Parthians were for some time without a King. When they were about to revolt, Trajan gave them for King Parthenapates. Him Chofdrees expelled, and recovered the Kingdom of his Ancestours. After him Vologeses long held it, with whom Marcus and L. Verus had many Wars, and took from him Affyria and Armenia which had been left by Hadrian. After him Artabanus was the last of the Arsacida that neld the Empire of the Parthians, who waged War with various succefsagainst Severus, Antoninus Caracalla and Macrinus the Roman Emperours. At length when Alexander Severus Governed the Roman Empire, he was overthrown Overthrown by in three Battels by one Artaxerxes a Perfian, who not onely put a period to his Life, but to the Kingdom and Empire of the Parthians in the CCCCLXXIII year from the Perfian, toge- first Arfaces; by which means the Parthians, to whom the Perfians all this ther with the

8. He waged a long and difficult War with the Romans, wherein he was not one-

ther with the Paribian King- while had been Slaves, were again subjected in Servitude to that People in the

CMLXXVIII year of Rome; of our Lord the CCXXVI. 9. Artaxerxes is said as Arsaces formerly to have been of obscure Original. Anagerzes who but a man of great Spirit and valour. That he might restore the Persans to their Anarras who but a man or great opin and repetite the feveral Nations of them to revolt, and vite souths indirect the national power and expetite south south and repetite the Rebellion, overthrew him thrice in Bartel, 11th 3... Like the south of the sou killed him, and moreover restored the Empire of the East to the Persians. Eleva- or omph

The Empire of ted by his Success, he fell upon the Neighbour Nations, to bring them also under que print, p. 253, the East sche the Yoke, and having cauded all that had formerly ferved the Parthians to submit, he would not keep himself within the Boundary of Tigris, but passing the River, and the Roman Limit, overran Mesopotamia, threatned Syria and laid claim to that Countrey lying opposite to Europe, the Ægean Sea and Strait of Propontis, and known by the Name of Afia (the Less,) as having been governed by the Per-

he boasted that it was his Duty to recover all the ancient Empire to the Persians. Having procured a great Name by his Arms, he died after he had Reigned fourteen years wanting two Months, and left a peaceable Kingdom to his Son Sapor. This is that Sapor, the most cruel of all others, who brought so much difgrace and Sapor Succeeds prejudice to the Roman Empire and Name, who defeating them in a great and bloudy Battel, took from them Mesopotamia, and Valerian their Emperour alive, as the who took major and the Reader may remember. Agathias relates, how having wasted Mesopotamia, he fell Emperour Vale- upon the Cilicians, Syrians and Cappadocians, whom he overthrew with so great flaughter, that he filled up with dead Bodies the Holes and distances of Mountains, thereby made the Hills even, and so Rode over them as on plain ground. But returning home, he was humbled by Odenathus of Palmyrena, and died when he had

10. After Sapor fucceeded Ormifda his Son, who held the Kingdom not long,

dying without having any thing performed worthy of memory, after a year and

ten days. The next to him was Vararanes, who having Reigned three years, gave

place to his Son of the same name. Vararanes the Second Reigned sixteen years, after

whom succeeded Vararanes the Third, but onely tasted of Sovereignty, which he

enjoyed but four months. He was firnamed Seganesma, as Agathias judges, from the Nation of the Segani which his Father had Conquered. For when the Persians conquered a People they onely put to death the principal Persons, and reserved

the rest to Till the Ground and pay them Tribute; but as a Trophy or mark of Conquest they would have their Sons take the name of the place, as Seganesma King of

fian Satrapæ from the time of Cyrus to Darius the last King in that Succession. For Sect. 1.

Omilda Vergranes.

Narfes.

the Segani. But he being quickly gone, Narfes fucceeded for seven years and nine months, who left his Son Misdates his Successour, so truly his Successour, that he not onely Reigned over the same Nation but exactly the same time, seven years and nine months. After him Reigned Sapor the Ninth King of the Perfians, whose Reign and Life was of the fame extent; for his Mother having newly conceived him, upon prediction that it was a Male, they put the Cidaris upon her belly. He lived and reigned together seventy years, and this is he in whose days Julian inva-

ded Persia, and in his twenty fourth year was Nisibis delivered up by Jovian into his hands. He left his Kingdom to his Brother Artaxerxes who died after four years, and had for Successour his Son Sapor the Third who Reigned five. In the next place came Vararanes the Son of Sapor, who, as Agathias Writes, doubled his Fathers years, and added one more to them. He was firnamed Cermafat, from a certain Nation called Cerma which had been fubdued. In like manner our Authour

tells us, as the Romans gave the Additions of Africanus and Germanicus from the Conquest of those Countries.

Sapor 3. Vararanes 4.

11. After him Isdigertes his Son was King of the Persians, and of great Name amongst the Romans. This is he whom Arcadius at his death is said to have made Guardian to his Son Theodofius. So it was delivered by Tradition Agathias confeffeth, and to his time the report went both amongst the Learned and Ignorant persons. But he affirms it was not to be found in any Writings; not in the Histories of those who wrote of Arcadius his death, onely in the Book of Procopius the Rhetorician. He expresseth himself hard of belief, and wonders that Procopius not telling how he came to the knowledge of the matter, should fall into commendation of Arcadius for his Prudence. Whereas the man being a Barbarian, an enemy to the Provinces, and of Manners, and opinion quite different from those of the Romans, the event was onely to be admired. And if Ifdigertes kept faith with Theodofius, who was but now a fucking Infant, and discharged his Trust, he was more to be commended for his Goodness than Arcadius was for his Wisedom, whom Procopius makes to have been onely wife in this particular. However Agathias confesseth that Isdigertes, though he Reigned one and twenty years, yet never undertook any War against the Romans, neither ever molested them with any injury, butwas peaceable and kind to them; whether it happened so by chance, or that he spared the Boy, and was for preserving both Nations. His Son and Succeffor Vararanes invaded the Roman Territories with a great Army, but did no hurt; being overcome with the Civility of Anatolius the Emperour's Ambassadour. Proop. de testo The Persian being come near the Army, Anatolius leaped from his Horse, and Persian, lib. 1. alone and on Foot went toward him, who demanded of the Company what he was; they faid it was the Roman General; at which the King amazed as at an excessive Honour, turned his Horse and rode away, and after him followed his Army. Being in his Countrey he entertained the Ambassadour with much Courtesie, and yiel-

ded to the terms of Peace he defired. That neither People should erect any Fortifica-

45

tion near the Borders of the other; which if done they gave either fide opportunity of doing what they pleafed.

Vararanes 6.

12. When Vararanes had Reigned twenty years, he left his Kingdom to his Son Vararanes the Sixth, who after seventeen years and four months gave way to Perozes. This Perozes was Valiant and Warlike, but with more Courage than Discretion made War against the Ephthalites, as Procopius, or Nephthalites as Agathias calls them, about their Boundaries. They were a Nation of Hunnes, known Hannes Einhar by the Name of White Hunnes, not mingled with the rest, as having no part of their Countrey bordering upon them. Their dwelling was to the North of Persia, being no Nomades or wanderers as the other Hunnes, but feated in a good Land, where was a City called Gorga, and it feems it so contented them, that they made no Inroads into the Roman Territories, but with the Perfian Armies. As these Hunnes

had white Bodies and Vilages not uncomely, their course of Life was riot, as that of the rest, brutish. They were under one King in a lawfull Government, and dealt justly amongst themselves and with their Neighbours, no less than the Romans or any other People. Their rich men had each twenty or more Companions, to be their perpetual Comrades, and to partake in a community of their Goods. When any of the Principals died, the Retainers were wont to be put into the same Graves with them. Those Ephthalites Perozes invaded, when Eufebius the Ambassadour of the Emperour Zeno was with him. They pretended fear and to flie before him, and thereby drawing him into a place befet with Mountains and Thickets, from which there was no passage forward, they stopped his Retreat and forced him to fubmit to hard Conditions. Their King upbraiding him for his Rashness, said he would grant him and his Men their Lives, if he would adore him, being now his Lord, and swear his Countrey Oath, that the Persians should no more invade the

Ephthalites. Perozes consulting the Magi, they answered that for the Oath he Peroces over. Ephthalites. Peroces conditing the mage, they might delude the Enemy by a thrown by them, might do what he pleafed; but in the thing he might delude the Enemy by a Trick. They having a Custome every morning toadore the Rising Sun, he should observe the hour, and meet the King of the Ephthalites with his Face to the Sun rifing, and so adore, and hereby avoid the difgrace. Perozes accordingly swore the

Peace, adored his Enemy, and then went home with his Army.

But not long after, neglecting his Oath he resolved to be revenged on the Ephthalites, and with all his own men and Confederates went against them; of his thirty Sons taking allalong with him except Cabades the youngest, but then grown a man. They hearing of his design, revited their King for loosing the former opportunity, and required he should go and meet the Enemy. He refused to doe it, the Persians being yet in their own Countrey; but, within his own Borders upon a Plain, through which they were to enter, he digged in a great space of ground a deep Pit extreme broad, leaving in the middle a narrow passage for ten Horse a breaft; over the Pit he laid Reeds, and upon the Reeds Turffs which concealed the Hole, directing his people when they should flie from the Enemy, to keep close and few in Rank upon the firm ground, and avoid the Pit. Then on his Palace he hung out his Holas or Gods by whom Perozes: swore, and breaking his Oath invaded now the Hunnes. He flirred not fo long as the Enemy was within his own Countrey, but understanding by his Scouts that they were come to Gorga, on the Borders and marching toward him, he himself with most of his Army staid short of the Pit, fending out a Party to shew themselves upon the plain at a good distance; and no fooner feen by the Enemy but to retreat amain, remembring the Pit. They Defeated by a did so, and the Persians pursued upon full speedas in an open plain, and so fell into Strategeme and the Pit, not onely the foremost, but the Rere also ; for pursuing furiously, they perceived not the mischelf of those of the Front, but falling down upon them with Horses and Lances, killed them, and were destroyed for Company. Amongst whom was Perozes and all his Sons. Such as escaped the Plt, fell into the Enemies

14. Upon this dreadfull Difaster, the Perfians made a Law, Not to follow the chace in full speed, though the Enemy should run away in that haste. And to put Cabades his Son themselves into order, they made King, Cabades, the onely Son of Perozes stirviving. Two years they ferved the Ephthalites, and paid them Tribute, till Cabades being confirmed in his Seat refused it. He afterwards governed tyrannically, madelmany

alterations, and particularly one Law, that the Perfians should have their Women in common, which the People milliked, and taking Arms depoted him and kept him in Prilon. They choic Blaffer (Agathia calls him Valens) the Brother of Perozes for King, all his other Sons being dead. For of a private Race the Perfans

Blaffer Succeeding might not chuse one, if the bloud Royal was not quite extinct. Blaffes succeeding

affembled the cheif men of Perfia, and propounded in Council concerning Cabades, Sect. 1. whom the Multitude would not endure to be put to Death. Many opinions being spoken, Gusanastades a principal man and by Office a Chanaranges or General upon the Borders of the Ephthalites, shewed them his Knife, such as the Persians were wont to pair their Nails with, of a finger length, and an inch thick. See, faith he, this Knife is a very short one, yet can it doe that now, which within a while twenty thousand men will not be able: intimating that if they did not now dispatch Cabades he would get abroad and trouble them again. But they thought not fit to kill one of the Bloud Royal, but rather to keep him in the Tower of Oblivion; where if a man was imprisoned, it was not lawfull to mention him, once to name him was death, and thence the Tower had its Name. Though at one time the law of it was broken, in the Person of Arsaces King of Armenia therein a Prisoner, as Procepius tells the story out of the Armenian Histories.

PART III.

Iustinian.

15. Cabades, being in Prison, consented that his Wife should yield to the Lust of Cathales escapes 15. Cabades, peing in Frion, committed that the cathales the Captain of the Caftle, that the might have free access to him, which advanges the Captain of the Caftle, that the might have be got out of Prifon and tage he so improved as that changing Clothes with her, he got out of Prison, and being received by one Seofes, who had prepared Horses for him, escaped away into the Countrey of the Ephthalites. There he Married the King's Daughter, and brought an Army against the Perstans, who finding themselves too weak, sled from the Hunnes. Coming where Gusanastades was Governour, he said that such Perstan as that day first came to offer his Service he would make Chanaranges; and he repented of what he had faid, when he remembred the Persian Law, that no Government should be conferred upon Strangers in Bloud, but such onely were to have the place to whose race it did belong. But by chance his word was kept without Injury to the Law, Adergudunbades appearing first, a young man, Coufin to Gusanastades, and very expert in Marshal Affairs. He first saluted Cabades as his Lord, adored him as King, and befought him to Command him as his Slave. So he entred the Palace, and finding Blaffes without a Guard, put out his Eyes, as Pais out the So he entred the Palace, and finding Buyes without a Galaxy per being Oil, Eves of Blaffer, the Perfians were wont to deal with Malefactours, pouring into them boyling Oil,

or with a Bodkin red hot, melting an Ointment into the infide of them, and he ever after kept him in Prison. After two years he put Gusanastades to Death, and made Adergudunbades General. Seoses he created Adrasta-daras Salenes, or Superintendent over all Offices and Armies, an Office first heldby him in Perfia. None before nor ever after had it. Cabades Established himself and secured his Empire, being witty and valiant, no man more. His restitution happened in or about the DI year of our Lord. This is that Cabades who two years after Quarrelled with

Anastassus, because he would not lend him money, wherewith to pay a Debt due it feems to his Father-in-Law. And this is he, who also fell out with Justin the Emperour, because he refused to adopt his Son after the Roman manner. It concerned the Reader that he should have this Account, concerning the Succession both of the Parthian and Persian Kings. Else this History would have been deficient, and he could not have well diffinguished concerning Parthians and Persians,

the greatness of which Kingdoms, and that great part they acted in the World, would have required a Chapter or Section by themselves, if we could have had Intelligence sufficient of their matters, which were transacted amongst them-

16. To omit then what we have already written of fuch Actions as fell out betwirk Cabades and those two Princes, Justinian being fole Emperour, directed Belifarius to build a Fort at Mindon upon the Confines, on the left hand of the way to Nifibis, who having advanced it to a confiderable height, the Perfians with threats commanded him to defift. The Emperour perceiving he should be too weak for them, Commanded Cutzes and Bazes the Duces of the Limits of Phenicia Tibani, one of the fifteen Provinces subject to the Presect of the East, to march to his Affistence with another Army. These Officers were Thracians and Brothers, and being young and rath were worked, loft many of their men, and they themfelives at length being taken Priloners were that up in a Cave, and no Forts defending the Building, the Persons demolished in Asserting Highinson made Bessistant

Building and Fast, Companyating him to, make an Inroad into Person, and joyn

General of the Last, Companyating him to, make an Inroad into Person, and joyn

with him Harmogenes, Captain of his Guard. Comercine Conditions Vision. he rebelled against Anaftafius. He also nominated Rufinus his Ambasladour, in case

a Treaty, of which there were made some Overtures, should proceed. Belifarius liaving jevied a good Army came to Daras, and Perozes, by Office a Mirranes, with an Army of Perfamt advanced within two miles of it. Belifarius and Hermogenes wrote to him, adviting him to forbear Hoftilities and expect the coming

Iustinian.

Sect. 1. of Rufinus, but he answered he could not trust them being Romans though upon Oath, and bad Belifarius make ready a Bath for him; for he intended the next day to bathe in Daras. The Romans had drawn a Line before the Town, and were ranged in fuch Order as amazed the Perfians, who though they faced them forbore to light, onely fome flight Skirmishes had passed, and two Persians who challenged any Remans to fingle Combats were killed, the one after the other, by one Andrew the Master of a Wrestling School in Constantinople. Belisarius desired a suspension of Arms, because the Persian Army was increased by a supply of ten thousand men. But what moved him to defire a Ceffation, moved also the Mirranes to deny it. Thereupon both prepared for a Battel.

17. The Battel they began with showres of Arrows, which darkned the Air, and did great Execution on both fides. The Persians herein had the Advantage that their Numbers were greater, and their fresh men still let slie upon the Romans, who at first did not consider it. Yet a strong Wind blew upon them, which suffered not their shot to doe much more mischeif than they received. When their Arrows were spent, they came to their Lances, and the left Wing of the Romans was much distressed, till releived by three hundred Heruli, who being placed on purpose on an adjoyning Hillock, fell in upon the Rere of the Enemy, which being charged also by another Party on the Flank, gave ground, and at length ran away, about three thousand men being lost in their Right Wing. But their lest together with their Immortal Band charged their Oppolites with such Violence, that they put them to the rout. But then from the Angle of the right hand line, which the Roman Generals had caused to be drawn, a party ordered by Belisarius fell with fury on the Flank of the Barbarians as they purfued, and cut their Army in two. The Persians who gave the chace foremost perceiving their Disadvantage, faced about and fell upon their pursuers, whereby they came to be charged both ways by the Romans, they that had fled before them now turning head. When the Immortal Band and the other Persians near them saw the great Ensign lying upon the ground, acted by Indignation they charged the Romans a-fresh, who received them fo warmly, that they foon had enough, and fled away in Confusion. The Foot furprized with terrour and amazement, cast away their Bucklers and were cut in peices. The Romans killed about five thousand, yet the chase lasted not long, their Generals causing them to retreat, lest the Enemy should rally and worst them thus pursuing without order. They thought it enough to have got the Victory in this manner, for before that day it had been long since the Perstans were deseated by the Romans, so they parted for this time, neither would the Persians come to any more Battels. There onely followed fome Skirmishes upon Inroads, wherein the

Romans had not the worst.

18. Such was the Success Cabades found in Mesopotamia, who had fent another Army into the Roman Armenia. This confifted of Persarmenians and Sunites who bordered upon the Alans, and three thousand Sabirian Hunnes, a very Warlike Nation, Commanded by Mermeroes a Persian. Intelligence being given where they lay to Dorotheus the Commander in Armenia, and Sittas General of the Forces, they fell on a fudden upon them, and killing many, rifled their Camp. Not long after their Return, Mermeroes to be even with them, invaded the Roman Territories. and overpowring his Enemies in Numbers had destroyed them in their Camp, but that Sittas placed with a Reserve behind an Hill, came upon his Rere in good time, and the Persians by reason of the Dust, not being able to discover how many men he had, and fearing they might be more numerous than they were, left the Camp, and retiring into a Body were defeated and fled. But because they exceeded the Romans in number, they rallied, and coming to dint of Sword the Fight was very tharp, till Florentius a Thracian, and Captain of a Troop of Horse, with the loss of his Life seized the Persian Standard and cast it to the ground. The Barbarians looling fight of their cheif Enfign fell into fear and diforder, and retiring to their Camp the next day marched home. And none purfued them, the Romans thinking they had done enough, having first beaten them in their own Countrey, and now fent them home worsted by a smaller number, without having any thing performed. Afterwards they took in some Towns in Perfarmenia with two Forts called Bolus and Pharangium, whence the King had a Revenue of Gold Mines. Sittas before this War had also subdued the Tzanians, who Inhabiting the Inaccesfible Mountains covered with perpetual Snow, had lived by picking and stealing, but now by him civilized were inrolled in the Roman Troops, marched with their Armies and turned Christians. About the same time Narses and Aratius, who had formerly fought against Belifarius and Sittas, revolted to the Romans, and were

entertained by Narses the Emperours Quastor who was also a Persarmenian. This their younger Brother Isaac hearing, held secret Intelligence with the Romans, and delivered into their Hands the Fort Bolus, which was not far distant from Theodofiopolis, letting in the Souldiers by a Postern. And so he also came to Constanti-19. But the Persians who lay about Daras, though defeated by Belisarius, yet

kept together about these Parts, till Rufinus the Ambassadour coming to Cabades, folicited him about a Peace as most conducible to the flourishing Estate of both Na-Refining Ambast tions. Cabades laid the load upon the Romans, urging that the rearing of the se-second to Caba- veral Forts of Daras, Mindon and the rest, were quite contrary to the Articles of the Agreement concluded with Anastasias the Emperour, and he alledged that the Romans ought to contribute half of the expence toward the keeping of the Caspian Gates, through which the Neighbouring Nations were wont to forage both Countries. He difmitted the Ambassadour with publick Answer, that he was resolved not to lay down Arms till the Romans either joyned in the Guard of the Gates, or difmantled Daras, yet privately he intimated to him that for a Sum of money he would be content to lay afide all Quarrels, wherewith Rufinus acquainted the Emperour at his return to Constantinople. Thither soon after came Hermogenes, and so together with the Winter ended the fourth year of the Reign of Justinian. The Occurrences of these years being thus interwoven by the Authour, so as not to be distinguished, we are constrained to give the Narration of them unbroken, as it lies before us, and must now prosecute what remains till the conclusion of this present

20. In the beginning then of the following Spring, seventeen thousand Persian Horse under the Command of Azarethes their Countreyman invaded the Roman The Persiansand Territories, and with them Alamundarus King of the Saracens, followed by great Someon invade numbers of his Subjects, not as they were wont by the way of Melopotamia, but the Rama Iter by Comagena at that time called Euphratesia. This way they took by the Advice invoits a new of Alamundarus, who was now become chief Councellor to Cabades; for Perozes the Mirranes having loft most of his Army was in disgrace, the King having taken from him the Head-Tire of Gold and Pearl which tied up his hair, a mark of the greatest honour in Persia, next to the King, where none might wear Ring, Belt, Buckle or any thing of Gold, but by the King's express Licence. To trust Alamundarus he had good reason, both in respect of his Abilities being a very wife man, and an experienced Souldier, as also because his Enthity to the Romans was remarkable, he having for the space of fifty years, much indamaged them by foraging their Countrey, from Ægypt to Mesopotamia, burning, killing and making an innumerable company of Slaves, being indeed the most circumspect and dangerous Enemy the Empire had. His great advantage was his having Command of the Saracens, under the Perfian Dominion, with the Title and Authority of King, whereby he could make his Invasions when, where and as he pleased. Neither the Duces of the Limits, nor the Phylarche or Princes of the Saracen Tribes, in League with the Romans were able to oppose him. Justinian put many of these Tribes under Arethas Cheiftain of the Saracens in Arabia, to whom he gave the Title of King, though this was a thing not usual with the Emperours, and it profited nothing, either through the ill fortune or treachery of Arethas. For, Alamundarus continued to make Inroads and Depredations as far into the East as ever, so long till he was become very old. He told Cabades that if he invaded the Roman Dominions as formerly, by the way of Mesopotamia and Osroene, he could have no sure bargain of it. That the Countrey about Euphrates and Syria, next it, had neither any fortified City, nor confiderable Forces, but he should find Antioch the chief City of the East with no Souldiers to secure it, and the Inhabitants onely intent upon Feasts and Past-times. He urged that he might easily take it by surprize, and return home fecurely before the Forces in Mesopotamia could have the News. For Water and Provisions he should take no care, for he himself would lead the Army the most convenient and securest way.

21. These Persians being the first that ever made an Invasion this way, much furprized the Romans and perplexed Belifarius. Notwithstanding he having left convenient Garrisons in Mesopotamia, hasted with two thousand men to give them a stop, which they understanding, resolved not to hazard themselves, and fairly retreated. Belifarius overtook them as they were trussing up their Baggage on Easter Eve, but had no mind at all to ingage, and finding his men eager to fight, by a speech he indeavoured to shew them how improper a thing it would be to set upone flying Enemy, and provoke him by necessity and desperation to doe that

Sect. 1. which he had formerly neither defired nor thought: and the ingagement would be unreasonable at this time especially, when they were all fasting, and according to the Christian Custome, were to Eat nothing all that day and the Night following. But the Army reproached him for his Speech, not muttering but with open clamour to his Face calling him Fainthearted Man, and a Discourager of them; so that he plainly faw he must dissemble the matter and comply, and amazed at their impudence he turned his Discourse to incourage them, saying that he knew not their Alacrity before, but now he took Courage, and should lead them against the Enemy with more hope. Azarethes feeing the Romans Embattelled, exhorted his men to fhew themselves Persians by arguments drawn from necessity and despair, which are wont to make even Cowards Valiant. At the first Encounter more Persians than Romans fell by Arrows, though they shot thicker being almost all Archers, and the most dextrous then living; but their flafts coming from weak Bows little bent, and lighting upon the Armour of their Enemies, broke without doing much harm, whereas the shot of the Romans, though it was slower, coming from stiff Bows much bent, and stronger Armes than those of the Persians, sped where it lighted, no Armour resisting its force. Two thirds of the Day passed, and the fight was equal; but then the best Souldiers amongst the Persians, agreed to charge the Right wing of the Romans, where stood Arethas and his Saracens. They opened their Battel,

and probably out of defign to betray Belifar us, ran away. 2.1. The Roman Horie fpent with toiling and fafting, and now overcharged on The Roman Ar- all fides, gave it over and betook them to their Heels. Some that gallantry of my willful to mind flatied, died with grinning honour. The Ifjaurians and Lycannians making fights defeased. no relistence were cut in peices, for they were men utterly unexperienced, newly taken from the Plough, knew not what a Battel meant, and yet they were hotter for the fight than any, and reproached Belifarius with Cowardife not long before. He having for some time successfully made head, and defended himself from being run down by the Persian Horse, Night came on, whereupon the Enemy returning to his Camp, he passed into an Island of Euphrates, and with the remainder of his Army was conveyed to Callinicum, in Boats fent from thence for that purpofe. The Perstans coming to plunder the Field, found they had no cause to brag of the Victory, having loft as many of their own men, as they had flain of the Romans. And when Azerothes returned to Court, he had no thanks for what he had done, having neither taken Antioch, nor any other place as the King expected. It had been an ancient custome in Persta, that when an Army was levied, the King sate upon his Throne, having by him the General designed for the expedition. And certain Baskets were placed there, into which as the Army passed before the King man by man, each cast an Arrow, which done, they were sealed up with the King's own Seal. When the Army returned from the Expedition, each Souldier took out his Arrow, and certain Persons were intrusted to number the Arrows remaining, who thereby informed the King concerning the number of the Souldiers come home, and there he knew how many had perished in the War. This course being now taken, when Cabades understood how many Arrows were left in the Baskets, he reviled Azarethes and ever after held him in difgrace.

23. Justinian seeing he had work enough made him by the Persians, bethought himself of some Assistance; and for that purpose resolved to try if he could draw the Homerites and Æthiopians to joyn with him against them. The Homerites Inhabited to the East of Palestine upon the Red-Sea, which taking its beginning from India according to the Hydrography of Procopius, terminated in that part of the Roman Empire, having upon the Coast, where it ends in a narrow Strait, the City Elas with the Mountains of Egypt to the South, and toward the North a defart Countrey reaching far. Opposite to the Homerites on the other shore, Inhabited the Æthiopians called Auxomitæ from the City Auxomis their King's Residence. The Sea betwixt them (by some called the Red Sea, as the rest towards Ælas the Arabian Gulf,) was five days and nights Sail over with a reasonable gale, there being no danger by Night from any Shelves or Rocks in the passage. The Haven of the Homerites whence they Sailed into Æthiopia was called Boulicas, and they Landed at an Haven of the Adulites, distant from the City Adulis onely two miles and an half, and from Auxomis twelve days Journey: The Vessels of India and others, which in those days Sailed these Seas, were not built like other Ships, neither trimmed with Pitch or such like stuff, nor were the Planks fastened with Iron, but tied together with Cords. Not because of Iron-drawing Rocks as was then vulgarly thought, the Roman Ships on the same Sea finding no such matter though Built with Iron; but because neither Indians nor Æthiopians had Iron, no there materials for that use, neither could they buy any of the Romans who forbad it on

24. During the War with Persia, Hellisthaus King of Æthiopia being a very dewout Christian, and hearing that many of the Homerites were Jews, and some Heathens laying excessive burthens upon Christians, sent out a Fleet and an Army against them, and slew their King with much People. He made King one Esimiphaus one of their own Nation and a Christian, and imposed on them a Tribute, many of his own Souldiers also liking well the Countrey, would not return but fixed there. Not long after, the People imprisoned Esimiphæus, and made one Abram King, a Christian, who had been flave to a Roman Merchant at Adulis. To punish these Innovators Hellishaus sent two Armies, but one revolted allured with the goodness of the Land, and the other returned with loss, so that he forbore to meddle any more with Abram, who yet after his death was content to pay the Tribute to his Successour, and so was confirmed in his place. During the Reigns of Hellistheus and Esimipheus, the Emperour Justinian sent his Ambassadour Julian, to defire their Confederacy with the Romans against the Persians. Besides that they were of the fame Religion, he propounded to the Æthiopians, that they might make themselves Masters of a very rich Trade, by dealing with the Indians for their Silk and felling it to the Romans, for of this Silk were then made the anciently called Persian, and afterward Serick Clothes. He desired of the Homerites, that they would fet over the Maadeni Saracens one Caifus descended from the Phylarchæ, and an ancient Souldier, who was fled into the Wilderness for having killed a Kinfman of Emiliphæus, and he prayed that together with these Saracens they

would invade the Persians. 25. Each of them difmissed the Ambassadour with fair promises, but never performed them. The Æthiopians were not able to buy the Silk, because the Persian Merchants being the next Borderers, came first to the Havens where the Indians unladed, and bought up all. The Homerites thought it too much to travell through a Delart many days Journey, to fight with a more Warlike People than themselves: and Abram afterward often promited and once began the Journey, but returned home again. About the fame time Hermogenes, being fent on an Embaffy to Cabades, had as bad or worse success, not being able to procure a peace, the King was so inraged after the Battel of Euphrates. Belisarius was sent for home to make War upon the Vandals, and Sittas was ordered to take care of the East. The Perfians with a tresh Army Commanded by Chanaranges, Apfendes and Mermeroes entered Mesopotamia, and there being none to resist them, sate down before Martyropolis in the Province of Sophanene, thirty miles to the North of Amida, and fittuate upon the River Nymphius, which bounded the Roman and Persan Dominions. They were valiantly received by the Defendants, though the Town was not at all fortified for a Seige, and wanted all forts of Provisions. Sittas was then abroad with a Roman Army, but durst not come within twelve miles, being accompanied by Hermogenes, who was now fent on another Embassy.

CHAP. II.

26. In the mean time one of the Perfian Spies, discovers to Justinian much of their affairs, and that a Nation of Massagetes was coming into Persia, and thence were to invade the Romans with an Army of that Kingdom. The Emperour having had experience of the Man's truth, perswaded him for a reward, to go and report to the Army lying before Martyropolis, that these Massagetes were hired by the Emperour, and were instantly to come and raise the Seige, upon which story they were fore afraid and doubtfull what to doe, when in the mean time a matter of great concernment fell out, which expedited their Business. Cabades the Persian King died, after he had Reigned thirty years from his Imprisonment, and on his Death-bed by advice of Mebodes his chief Favorite, ordained Chofroes his Son his Succeffour by Testament. The Will being kept close, Caofes the Eldest presuming upon the Law assumed the Title, but Mebodes checked him for so doing, alledging that none of himself might take the Kingdom, but by the Votes of the principal Persians. Caoses never suspecting the great Officers, gladly referred the matter to their Cognizance, who when they perceived what was the determination of Cabades, out of reverence to his Virtues declared Chofroes King of Persia. The Report hereof being carried to the Camp before Martyropolis, the Persian Generals not knowing in what condition the affairs of their Countrey stood, and still being afraid of the Massagetes, began to listen to Sittas and Hermogenes, who not being able to releive the Town, pressed them much to suspend all Acts of Hostility, and retiring home to fuffer Ambassadours to take up the Quarrel, and for the reality of the Embassy they offered Hostages. The Hostages being received, the Army

CHAP. II.

Sect. 1. drew off and returned home. Which done, the Hunnes, or Massagetes, shortly after entred the Roman Territories, and finding no Perfian Forces to joyn with them, in a few days also returned home.

27. Hermogenes with his fellow Ambassadours, Rusinus, Alexander and Thomas had Audience of the Perhan King at the Tigris, who upon their Arrival releafed the Hoflages. To make him tractable they used flatteries, little becoming the Character they bore, which moved him to conclude a perpetual Peace for an hundred and ten Centenaries, on condition that the Commanders of the Forces in Mesopotamia should reside no longer at Daras, but at Constantina, as formerly they had done. But the Forts in Lazica he resolved to restore, and yet demanded of the Romans restitution of Bolus and Pharangium. Now a Centenary weighed one hundred pound weight, so called of Centum in Latin, (containing of our money, as some reckon, three hundred forty fix thousand, and five hundred pounds,) and this Gold he demanded to quit the Romans from demolishing Daras, and sharing in the charge of the Garrison at the Caspian Gates. The Ambassadors agreed to all but the Forts, alledging that they could not deliver them without express Licence first had from the Emperour. It was resolved therefore to send Russians to Constantinople, about these particulars, prefixing him for his Journey seventy days, the rest being to stay till his return. Instinian hearing the terms, the Persian stood upon, gave his confent; but Chofroes having a false story, how that he was offended with Rufinus, and had put him to death, in great Anger invaded the Roman Territories with an Army. When Rufinus returned and met him near Nifibis, it was refolved to confummate the Peace, and the money was brought into Town by the Ambassadours.

28. But now again, Justinian repenting the quitting of the two Forts, wrote to his Ambassadours not to part with them, whereupon Chofroes refused to conclude the Treaty; Rufinus confidering how unluckily he had brought the money into the Per-fian Dominions, cast himself at the King's Feet, begging of him safe conduct for the money, and to defer his defigned Invasion. Chofroes granted all for his sake, so that the Ambassadours carried the money back to Daras, and the Persian Army retreated, which made them jealous of Rufinus, and accuse him to the Emperour, because the King had yeilded to every thing at his perswasion. But the Emperour neglected the complaint, and fent him shortly after back to the Perstan with Hermogenes, and they concluded that each should restore what had been taken in this War, viz. The Romans the Forts of Bolus and Pharangium, and the Persians the places in Lazica. That there should be no Commanders of Forces residing in Daras. And for the Iberians now at Constantinople, they had free liberty either there still to continue or return home. Thus was concluded the perpetual Peace, as it was called in the fixth year of Justinian's Reign, the DXXXII of the ordinary Æra of Penge ad him Christ; for which were no Consuls nominated, no more than for that preceding sed it, and therefore in the Fasti it is thus marked, The second after the Gonfulship

of Lampadius and Orestes.

29. Belifarius as we faid, before the conclusion of the Peace, was fent for to make War against the Vandals, which the Emperour Justinian had secretly and with himself resolved. But not a word was spoken of his sending an Army into Africk: It was onely given out that he was discharged of his Government. But when the Peace was now fully completed, and all was well at home, the Emperour at a Confultation held with his great Officers, acquainted them that he would raife an Army against Gebiner and his Vandals. The most of them disliked it, rewar against the membring the overthrow of Basiliscus, of that great Fleet of the Emperour Leo. the Souldiers loft and the vast debt contracted by the State. Above all, the Presect of the Palace was netled at it, and all Officers belonging to the Revenue, who quickly apprehended that they must without end supply the necessities of the War, without being as they were wont admitted to Excuse and Delay. Every Commander also doubted of the Employment, apprehending the greatness of the hazard. in the first place to pass the Sea, and then to incamp in an Enemies Countrey, and immediately upon Landing to graple with a great and potent Kingdom. The Military men, newly returned from a tedious and difficult War, were no-what pleafed they should be led to a Sea Fight, a thing they had never heard of, and that before they had scarcely tasted of home Contentments. All others were indisferently affected, as content to be Spectatours of other mens dangers. However of those who were against the Expedition, none dared to cross it, but John the Presect John the Prefect a Cappadocian, being the boldest and smartest man of his time, who laid before against the War. a Cappadocian, being the boldest and smartest man of his time, who laid before against the War. the Emperour the difficulty of the Enterprize. For his Army must either march

by Land an hundred and forty days Journey, or Sail to the utmost bounds of the Sect. 1. Great Sea, as he called it; fo that the very News of the success must be a year coming to him. Grant he should have the better, he could not be Master of Africk, both Sicily and Italy being in other Hands. And if Fortune should prove Cross, he must needs draw the War upon his own Dominions, and indanger his But the Empe- Affairs now well fetled. The Emperour for these Reasons let fall his eagerness for rour is prevale the War. But a Bishop out of the East got Access to him and told him, that God had charged him in a Dream, to blame him for having undertaken to deliver the Christians of Africk from Tyranny, and now to grow cold upon no ground at all, whereas I will affift him, faid he, and make him Master of that Countrey. Upon this the Emperour could hold no longer, but made preparations both by Sea and

Land, requiring Belifarius to fit himself for the Expedition. 30. Here being ready with him to pass over into Africk, where we are to make fome stay, we must first set all in order at home in point of History, and discharge A great Tumult our felves of a tumult which happened at Constantinople, a little before the Conclu-

hepenedbefore fion of the Peace with Persia. Marcellinus Writes that it happened in January on Vide Baronium the Peace at Come the Least Come the Lides thereof, in the fifth year of Justinian, through a Conspiracy made against ad h. A. him by three Persons that were Cousin Germans, viz. Hypatius, Pompeius and Probus, the Nephews of Anastasius late Emperour. Each of them indeavouring to set up for himself. That the City hereby was much wasted for four days together by Fire, Sword and Rapines; and that on the fifth, when they intended to force the Palace, Hypatius and Pompeius were fet upon, knocked down and Slain, great numbers being killed in the Circus, and the Companions of the Usurpers, who were fled The Fadinas in that the Commons of every City, anciently divided themselves into the Veneti and Gaits diffus of Prasini, the Blews and the Greens; but of late about these Names and Colours whereasture. for it, proscribed. Procopius, giving us a fuller Relation of the matter, premiseth

in they stood to see Sights, they consumed their Estates, abandoned their Bodies to Tortures, and refused not the most shamefull Death. They would run the danger of fighting with their Oppolites, being fure, should they get the better, to be haled to Prilon, and after extreme torturing, to be killed. There grew fo ridiculous an hatred betwixt them, that it was without ground, and no Kindred, Alliance, Religion, or indeed Divine or Humane things or confideration whatfoever could with-fland it. What became of themselves or any thing else they cared not, so their Party did but prosper. The very Women did partake in this Abomination, not onely as the followers of their Husbands, but often being their Opposites, though they were never wont to go to the Theatre, nor had other Inducements. Our Authour knows not what to call it, but believes that it was a Distemper of the Imagination or fancy; however thus it was in every-City and Corporation, and this gave original to that Mutiny, he thence proceeds to describe. 31. But before we follow him, feeing that this madness did so ordinarily rage,

and was of fuch consequence as to produce strange and dismal effects in the Common Wealth, it will be convenient to inquire farther into the Original and manner of these Distinctions. Some have Written that Onomaus first found out those Co- vide quacitat As lours of the Circus, by which the Factious People diftinguished themselves, and that laman lours of the Circus, by which the Factious People diftinguished themselves, and that lamanus examples thereby he as it were represented the Contest of the Earth and Sea. They cast Lots, rum callettaness, and he who happened to act the part of the Earth in the Contest, put on a Green Cod. Vat. in No. Garment; but he that was for the Sea, was Clothed with one of a blewish Colour. ii ad are That this Contest Onomaus instituted on the twenty fourth day of March. If so be the Green Colour had the better, all hoped for plenty from the Earth, if the Blew, they expected Serene and fafe Navigation; therefore Husbandmen wished for the Success of the Green, and Seamen of the Blew. But as the People thus distinguished themselves by these Colours, so did the Chariot drivers that ran the Races in the Circus. And Tertullian tells us, that at first there were onely two of these Colours, viz. the White and the Ruffe, or Reddish. The White was devoted to Win- De Spellacelis, ter, by reason of the Snow, and the Russe (so he calls it) to Summer, because the redness of the Sun. But afterwards as both Pleasure and Superstition increased, others Confecrated the Ruffe to Mars, others the White to the Zephiri, the Green

> is profaned by the worldly Elements. 32. It feems therefore, that at the first these Colours were taken up by such as made Contests, or celebrated Games in honour of these Elements, (which Tertullian accounts Idolatrous,) and that time and Custome bringing these heathenish Solemnities into every City and place any whit confiderable, they continued fuch

> to Mother Earth or Spring, and the Blew to Heaven and Sea or Autumn. But

whereas, faith he, all Idolatry is Condemned by God; that is also condemned which

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Sect. 1. contentions in their Cirques or Hippodromes, and at length the Spectatours took upon them the Names, if not the Colours which at first the Actours onely wore, and divided themselves as their Affections or other Inclinations carried them, to that prodigious excess as Precepius relates. In Rome these four Factions had been The Fallio Pro- from the beginning of the Cefars, and before. The colour they called Prafrau was vide Omobium Green like that of a Leek, there being also a Gemm of this Name and Colour. & ladds street

Caius Caligula was fo extremely addicted to this Faction, that he supped and was

commonly to be found in the Stable belonging to the Chariot drivers, and he would drive himself in the place which was called Caianus after him. Its also reported of Verus that he loved these Aurige, favouring this Faction of the Prasini. Of Commodus that at his own House he would drive Chariots clothed in this colour, where he killed a great number of wild Beafts, as he did many also publickly, where he killed a great number of wild Beafts, as he did many also publickly. And of Edgabalus that he did the fame thing. The Faction called Ruffata as also Rosea, and Rubea or Ruffa, was also of old in Rome; Livy making mention of one of those Drivers or a Ruffatus Auriga: and Pliny relates that it was found in the Acts of Felix, another of this fort (Ruffati Aurige) that fire being put to his Funeral pile, one of his favorours cast himself upon it. This Faction is called by Martial, Coccina. And Onuphrius Panninius mentions two Marbles with their Inferiptions dedicated to the memory of two Drivers, or as they are there called Agitators of this fame Faction. 33. Of the third Faction called Alba or Albata, because the Drivers were Clo-

thed in white, mention also is made by Pliny, as Onuphrius observes, as also in an ancient Table of Stone described by him. Of that of the Veneti or Venetiani. as sometimes it is read, there is a large account, for which Vitellius the Emperour had so much respect that he killed some of the multitude for openly cursing it, as done in contempt of himself, and out of the presumption of some new hope. L.Verus was abused by them because he most idly sided against them. Caracallus drove Chariots himself in this colour. These four Factions had their Stables for their Horses which ran Races in the Circus, near the Circus Flaminius. To these four ancient, Domitian added two more, one of a Golden and the other of a Silver, (fome fay Purple) colour; but after his Death, when all his Acts for his Cruelty were rescinded by the Senate, its probable they were again abolished, and so four remained as before, though Dio speaks of six Chariots which ran in the Circenstan Games in the days of Commodus and Severus. But whether four or more than four, the principal Factions most taken notice of, most daring, petulant, and indeed in a The Profit of manner onely factions and feditions, were the Prafiniand Peneti, especially toward Poutrooftation and in the river of the control that and in the river of the control that the con Ventri molt facilion and in the time whereof we now write. The whole People in a manner was divided into them, and when met in the Circus, broke out into unspeakable impudence and violence, taking occasion to vent other Acts of emulation and malice, than what related to the Races run by their feveral Drivers. The Emperour had a particular Officer, who was his mouth to them, as was the Quafter in the Senate. who prescribed what he would have done, and checked their tumultuous humour. But the Emperours might thank themselves for the Disorders that happened, most of the Debauched and Extravagant Princes having of old driven Chariots themfelves, and others of them addicted themselves with too much zeal and favour to one of the Factions against the other.

34. So is Justinian reported to have done, as we shall hear with both Ears, from the pretended Hillory of Precopius; let us now attend this Authour in his unquestionable Relation of this Mutiny. At this time, then, he saith the Presect of the City led some Fallionists to Execution. Thereat both Parties took Allarm and agreeing betwixt themselves, first rescued the men, then broke the Prisons, and let out all forts of Malefactours; and at last without any respect to Authority, killed the Officers of the Prefect. The Citizens who were of neither Faction, fled to the opposite Continent, and the City as if under an Enemy was set on Fire. The mple of St. Sophia, the Bath of Zeuxippus, the Empereur's Court from the Porch to the Temple of Mars, the great Porticus reaching to Constantine's Forum, and the Houses of many great men, with much wealth were consumed. The Emperour and Empress with some Senatours shut themselves up in the Palace, and flirred not. The word of the Mutineers was Nica or overcome, and thence this John the Prefer. Mutiny was afterward called by that Name. At this same time one John a Cappadocian was Præfectus Prætorio of the East, and Tribonian a Pamphylian was

Quaffor to the Emperour. John was a man altogether unlearned, scarcely able to Write, but of excellent natural Abilities, the most powerfull man Procopius ever knew, both to discern what was fit to be done, and in doubtfull things to find a Refolution, but the wickedest man alive, in wickedness he employed the strength of Sect 1. his Parts, without respect to God or men; for gain studying the Ruine both of the Estates of private men, and of whole Cities. Growing suddenly to exceffive Wealth, he fell into boundless luxury, preying upon the Subjects till Dinner time, and then spending the rest of the day in Gluttony, Drunkenness and Leachery: In Sum, a man greedy to get money, and more lavish in spending it. Tribonian on the other fide, over and above his great natural Abilities, had attained to fuch excellency of Learning, as he was inferiour to none of his time. But in the methods of Covetousnels, as industrious as the other, being ever ready to sell Justice for gain, making and repealing Edicts every day, ever felling them to any one who had occasion to use them.

35. During the Quarrels of the People about Names and Colours, there was little faid concerning the mifgovernment of these men. But when they consented, and were now formed into a Mutiny, they openly railed upon them, and confulted how they might kill them. The Emperour to appeale the Tumult put them both out of their Places. To that of Prefect he advanced Phocas a Patritian, a wife man and naturally addicted to Justice, and Basilides also a Patritian and a famous honest man he made Quafter. But the Mutiny raged nothing less. On the fifth day thereof towards Evening, the Emperour caused Hypatius and Pompeius, Nephews of Anastasius, to retire from Court to their own Houses. At first they delayed to do it, which made him more earnest they should, though they pretended it was not fit to leave him; for he was jealous of them, and they feared that the People would force them to the Empire. And so it came to pass; for the Mutineers hearing that they were retired from the Palace, the next morning ran to Hyperin falued them, and faluting Hyperins Emperour, conducted him to the Forem to take the Emperour by Government upon him; Maria his Wife, a fober difcreet Woman, crying, lamenting, and protesting that they were leading him to his Death, and hanging upon him to flay him till they forced him from her. Having by plain conftraint brought him to the Forum of Constantine, they proclaimed him Emperour of the Romans, binding about his Head a Golden wreath, for want of a Diadem.

36. The Senatours, as many as were not in the Palace, joyned, and the opinions of many were to trie their Fortunes at the Palace; but Origen a Senator perswaded them not to hazard all at one push, but carry their business leasurely, not doubting but Justinian would run away. Hypatius then bade them lead on to the Circus, as some thought purposely out of affection to the Emperour, who now confulted whether he should stay or sly by Sea. Many speeches were made, but the Empress Theodora with a manly Courage distinated him from stirring, affir-The Empress the Empress Theodora with a manly Courage university of the state of th they might defend themselves. All the Souldiers who lay Quartered about the Palace or elsewhere, neither affected the Emperour nor joyned in the Mutiny, but expected the Event. All his hope was in Belifarius, who being newly come from the Persian War, had brought with him a strong Guard of Lanciers, Targetiers and others, all old Souldiers. And Mundus the Magisler Militum of Illyricum, being fent for to Constantinople, chanced to bring with him a Troop of Heruli. Hypatius in the Circus, went directly and fate down in the Emperour's Seat, where he was wont to behold the Horferaces and other Exercises. But out came Mundus by the Gate Cochlea, fo called from its round shape like the shell of a Snail. Belifarius first resolved to set upon Hypatius in the Imperial Seat, and called at an Hall where was wont to be a Guard of Souldiers, bidding them open the Doors for him to go against the Usurper. But they resolving to expect who should be Conquerour, made as if they heard him not, upon which he returning to Justinian, cried out that all was undone, because the Souldiers had revolted.

37. But being directed by the Emperour through the Brazen Gate and the Portal, and passing with much danger and toil, through Rubbish and places half burnt, he got to the Circus. Being come to the Gallery of the Veneti, which was to the right hand of the Emperour's Seat, he thought to fet upon Hypatius, but fearing to be cut in peices in a narrow passage, he resolved to fall on the innumerable Multitude which crouded together. Drawing his Sword, and bidding the rest doe the like, he ran upon them with a great Shout, who feeing Armour, and old Souldiers hewing them down unmercifully, fell to running away. A fearfull cry being made, Mundus rusht into the Circus also at the Gate called Neera, and so between them both, the Mutineers were cut in peices. Of the common People were flain more than thirty thousand. Hypatius was pull'd out of the Seat, none resulting, by Bo-

Scct. 1. raides and Julius the Emperour's Nephews, and led together with Pompeius to Juli-nian who commanded them to Prifon. Pompeius little verfed in Affairs of the World, could not refrain from weeping, but Hypatius childhim, faying, that men who perified unjuftly, ought not to be lamented, as they being forced by the Hyperius and People first, and then coming to the Circus for no hurt to the Emperour. HowPumpilus killed ever the Souldiers killed them both the next day, and cast their Bodies into the Sea. Justinian confiscated their Estates, as of all the Senatours that had joyned in the Mutiny, and afterward when he had given away all their best Lands and

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. Justinian. PART III.

Goods, restored to them and the Sons of Hypatius and Pompeius their former Dignities, with fo much of their Estates as he had not given away: so ended this Mu-Tribution and tiny. Tribution and John were reftored to their Places. Tribution being a pleafant fair fooken man, and able to will his Coverant after the content of the coverant after died in his Bed without any other difgrace, of whom we are to speak upon a better occasion. John was troublesome to the World, and being both a publick greivance and terrour, at length after several years came to such an end as he had de-

ferved. Of which hereafter.

38. Such is the Relation made by Procopius, concerning this Mutiny, thenceforth called Nica. This is strange in it that both the Factions, Veneti and Prasini, should joyn against the Emperour. For, he is exceedingly blamed, even as a madman, for fiding with the Veneti against the other. We have another story told concerning the Mutiny being begun by the Profini, who clamorously demanded Justice against Calapodius a Bed-chamber-man, and a Spatharius. But Procopius himself distinguisheth as to the time, betwixt that space wherein these Mutineers contended about Names and Colours, which it feems was three or four days together, and that wherein the Factions joyned together, and then demanded Justice against John and Tribonian. During the Contention betwixt themselves, and while they were divided, the Prasini found occasion to quarrel with the Emperourabout Calapodius a Bed-chamber-man, and a Spatharius, as Theophanes relateth out of the Apud Alomania. ancient and publick Monuments of Constantinople. Now because from this sparke Noin p. 62. proceeded fo great a flame as was that of Nica; and because as in some Picture, Alamannus tells us, may therein be discovered the State of the Empire as now it stood, the humour of Justinian, the licentious demeanour of the multitude, in the Circus and Theatre, and other things relating to the clearing of the History of these times, we shall transcribe the Relation as we find it worded, Dilogue or scoldingwife, betwixt the Emperour's Mandator and the Factionists, though the style and

expressions be very rude and bald. 39. The Rebellion (it begins) called Nica, happened after this manner. Both the Factions met in the Circus, and the Prasini or Greens with great clamours re-The clading Lan unred that Calapadius of the Bed Chamber, and a Spatharius, might be proceeded guage between quired that Calapadius of the Bed Chamber, and a Spatharius, might be proceeded the Emperory against according to Law. Prassini. Long may thou live, Justinian Angustus. I sufficient the Emperory against according to Law. Mandator, and fer unjust things, Good Cofar, neither can I bear them, God is my witness, but I he Mutinous dare not mention any Person less I should procure him better fortune and, for so doing, danger to my felf. Mandator. Who is that? For I am ignorant of the matter. Praf. He that injures me lives in the Region of Tailors, most August Prince. Mand. No body injures you. Praf. One there is and he alone who deals unjuftly with me. So may he never lift up his Head, O Mother of God. Mand. Who is this? for we know nothing of it. Praf. Calapodius the Spatharius, my Sovereign, it is he that injures me. Mand. But Calapodius hurts no body. Praf. Whofoever he is, let him perish as Judas. Let God punish him that injures me, and that speedily. Mand. Ye come not hither to behold the Shews, but to revile your Governours. Praf. Whofoever, I say, vexeth me with Injuries let him perish as Judas. Mand. Be quiet, ye Jews, Manichans and Samaritans. Pras. Do you call us Jews and Samaritans, and the Mother of God is propitious to us? Mand. How long will ye pour out Curses upon your own Heads? Pras. Whosoever faith not that the Emperour doth believe aright, Anathema to him as to Judas. Mand. If ye will hear me, be all baptized into One. *Praf.* They tumultuously cry out, as *Antlas* Commanded, I am baptized into One. *Mand.* Absolutely, if ye will not be quiet it shall cost you your Lives. Pras. Every one indeavours to usurp that he may be secure. But if we who are afflicted, if we say any thing, let it be interpreted in the best Sense by your Majesty, for the Divine power beareth with all. We have a Tryal to be, O Emperour, and therefore we speak all. Forasmuch, Mighty Augustus, as there is neither Court nor any Establishment of Polity; then I go onely forth into the City when I am at Burdone; and I wish, Mighty Augustus, not then neither. Mand. Every Freeman may freely go whither he pleafeth. Praf. I am confident of my liberty, yet am not permitted to come abroad. What Freeman foever he be, if he be suspected to be of the Faction of the Prasini, he is openly

punished with loss of the Light.

40. Mand. Ye that are near to destruction, spare ye not your own lives? Praf. Let us indeed that bear this Colour be cut off; And let there be no fuch thing as that called Justice. Abstain from slaughters, and then let us be punished. As those Waters flow from the Fountain, so let their Bloud flow, whom thou wouldst have punished. But those two things (Injustice and Gruetry) humane Nature abfolutely abhors. O would Sabatius (the Father of Institute) had never been born, and then he had not had a Son of bloud. Now the fix and twentieth Murther hath been committed at Zeugma. In the Morning he was a Spectatour, and in the Evening he was killed. O Sovereign! Veneti. Amongst you onely are to be found Murtherers in the Circus. Prasini. And when didst thou part hence without bloud? Ven. As for thee, thou without any cause fallest on killing. For as I said of such as meet in the Circu, those that kill are onely to be found amongst you. Praf. Our Lord Justinian, They provoke others, and no body kills them. I think he that hath no mind to it, understands this. O Emperour, who killed the Carpenter at Zeugma? Mand. Ye killed him. Praf. Who killed the Son of Epagathus, O Emperour ? Mand. And that did ye; but ye draw the Veneti into the guilt. Praf. Now, Lord have mercy upon us. How is Truth oppressed! And one would almost now dispute with them who contend that humane Affairs are governed by Providence. How comes this Misfortune? Mand. God is no Tempter of evil things. Praf. True, God is no Tempter of evil things. But who oppresses me unjustly? Go to. Whether thou beeft a Philosopher, or an Hermite, give a distinction of both: Mand. Ye Blasphemers and impious, when will ye be quiet? Praf. Seeing such is your pleasure, most Angust Sir, I am quiet, though unwilling. I know all and every thing, but I am filent. Justice farewell. There's no place left for thee now. I will be gone, that I may turn Few. It's absolutely better, and to be initiated in the Rites of the Gentiles, God knows, than to agree with the Veneti. Ven. Let me not see such wickedness; yet the hatred of you provokes me to wish it. Pras. Let their Bones be digged up after death that will stay here to gaze. So the Prafini departed, leaving the Emperour and the Veneti in the Circus. It feems however that both Factions afterward agreed to join against the Emperour; a wonderfull thing! But how infirm must this Government have been, which was continually in danger from the Meetings of fuch multitudes together, where fo many thousands, though of one Faction, were unanimous, as we see they spake as one man in the first Person singular. Their boldness was such as scarcely could a Prince bear, who had life and death in his power, fo long at least as they were pleased to permit it. Now we have cleared all at home, though long first, and left no disturbance behind us; we must therefore launch forth, and attend upon Belifarius into Africk. But we Belifarius tent a must first clear the way for him, by declaring who they were he was to conquer; gainst the Vanand what Dominion, Kingdom or Power it was that he was fent to fubdue.

41. Africk then, the Reader may remember, was seized by Genserick or Gizerick and his Vandals, who were called in by Boniface the Roman General, disobliged by Placidia, the Emperour Valentinian's Mother, through the tricks of Ætius. They Who they were. were both great Souldiers, inferiour to none of their time, and so high in worth and spirit, that in the opinion of Procopius, he shall not err who calls either of them the last of the Romans; but they always differed in publick Assairs, and the emulation of Etius procured the loss of Africk. How Boniface too late repented he had called in the Vandals, and was beaten by Genferick, we have feen; as also how Genferick their Genserick, proceeding in his defign, subdued Africk, settled his Interest therein, King-took Rome, and became troublesome to all his Neighbours. How the vast Army and Fleet fent to chaftife his Infolence by Leo, mifcarried through the treachery of Bafilifcus we have also heard, moreover of the Design of Majorianus to recover Africk; how he disguised himself as the Emperour's Ambassadour to make a discovery, but died when the Romans had good hope to recover that Countrey. Genserick having either by force or artifice shaken off his Enemies, harassed the Roman Provinces more than ever, till Zeno came to a Treaty with him, and a perpetual Peace was concluded; That the Vandals should commit no Acts of Hostility against the Romans, nor from them receive any. This Treaty was observed all the time of Zeno and Anastasius his Successiour, and during the Reign of Justin. Genserick at length died a very old man, having reigned over the Vandals, from

the taking of Carthage, seven and thirty years.

42. By his Testament he charged the Vandals that the Kingdom should fall ever to such Male descendent from himself as was eldest in years. Honorick his eldest Son fucceeded him, Genzo being lately dead; and during his Reign the Vandals had war onely with the Moors, who being rid of Genferick who kept them in awe, did the Vandols much mischief, and received much from them. But this Honorick was most cruel and unjust to the Christians of Africk, forcing them to turn Arians, or for refusal, burning, and in several forts destroying them. From many he cut out their Tongues by the roots, who, Procopius writes, to his time lived in Constantimple, fpeaking perfectly, and feeling no manner of inconvenience from that torture. Two of these medling with light Women after it, lost their Speech. Honerick having reigned eight years, died of fickness, at which time the Moors held Aurasium a Mountain of Numidia, thirteen days journey Southward from Carthage, and there lived in liberty, having shaken off the yoke of the Vandals, who could not make war against so high and craggy a Mountain. By the death of Honorick the Kingdom came to Gundamund, the Son of Genzo, and Grandson of Genserick, having the advantage of years above any of his Race. He had many Battels with the Moors, vexed the Christians in the most extreme manner, and died in the twelfth year of his Reign. His Brother Trafamund succeeded, a goodly man, wife and magnanimous. He also laboured to make the Christians change their Religion, not by Tortures, as his Predecessours, but by courting them with Honours and Offices, and with large Gifts; taking no notice of fuch as would not fubmit. If he found a man in a great crime, he offered him impunity to change his Religion.

43. Having loft his Wife, and being without Children, out of defire to establish the Succession, he asked in marriage Amalasirda, the Sister of Theoderich, King of the Goths, whose Husband was lately dead. He sent him his Sister with a Guard of one thousand selected Goths, who were followed by five thousand more fighting Men; and he gave her Lelybæum, one of the Promontories of Sicily. Trasamund feemed the most powerfull of all those who had governed the Vandals, and most illustrious; yet in his Reign they received a great overthrow from the Moors. Cabaon who was Prince of the Moors, inhabiting about Tripolis, a man experienced in many Wars, and very witty, hearing that the Vandals would be upon him, first injoined his People to forbear unjust dealings, delicious diet, and especially the company of Women. He made two Intrenchments; in the one he lodged himself and his Men; and in the other he shut up the Women, making it death for any Men to go into their Intrenchments. This done, he fent Spies to Carthage, with direction to observe what indignities the Vandals in their march offered to Christian Churches, and when they were gone from the place, that they should doe the quite contrary.

And he said he was ignorant indeed of the God whom the Christians worshipped; But it was likely, if he was so powerfull as they said he was, that he would punish those that scorned him, and defend those that honoured him. The Spies having observed the preparations of the Vandals at Carthage, followed the Army in a poor diguise toward Tripolis. The Vandals in their first days march lodged in the Churches of the Christians, put into them their Horses, and other Beasts, and spared no kind of indignity. They practifed therein all lewdness, and beat and whipt the Priests they found, commanding them Duties which they imposed on their meanest Slaves.

44. So foon as they were gone, the Spies of Cabaon, according to their order, cleanfed the Churches, lighted the Lamps, did low reverence to the Priefts, and used them courteously, and to many Poor about these Churches gave Money, and then followed the Vandals. In all the Journey they mended what the Vandals did amis; and getting before to Cabaon, told him how far off the Enemy was, and what they had done to the Churches. He presently then prepared for a Fight. The Field he chose to intrench in, he took in with a circle, and placed his Camels fide-long in a round to fence his Camp, making the Front twelve Camels deep. The Women and Children, unferviceable Men and Baggage he put in the middle, and his fighting Men he placed within the Legs of thole Beafts, having Shields to ward with. To such a kind of Battalion he Vandals knew not what to doe, being neither Archers, nor Darters, nor good Infantry, but most Horsemen, using the Lance and Sword, and not able to hurt an Enemy afar off. Their Horses not enduring the fight of the Camels, would not approach the Enemy, who plying them with Darts from a fafe place did such execution upon them and their Horles, that they ran away. The Moors followed the chafe, and took and killed fo many, that few got home. Such fortune had Trafamund with the Moors, and after feven and twenty years died.

Hilderick.

CHAP. II.

45. Hilderick the Son of Honorick, and Grandson of Genserick, succeeded. a Prince mild to his Subjects, and not harsh to Christians or any else, but fainthearted, not enduring to hear of War. Hoamer was his General, his Nephew, and a good Holde-Souldier, whom they called the Achilles of the Vandals. In his Reign the Vandals eximin pollars, loft a Battel against the Moors of Byzacium, commanded by Antalia, and quarrelled with Theodorich and the Goths in Italy. For Amalafrida they kept in prison, and put all the Goths that attended her to death; pretending they preached against their King and State. And this Theodorich was not in capacity to punish, wanting a Navy to make war upon Africk; and Hilderick was an ancient Friend of Justinian, who then had the Government in his own Hands, (his Uncle Justin being very old, and not skilled in Affairs of State) and they courted each other with Prefents. But there was of the Race of Genferick one Gelimer, the Son of Gelilac, Gelo-mer, Pecuthe Son (or Nephew by his Son Genson) to Genserick, who being next in years ex- nights Princept. pected to succeed Hilderick. For War he was renowned, but wicked of disposition, and skilfull in Mutinies and Rapines. Hilderick had yielded to him the management of Affairs; but perceiving his Reign to come flowly, he could not content himself with that condition, but made a Party, and persuaded the Principal Vandals to depose Hilderick as a Coward, and beaten by the Moors, and one who betrayed the State to the Emperour Justin, to keep the Kingdom from him who was of the other House; and this he said was the intent of the late Embassy to Con-Golden causeth frantinople. Upon these persuasions they did so. And Gelimer being advanced to commer. Coens. him to be depo-the Kingdom, shut up Hilderick in Prison in the seventh year of his Reign; as also terms Princes, fed, and suc-Hoamer and his Brother Euagees.

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46. Jufinian, who was now Emperour, having notice of it, fent Ambassadours, and wrote to Gelimer. He told him that he acted not religiously, nor as was due to the Testament of Genserick, to keep in prison an old Man of his Bloud, and his King too, if Genserick's wise Constitution was worth any thing; and to force him from a Kingdom, which shortly he would have by Law. He advised him not to proceed in Evil, nor change the Title of a King for that of an Vfurper for a little advantage of time; but to let him carry the Image of Royalty to his Grave (into which he was stepping) he having the management of it already; and having the Substance to attend upon the Law of Genserick for the Name. If so he did, he would find God propitious, and him his Friend. Gelimer herewith was onely fo far concerned, as to fend away the Ambassadours dissatisfied, to put out Hoamer's Eyes, and to keep Hilderick and Euagees in straiter prison, accusing them to have attempted an escape to Constantinople. Upon this Justinian fent other Ambassadours. and told him that he did not think he would have done quite contrary to his Advice. But feeing it pleafed him thus to get a Kingdom, he bid him take what Fortune gave him; but he would have him fend Hilderick, and blind Hoamer and his Brother to Constantinople, to get such comfort as men were capable of, who had lost Kingdoms and Eyesight. If this he refused to doe, he would not endure it. The hope they had in his Friendship, he said, induced him thus to act in their behalf; and the Treaties with Genferick could be no obstacle, being not to make war upon. but to vindicate his Successour.

47. To this Gelimer gave an Answer, which had this direction; King Gelimer to the Emperour Justinian. He told him he had neither taken the Kingdom by force, nor committed impiety against his own Bloud. That the Vandals deposed Hilderick for practifing against the House of Genserick. That time had called him to the Kingdom, giving him his right of Eldership according to Law. That it was good for a man to govern what he himfelf had, and not incroach upon other Mens Cares; and 'twas just in him who had a Kingdom of his own, not to be thus medling. If he broke the Treaties and invaded, he would oppose him to his power, calling to witness the Oath sworn by Zeno, whose Successour he was. Justinian was angry before, but these Letters more excited him to revenge. And being, Procopius faith, an acute Deviser, and nimble in execution, he resolved to conclude the Persian War speedily, and then to invade Africk. Belisarius General of the East was then at Court, and fent for; but not a word of his leading an Army into Africk. It was given out that he was discharged of his Command; and the Perfian perpetual Peace was newly made. But all being well at home, and with Perfia, the Consultation was held with the great Officers we lately mentioned, whereby the Emperour was diverted, till animated again to the Enterprize by the Eastern

48. Tripolis was already in the Emperour's Hands, being betrayed by Padentius a Native. Pudentius was protected by Godas a Goth, and Servant of Gelimer, a

Tustinian.

58

Sect. 1. man pragmatical and courageous, and feeming most affected to his Master. To him Gelimer had committed the care of Sardinia, and to collect the Tributes there; but his mind not digefting such a Fortune, he usurped the Island, and denied to fend the Tributes, keeping them to himself. Understanding that Justinian sought occasion of a War with Gelimer, he wrote to him, and told him that not out of ingratitude, or fuffering any disfavour from his Master, he had thought upon a Revolt : But confidering the Man's cruelty, both to Kindred and Subjects, he would not willingly be a partaker of the fame. He faid it was better to ferve a Rightfull Emperour, than a Tyrant who commanded things unlawfull. He prayed him therefore to consider the weightiness of the Enterprize, and to send him Forces to defend him from an Invasion. The Emperour sent Eulogius to him, and in an Answer commended his Wisedom and Zeal to Justice, and promised Aides, and a General fufficient to keep the Island, with affistence otherwise, that the Vandals should not hurt him. Eulogius being come into Sardinia, found Godas had taken the Title and Habit of a King, and got a Guard about him. To the Emperour's Letters he replied, that for Souldiers, he defired them, but had no need of a General; and difmift Eulogius.

49. Justinian had prepared four hundred Men, commanded by Cyrill, to defend Julinian's pre- 49. Julinian had prepared tour nundred inen, commanded by Cyrin, to detend paraions for the Hand for Godas. He had in readiness for the Expedition of Carthage ten thoufand Foot, and five thousand Horse, levied of the Legionaries and Confederates; for transporting of whom were appointed five hundred Vessels, of which none were of more burthen than fifty thousand Medimni, nor of less than thirty thousand; now a Medimnus contained fix Modii, in weight one hundred and eighty pounds. They were manned with twenty thousand Mariners, most Ægyptians, Ionians and Cilicians: the Admiral of the whole Fleet being Calonymus, an Alexandrian.

Preparations for In case of a Sea-fight, they had ninety two Pinnaces, called then Dromones for their the War with swittness (for the use and names of Triremes and Liburnae were then grown out of the Indiana. date;) with one row of Oars and Decks over the head to cover them from the Enemies Shot, having aboard no Passengers but two thousand Rowers from Constantinople. Archelaus a Patritian, formerly Præfettus Prætorio, in Constantinople and Illyricum, went Prefect of the Camp; for so they called the Officer who made provision for the Army. Over them all was Belifarius Commander in chief, with abfolute authority, whom by a special Commission the Emperour impowered to act and doe as he should think fit; ratifying and confirming all things so acted and done, as if he himself had given the orders. He was attended by many Launciers and Targetiers, old tried Souldiers. He was born, not in Germany, as fome of that Na. Fanal and petition would have it, but in Germania, a City of Thrace, in the Confines of Hyricum, with Aleman in the Confines of Which was a Metropolis, and is mentioned in the Sanctions of the Eastern Bishops. Proofil History Procopius faith expresly that this Germania lay betwixt the Thracians and Illyrians , fore. and he had reason to know, being both his Contemporary, and his Assessor in this very expedition; being at first afraid of the Voyage, but afterward incouraged and made eager upon it by a Dream, which he himself relateth.

so. In the feventh year of Jufinian's Reign, about the Summer Solftice, the Argon in the feventh year of Jufinian's Reign, about the Summer Solftice, the Argon inbarked, and Belifarius commanded the Admiral Gally to ride under the Paragon in the Indianal Committee of the Indiana Solfting and the Indiana Solfting and the Indiana Solfting and In father and Godmother were Belifarius, and his Wife Antonina, who named him Theodofius, the Man being one of their own Retainers, and much valued by them.

Thus the faid General and his Wife put to Sea, with Procopius in their company, having received the Patriarch's benediction in the manner related; for the Ancient Christians put a great stress upon Baptism, holding that by it all Sins were forgiven to the Parties, (which made them defend it till the period of their lives;) and that an Action could not better be hallowed and bleffed than by celebration of that Sacrament. The Fleet following the Admiral, and coming to Perinthus (at that time called Heraclia) staid there five days, whence failing to Abydus they were becalmed four days, and so had time to mutiny about two Massagetes, whom the General had caused to be crucified for killing in their drink one of their Countreymen. Having by a Speech appealed the minds of the Souldiers, and perfuaded them to live foberly, he painted the Matts of his own Ship and two others, aboard of which was his Train, with red from the top about a third part, and fet up high Poles in the

Stern, on which he hung Lanthorns that they might be seen both by day and night, and thereby the Fleet be kept together. By this means he procured that not one Veffel was caft behind; and when they weighed Anchor from any Harbor, the Trumpets were founded to give warning. From Abydus a stiff gale brought them

to Sigeum, whence, being becalmed, they came to Malea, where the calm flood Sect. 1. them in good stead, the want of Sea-room for so great a Fleet so much indangering the Ships by night, that although the Mariners behaved themselves very well, cal-ling out, and with their long Poles thrusting and keeping distance from one another, yet had the Wind been great, they could hardly have kept from falling foul, and indangering the Fleet. Getting clear, they reached Tænarus, at that time called Canopolis; whence coming to Methone, and the wind not ferving, the General landed his whole Army

51. Here he modelled the Army, and distributed the Commands thereof, wherein when he bufied himfelf, lying Wind-bound, many of his Souldiers died of a fick-The Army fact ness, occasioned by the avarice of John the Cappadorian lately mentioned. The feet drough the Bread for the Army, that it might not quickly corrupt, was wont to be twice badwarie of John ked (whereupon it was called panis bifcottus, or Bisket) so that of necessity the droughestimate of the capadorian seed. Souldiers must have a fourth part less in weight. Now this John the Prefect, that he might spend less wood and wages upon the Bakers, and also gain by the weight, brought the Loaves unbaked to the publick Bath, called Achilli, where putting them into the Stove, under which the fire was made; when they were thus forrilybaked, he fent it in facks to the Fleet. Being come to Methone, the Bread turned to dough, grew mouldy, corrupt and musty; but such as it was, the Officers distributed it to the Souldiers, who feeding on it in Summer, in a place of extreme heats, fell fick, and more than five hundred died; and more had, but that Belifarius procured Bread of the Countrey adjoining, for which he received thanks from the Emperour, but as then could not get John to be punished. From Methone they failed to the Port of Zante, where taking in fresh Water, and other necessaries, in sixteen days they passed the Adriatick Sea, (so Procopius calls that which others know by the name of Ionian) and with a flack wind arrived at a defart place of Sicily, near to Mount Ætna, having all their Water corrupted, except what was drank at the General's Table, which his Wife had preferved in fix Vessels of Glass, covered thick with Sand in the Hold, where no Sun could come. Belifarius was now got hither, but he wift not well himself to what purpose, neither knowing what Souldiers the Vandals were, nor how, nor whence to make the war upon them; the Souldiers also were so fearfull, that they shamed not to profess, that as on Land they would doe their best, so if the Enemies Fleet should appear, they would sly, not being able to fight with them and the Waters too. In this perplexity he fent Procepius, his Assessor, to Syracule, to make what enquiries he could, and then to meet him at Caucana, twenty seven miles distant from Syracuse, where the Fleet should ride at Anchor. He was fully informed by an old Friend of his, concerning all circumstances; as that there was no fear of the Vandals way-laying them, because there was not any report of an Army coming, their best Souldiers being sent against Godas, and Gelimer being so secure, that neglecting Carthage, and the Sea Towns, he made his abode at Hermione, near Byzacium, four days journey from any Sea. The General receiving this intelligence with great joy, weighed Anchor, and failed by the Islands of Gaula and Malta, whence with an Eafterly wind they came the fecond day upon the Coast of Africk, to a place called Caputuada, five days journey from Carthage. 52. Belifarius commanding Anchor to be cast, called a Council of Officers to

confult about landing, and how to begin the War; some were for passing directly towards Carthage, both because in a tedious march through the Countrey they should meet with many hazards and inconveniences, and leave their Ships at the mercy of the Sea; or of their Enemies. But Belifarius confidering that above all things his Men abhorred a Sea-fight, and that if he failed directly toward Carthage, in all Belifaring lands, probability he must come to an ingagement, resolved to land forthwith; and taking the Horse they had brought with them, Arms and other necessaries, to intrench within a good Rampire, and thence to begin the War. The Rampire-was finished the fame day, and their fuccess therein was double, lighting upon a Spring in digging, which supplied both Men and Beasts with water, a thing never heard of before in that dry Tract of Byzacium. Having secured the Ships by appointing eight Archers to each, and the light Gallies to lie round about them; by Boraides, one of his Life-guard, he took in Syllectus, a Sea-town in the way to Carthage, the Townsmen willingly delivering up the Keys. The same day the Master of Gelimer's Posts revolted, giving up his Horses; and one of the Veredarii, or Posts themselves was taken, whom the General would not fuffer to receive any hurt, but giving him a good quantity of Gold, took his oath to deliver Justinian's Letters, which he had written to the Vandals, into the hands of the Governours. They were written to this purpose; that, It was not his intent to make war upon the Vandals, nor infringe the

PART III.

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Sect. 1. Treaty formerly made between Genserick and his Predecessors, but to free them from an Usurper, who negletting that King's Testament, kept their Lawfull Prince in Prison, and otherwise afflicted and tormented those of his Bloud. He exhorted them to join with him in this good work, to the end that they might enjoy peace and liberty, which to observe inviolably to them, he made Oath to Almighty God. The Man took the Letters, but durst not shew them to any, except some private Friends, and so no-

thing material came of this Project. 53. Belifarius beginning his march for Carthage, ordered it in this manner. To the Right hand was the Sea, and therefore on that fide was no danger, the Fleet by his order keeping them company. A Forlorn-hope, confishing of three hundred Targetiers, he committed to John the Controller of his Houshold, by the Romans called Optio, being an Armenian, and a man eminent both for valour and conduct. Directing him to march some two miles and a half before, he commanded the Massagetes to keep on the left hand of the Army, himself bringing up the Rere, with his best Men, and expecting Gelimer to come shortly from Hermione. He governed his Souldiers fo well in his passage, that by their sobriety and temperance he gained much upon the Africans, so that he marcht as in his own Countrey, the People neither removing themselves nor goods, but giving free Market, and doing all offices of kindness to his Men. Gelimer hearing of their approach, wrote to his Brothees of kindness to his interior to kill Hilderick with his Relations, and arming fuch Ammatas at Carthage, to kill Hilderick with his Relations, and arming fuch Ambi-hai, Miles Vandals as well he might, at a Town called Decimum, about eight miles from Car-Ambi-hais, in thage, where was a narrow Passage, to charge the Enemy on both sides, and intrap ran, him. He accordingly killed *Hilderick* with *Evagees* his Coulin, *Oamer* being dead before; and prepared his Men for the delign of Decimum. Gelimer also sent his Nephew Gibamund with two thousand Vandals to keep on the Enemies left hand, Gibamund free that so Ammatas from Carthage, he himself in their Rere, and Gibamund on their Gaus-Mand, Poleft hand charging together might encompass them. Thus was the Plot laid. As rum or. to the fuccess, Ammatas came to Decimum three hours before his time, both the Armies of Romans and Vandals being then short of the Place. And he came but with a few, and those not of the best neither, leaving the main Body in Carthage to follow after. He killed twelve stout Fellows in the head of John's Troops, but fighting valiantly was himself slain, at the fight whereof his Men were discouraged, and running away, caused the main Body to sly, who marching out of order, and seeing their Fellows running, turned head, and imagining great numbers purfued, fled back for company. In the pursuit John's Troops did great execution, killing up to the Gates of Carthage for eight miles length fuch a number, that one would have guest

it a work of twenty thousand Men at least. 54. At the same time Gibamund with his two thousand Men falling into the hands of the Massagetes, perished every Mother's Son without any resistence, at the Salt Plains, five miles from Decimum. Belifarius having no notice of any of these Accidents marched towards Decimum; four miles from which, in a convenient place. he intrenched himself. There having made an incouraging Speech to his Army, and a Prayer to Almighty God, he left the guard of his Wife and Camp to the Foot, and fallied with his Horse, sending the Consederates before him. The Consederates had not long continued their march when they were encountred by the Vandals. and Gelimer at the head of them, by whom they were easily put to flight, running away to a Town less than a mile from Decimum, where was Vliaru, one of Belifarius his Life-guard, and eight hundred of his Targetiers. Here the Vandals, concluding that Uliaris would receive them stoutly, made an hault, although his Troops fled amain to Belifarius; and Gelimer having the Victory in his hands, carelefly quitted it. If he had followed on the chase, the General himself had not stood him, but all had been utterly ruined, so vast seemed the number of the Vandats, and so great was the fear of the Romans. Had he rode on towards Carthage, he had defeated the Troops of John, then wholly difordered and intent upon the Plunder of the Field; whereby he should have faved the City, become Master of the Enemies Ships, and cut off both all victory and hope of a fafe return. But he did none of these things, riding softly down the Hill, and then in the Plain, spending the time in lamentations after he had found his Brother's Body, and neglecting fuch Defeats Gelimer. an opportunity, as thenceforth he could never recover. For Belifarius caused his flying and dispersed Men to rally, and animated upon report of the success of John against Ammatas, after he was sufficiently informed, both concerning the Enemy and the Place, marched against Gelimer and his Vandals. They being unprepared and in diforder, ran away amain; and the execution lasting till night, many of them fell. The rest fled not to Carthage, nor Byzacium, whence they came, but towards the Plains of Bule, and the way to Numidia. In the Evening John and the Sect. 1. Massagetes came up with the Army, and both telling and receiving joyfull News,

lodged with it that night at Decimum 55. The next day, the Foot coming up with the General's Lady, they marcht toward Carthage, and arriving within night, lodged abroad without the City, although they might have fafely enough entred, for the Carthaginians had fet open their Gates, the City shined all night with Lights and Bonsires, and the Vandals were fled to the Churches. The same day the Fleet having made the Promontory, the Citizens opened the Iron Chain of their Haven Mandracium to let it in, yet the Admiral not knowing of their intent, put into the Bay, called the Pool, five miles distant from the City, very commodious to harbour in, and capable of receiving

the whole Fleet, of which the Haven was not. The next day the General commanded the Men ashore, and fearing the Ambushes of the Enemy, marched to Carthage in order of battel, but entred without relistence, having first put the Souldiers in mind what effects their moderation toward the Africans had produced; and adgaters Carthage monished them to continue their good order, especially in Carthage. Passing directly to the Court, he fate down in Gelimer's Throne, and commanded his Dinner to be given him in the place where Gelimer was wont to make his great Feafts, by the Romans called Delphica, from a threefooted Table standing in the Palace at Rome, which ferved for the Emperour's Cupboard, first used at Delphos, and now at Constantinople, and thence wherefoever the Emperour's Table stood, they called the Room Delphica. Here the General dined with his Officers of that Provision which the day before had been made for Gelimer, whose Servants brought in the Meat, and waited at the Table, fo that he attained (all circumstances considered) an Honour scarcely to be parallell'd; moreover the Souldiers were not wont to enter

into any Roman City, if but five hundred together, without some sudden disorder; yet did he fo manage his Matters, that there was not the least insolence nor menacing word used. There was no interruption of Trade; but in a City newly taken, and full of Souldiers, in a State quite changed, all things ran in their former chanel, not a Man having his House or Shop either shut up, or molested. The publick Scribes affigned Quarters to the Souldiers by Tickets, who bought what they liked in the Market, as when all things are in deep filence and fecurity, and not a fyllable fooken of War 56. Thus was the old Prophecy, frequently in the mouths of the Boyes, verified in

Africk; that Gamma must expell Beta, and Beta should expell Gamma again; Genserick having first driven out Boniface, and now Belisarius having outed Gelimer. The General gave his word to the Vandals that were fled to the Churches, and took order for repairing the Walls of Carthage, which were fo ruinous, that Gelimer did not think it fafe to trust himself in the City. Gelimer in the mean time playing at fmall games, procured by money and fair words the Peafants to kill many stragling fmall games, procured by money and hap wrote the training that he will ages, at the fight of their Heads much rejoycing, as at the loss of for many Souldiers. His Brother Tza-Tafe, Tafe, the Town at the first onset and slain Godas with his Souldiers, hearing that the Emperour's Fleet was upon the Coast of Africk, but nothing of the Success. There Alem. Taffo, Tatfore did he write to Gelimer a triumphant Letter, the Bearers whereof failed into Goda bonus. the Haven of Carthage without the least thought of an Enemy, and were brought by the Watch before Belisarius, who took their Letters, and dismissed them in fafety. This Passage resembled another done much upon the same time in Spain, whither, before the arrival of the Romans, Gelimer had fent two Ambassadours to Theudis, Prince of the Vifigoths, about a League and Alliance. Theudis had heard Theudishais. Poall before, by reason of their slow Journeys, from a Merchant-man, who set fail pulse Imperanse from Carthage the same day, that the Romans entred it with a fair gale of Wind, and him he commanded not to divulge the News. When he asked the Ambassadours their business, and they propounded a League; he bid them go to the Sea-

fide, and there they should hear how their Affairs stood at home, which they taking for an idle Speech of a Man in drink, neglected it, returning no reply. But the day following, when they propounded the same thing, and had the very same answer, they perceived there was some great change in Africk; yet not imagining that any thing had happened at Carthage, failed thither, and landing near the Town, fell among the Souldiers. Being brought to the General, they revealed their business, and were also dismissed without receiving any harm.

57. During these Motions and Changes in Africk, Cyrill, whom Justinian had ordered to the affistence of Godas, came to Sardinia; but hearing what was become

Godes flain.

Sect. 1. of him, he failed to Carthage, where he found Belifarius and the Roman Army victorious. Solemon the Affilient of Belifarius, fuch an Officer as the Romans called Domesticus, being an Eunuch not by design, but by accident in his swathing Clouts, was sent to the Emperour to give him an account of the Success. As for Gelimer, he made the best of the worst of Fortunes, in the Plains of Bule, near the Border of Numidia, and four days journey from Carthage, gathering together the Vandals, and fuch Moors as were well affected to him, though Fews, and without discipline. For their Governours throughout Mauritania, Numidia and Byzacium had profered by their Ambassadours their Service to the Emperour, some of them sending their Sons to Belifarius for Hostages, and desiring to receive from him Ensigns of Principality. It was an ancient Custome, that none might govern those Moors before he had received those Badges from the Emperour, yea, though he were an Enemy

to the Romans; and taking them now from the Vandals, they did not esteem their Enfigns of prin-Government firm and lucky. These Enfigns were a silver Rod gilt, a silver Cap, cipnity amongst not covering the whole Head, but set upright like a Crown with silver Wire; a white Covering, fastened together with a golden Clasp over the Right Shoulder, in the manner of a The falian Mantle; a white Robe embroidered; and a gilt Shooe. Belifarius both fent them all these, and Money also, yet did they not join with him, but flood a-loof as Neuters, watching the event of the War. Gelimer wrote a lamentable Letter to his Brother Tzazon, wherein having given an account how Africk was become a Prey to the Romans, through the cowardize and negligence of the Vandals, he defired him to quit Sardinia, and come to him with his whole Fleet. Tzazon and his Vandals with grief and lamentations obeyed his Orders; and when they came up to the Army on the Plains of Bule, fo fad a greeting was betwixt them, as cannot be exprest, and as would have moved the Enemy with compassion and a fense of the slippery condition of Mankind. The two Brothers embracing each other, could not be parted, faying nothing but by tears, expressing their inward grief. In like manner did the others embrace them that came from Sardinia, being all ftruck with fuch confernation and amazement at the present posture of their Affairs, that what at another time would have been very important, was not now fo much as thought of. For Gelimer neither enquired any thing concerning Godas, nor Tzazon after what had happened in Africk, although the Place where they now were, hinted those and such like things sufficiently to them. There was not a word spoken of their Wives or Children, they well enough perceiving that such as they faw not in that Place, were either certainly dead, or in captivity; with which Process. Hist. words Procopius concludes the First Book of his History of the Vandal Wars.

58. Nevertheless, when a little time had disburthened their grief, and made way for consideration, Gelimer led them against Carthage, where he cut off the Aqueduct of the City, a Piece of excellent Workmanship; and after a little stay, when no Enemy fallied out, he retired, quartering his Men in the adjoining Towns, and blocking up the City, as he supposed. His Men expecting that the Carthaginians would betray it into their Hands, and looking upon the Countrey no otherwife than their own, kept very good order; they hoped that such Romans as were Arians would join with them, and by large promifes invited the Commanders of the Hunnes to their fide, who were nothing affected to the Romans, complaining that they had been trepanned into Constantinople by Peter the General. They agreed to the Proposals of the Vandals, and promised when they came to fight, to turn their Power against the Romans. But Belisarius having smelt out the Plot, first nailed to a Cross one Laurus a Carthaginian, convicted of Treason, and then so won upon the Massagetes, or Hunnes, by courtship, and inviting them to his Table, that he got out of them the whole matter propounded by Gelimer; and whereas the apprehension of two things disgusted their minds, and aliened them from the service of the Emperour; the one a Jealousie, that though the Vandals were subdued, they should not be dismissed to their own Countrey, but be worn out in Africk; the other, that their Booty should be taken from them; he by Oath assured them, that neither of these things should be done; and in like manner bound them by Oath to assift him with all alacrity. Having then by a Speech exhorted his Army not to fusier the Conquest which was even almost atchieved, to fall out of their Hands, he fent out all the Horse, except five hundred, under Command of John the Armenian, to attacque the Enemy as he should see occasion. He himself, the day following, with these five hundred Horse and all the Foot followed. The Massagetes resolved to keep their word so with both Parties, as to expect the event, and join with the Conquerours. The Roman Army overtook the Vandals at Tricamar, feventeen miles from Carthage, and encamping at a reasonable distance from them, about

midnight fome of them were troubled at the fight of a great Prodigy. Fire feemed to fasten upon the points of their Spears, the heads of them appearing red and glowing hot. Those few that saw it were amazed, solicitous about the Event. But when the same happened afterward in Italy, they were incouraged, and took it for an undoubted fign of Victory and good fuccess.

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

Tustinian.

59. The next day Gelimer placed the Wives and Children of his Vandals, with all their Wealth in the midst of the Camp, which was not fortified by any Work, and then calling them together, propounded that object to them as alone fufficient to excite their Valour, the Contest being as he said not for Empire, Dominion or Honour; but what was their All, their utmost hopes and dearest Pledges. He caused his Brother Tzazon to use the same exhortations to his men apart, and then moving toward the Enemy about Noon, when the Romans took their Dinner, faced them upon the Bank of a Brook, keeping his men in good order. The Romans on the opposite Bank put themselves also in order, and so they stood facing each other a good while, till John by Belisarius his order with a few select men passed the Brook, and charged the main Body of the Vandals, but was so warmly received by Tzazon, that he was glad to retreat, being purfued to the Brook by the Vandals, who yet durst not venture over: Tohn renewed the charge the second time. and was repulled, but at the third onset had better Fortune, though the Barbarians valiantly received them, fighting onely with their Swords according to Gelimer's Command. The Fight growing sharp many Vandals fell, and amongst them Tzazon himself, after which came on the whole Roman Cavalry, and passing the Brook charged the Enemy. Now was the Quarrel quickly determined, each one with ease routing his Opposite, which the Hunnes perceiving, according to their former resolution joyned with the Romans in the chase, though it lasted not long, the Vandals recovering their Camp, and the other not thinking themselves able to graple with them in their Entrenchment. The Vandals lost eight hundred of their men, and the Romans fifty, who retired also to their Camp. But Belisarius when his Foot was come up, in the Evening marcht with his whole Army to the Camp of the Vandals, which Gelimer feeing, without speaking one word, or giving any directions, took Horse and sled toward Numidia, accompanied onely with a few of his Domesticks and Relations, who covered all with a confused filence. When Bellieius again the Vandals perceived he was gone, and the Evening coming upon them, the men overshows the were in a tumult, the Women shrieked, the Children cried, and every one forgetting his natural affection for others, made what shift he could for himself. The Romans following the Chase all Night, killed the men they could reach, and made Slaves of their Women and Children. In the Camp they found so great a mass of

CHAP. II.

Wealth, as never the like had been feen in any other. For the Vandals had long ranfackt the Roman Provinces, befides what riches they had hoarded up for the space of ninety five years, out of the Commodities of that plentifull Countrey. But thus were they utterly defeated, and deprived of all they had scraped together, three months after the Arrival of the Romans at Carthage, at the end of December, in the feventh year of Justinian's Reign, of our Lord the DXXXIII, the Emperour him-

felf the third time being Conful.

60. The Roman Souldiers being fo fuddenly and unexpectedly become Masters of fo great Riches, were intoxicated with their good Fortune to fuch a height, that they stragled up and down, wholly intent upon Plunder, not regarding the presence or authority of their General, so that had the Vandals rallied and come upon them, not one had escaped, and lived to enjoy what they scrambled for with such greediness. Belifarius having, with very much adoe, reduced them to some reasonable Order, Commanded John the Armenian with all speed to pursue Gelimer, and such Vandals as were found in Churches, having given them affurance of their fafety, he sent under Guards to Carthage. John after five days came up very near to Gelimer, but was deprived of his hopes of taking him, and his Life together, by one Uliaris a Lancier of Belifarius, a drolling and drunken Companion, who shooting at a Bird upon a Tree, missed his mark but shot him into the Neck, of which hurt he died foon after; leaving a great miss of him both to Prince and People, such was his valour, vertue and moderation. Belifarius coming prefently after, conti-Purfues Gelimer. nued the pursuit as far as Hippo Regia, a Maritime City in Numidia, ten days journey from Carthage, where he heard Gelimer was got up to Pappua a Mountain incompassed with Rocks, steep and almost impassable, inhabited by Moors his friends

and Confederates. He betook himself to Madenos, an ancient City Situate on its utmost border thinking he was secure enough from Belisarius, who being not able to attempt the Mountain in that unleasonable time, and the settlement of affairs

Yeilds.

PART III.

Sect. 1. requiring his presence at Carthage, left the Seige to Pharas, a valiant, prudent and vertuous man, and so much more remarkable, because an Herulian, it being rare to find any in that Nation that was not infamous for breach of Faith and Drunkennefs. The General in his return had the Treasures of Gelimer delivered into his Returns to Car hands by Boniface, who was ordered in case of a defeat at Tricamar, to transport there were the them into Spain whither the King intended to follow, but attempting fo to doe, may receive Gell. was forced by contrary Winds and Tempess into the Haven of Hippo. Being come to Carthage he fent Forces to take in such places as had been under the Vandals, who posselsed themselves of Casarea in Mauritania, thirty days Journey from Carthage in the way to Gades, and Hircules Pillars, of the Castle of Septa one of the Pillars, with the Islands Ebuja, Majorica and Minorica. He reinforced Tripolis against the Moors that pressed upon it, sent Cyrill back to Sardinia, who by shewing the Inhabitants the head of Tzazon, procured them to yeild, and taking in Corfica, (anciently called Cyruus,) made both Islands tributaries to the Empire. He sent some also to receive the Castle of Lilybeum, ashaving been in the Dominions of the Vandals; but the Goths refused to yelld up any part of Sicily, and denied the Castle to have belonged to the Vandals. Belisarius angry hereat, sent the Commanders a threatning Letter, to which the Queen Regent of Italy returned to pithy an anfwer, in 60 sweet and mollifying words, (affirming that Theodorich when he Mar-

ried his Sifter to the Vandal King, had onely given that People the liberty of this

Mart Town) that he yeilded to her resolution, of referring the matter to the Emperour himfelf, and standing to his determination. 61. Pharas in the mean time growing weary of a Winter Seige, would needs try if he could get up into Pappua; but the Moors fo demeaned themselves, that he

was forced to retire with the loss of an hundred and ten men. Then did he block up all access to the Mountain by diligent Guards and Watches, whereby he brought Gelimer forely Gelimer and his Relations, who were all delicately bred, to unspeakable necessity districted indee and difference there was between the Vandale and those Management of the Control of the difficiled in the and diffirefs. For a valid difference there was betwire the Vandals and those Moors that entertained them. The Vandals were the most effeminate Nation upon Earth, ever after their possessing of Africk, using their daily Baths and plentifull Tables, of the choicest things which Land and Sea afforded; most of them wearing Gold and Silk, and passing their time in Theatres, at Horse-Races and other delights, but especially Hunting. Masques, Plays, Musick, pleasant Groves and Gardens, and dalliance with Women were their ordinary Divertisements. On the contrary, these Moors were choaked up in close Huts both Summer and Winter, whence neither the extremity of Cold, nor violence of Heat could drive them. Lying on the Ground, they esteemed themselves excellently Lodged, if they got but a Sheeps skin under them. And as their Lodging, so their Clothing in Winter and Summer was the fame; being no other than a thick coarse Mantle, and a shaggy Coat.

Bread, Wine or any pleasant sort of feeding they used none, living on their Wheat, Barley and Rice, without any Boyling or other preparation, than Nature it felf afforded, as other Animals. Gelimer and his followers, falling from their pleafant

fare, to fuch harsh and irksome Diet, and now wanting necessaries too, could not hold out any longer, but esteemed Death most pleasant, and Slavery it self no base

62. Fharas, not ignorant of their diffrefs, thought it feasonable to write to Gelimer, wishing him to consider with himself, whether it were not better to yeild, and enjoy the dignity of a Patritian, with large Revenues by the favour of the Emperour, than thus to torment himself with so lingring milery? Nay whether it were not a Condition rather eligible to be a Slave among Roman, begging, than to Reign over the Moors of Pappua? At the fight of the Letter he bitterly lamented, and in his answer complained much that the Emperour should thus disturb him, by whom he was never injured in word nor deed, and he begged of Pharas thin, to would fend him an Harp, a loaf of Bread, and a Sponge. This request Pharas knew not how to interpret, till the Bearer told him that the King longed to see abaked Loaf, having not beheld such a thing since he came to Pappua; that he needed a Sponge for one of his Eyes, which was swelled with Rheum, and that being skilfull on the Harp, he defired one to which he might fing a fad Ditty, composed by himself upon his present Calamity. Pharas touched with a sense of his misery, and the vicissitude of humane assairs, sent him the things desired, but blocked him up closer than ever. Three Winter months were now spent in the Siege, yet nothing could Conquer him, till he feared the Romans would by degrees get up to him, and the fight of two Boys fighting for a newly baked Cake to affected him, that he presently wrote to Pharas, and promised to yield, on condition that Belifa-

rius would give him affurance of fo good entertainment by the Emperour, as in his Letter he had mentioned. Belifarius overjoyed at the News, as ambitious to present him alive to the Emperour, immediately dispatched away Cyprian the Captain of the Confederates towards *Pappua*, to give Oath to him for the fafety of him-felf and his followers, and also that he should have an honourable Rank with the Emperour. Gelimer having yielded himfelf, was brought to Carthage, and there being presented before Belisarius, could not forbear Laughing. Some imagined he was distracted, through the excess of his misery. But his Friends affirmed him a man of quick apprehension, which, when he considered how from a King, so rich and powerfull, he was become no better than a Slave, poor and despicable, and that so suddenly, forced Laughter from him; the inconstancy of Fortune, and the flipperiness of humane Condition deserving no better. And indeed, scarcely did Fortune shew her power more than in this Captivity of Gelimer, who being the fourth Successour of Genserick, to a Kingdom flourishing with Wealth and Military men, was Ruined in fix months time by five thousand Strangers, who had not fo much as a place to Anchor in. For fo many and no more were the Horse,

who either by their Valour or Fortune did the whole business.

63. Belifarius acquainted the Emperour, how Gelimer was a Prifoner at Carthage, and craved leave that he might bring him to Constantinople, keeping him in the mean time in honourable restraint and preparing his Fleet. But some of the Inferiour Officers envying him the glory of this enterprize (as is usual in all great felicities,) accused him to the Emperour of Usurpation, who either despised it, or thought it best to dissemble, giving him his choice, either to come to Constantinople with his Prisoners, or to stay and send them. He having discovered the Plot, was earnest for the Journey, that he might clear the Imputation, and be revenged of his Accusers; and when he had now taken Ship, the Moors of Byzacium and Numidia broke the Truce and wasted the Countrey. He could not now come back himself, but appointed Solomon Governour of Africk, leaving sufficient strength for the Repression and Chastisement of the Moors, to which afterward the Emperour fent another Army with Theodorus a Cappadocian, and Ildeger, who had Married the Daughter of Antonina, Belifarius his Wife. Being arrived at Constantinople, he was thought worthy of those ancient Honours which were given to Generals for the greatest atcheivements, and had been now discontinued for fix hundred years, except when Titus, Trajan, or such Emperours led the Armies in Perfon, and Conquered fome barbarous Nation. He triumphed, though not after the ancient manner, going a foot from his own House to the Circus, and thence from his Pavilion, to the Emperour's Throne, leading the Prisoners and Spoils through the City. Amongst the Spoils consisting of great Treasure and Royal furniture, were some Monuments of the Jews, which being brought to Rome by Titus, were amongst infinite Wealth taken thence by Genserick when he fackt the Palace, and were now, upon some words spoken by a Jew, how they could not continue but where Solomon first placed them, sent by Justinian's order to the Christian Churches in Jerusalem. Gelimer wearing a purple Robe amongst all his Kindred, and the tallest and beautifullest of the Vandals, when he saw the Emperour sitting on his Throne, the multitude of Spectatours on both fides, and himfelf in fo great Calamity, made no lamentation at all, but still repeated that of the Preacher, Vanity of Vanities, all is Vanity. Being come to the Throne, they devested him of the purple Robe, and caused him to fall on his face and adore the Emperour. The fame did the General, who interceding in his behalf, he had Towns of good value affigned him in Galatia, where he was permitted to dwell, not being admitted a Patritian, because he would not change his Arian Religion. Hilderick's Children had large means bestowed on them, as the descendants of Valentinian. Not long after, those Honours were added to Belisarius, which formerly had been proper to ancient Triumphs. Being made Conful, he was carried on the Shoulders of Captives, and drawn in a Chariot, from which he cast of the Spoils of the Vandals amongst the People, which scrambling for Plate, golden Girdles, and other curious things of the Royal Treasure was much pleased, not onely for getting such things into their hands, but for beholding the Solemnities of their Ancestours revived; of which they had heard much but seen nothing. And so did they rejoyce and cares the Conquerour at Constantinople.

64. Leaving the Triumph for the Conquest, let us, as it's more material, see how the Countrey of Africk was fetled, and under what Government. Before fuch time as it became a Prey to the barbarous Nations it was subject, as we have formerly The Government and the more fixed in mean fixed in mean fixed in meat fixed in meat fixed in fixed, to the Profestive Pratorie of Italy. But now Justinian having recovered it, shirtly Justin and over iov'd at fo traisfeendent a Providence, resolved it should have a Prefect of

PART III.

Sect. 1. its own, and gave the charge to one Archelaus, to whom he directs a Constitution cad Jahnila.

under that title, therein making provision for his port and dignity. His Seat he in 27.1.1. tells him he will have at Carthage, and under him seven Provinces subject to their Me. 50. feveral Governours, whereof Tingi or Zengia, and (which formerly was Proconfular) Carthage, and Byzacium and Tripolis should be governed by Confulares , but the rest, viz. Numidia, Mauritania and Sardinia (for this Island he joyned to 4frick) by their feveral Prefidents. He allowed him for his Attendance, and inferiour Officers fuch as we have formerly described, serving in his Office and Service, three hundred and ninty fix Persons. Then doth he expresly forbid all exactions upon the Subject, which as he faith he hates in all places, but especially abominates in Africk, to lately recovered from Captivity, that as yet it hath not had time to breathe. He appoints how much the Officers both Military and Civil, shall give for their Commissions, forbidding the Presect's Servants to exceed the rate upon pain of Death, after which he fettles the allowance to the Prefect himfelf, the Confulares, Prefidents and all their Inferiour Ministers, ordaining that it should take effect from the first of September of the thirteenth Indiction. He concludes by giving strength and virtue to what the Prefect should ordain, according to this his Constitution, telling him that as for Military matters, respecting his

Province he would provide by another Sanction.

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. Justinian.

65. This Sanction he directs to Belifarius, under the title of Magifter Militum Ibid. 1.2. 5.1 of the East, beginning it as the former, with a very pious and Christian Preface. He ordains first at what places the several Duces shall reside. He charges him that a continual Guard be kept at the Straits of Gibraltar, or the Castle called Septa, under a Tribune both prudent and faithfull, who upon occasion shall give notice to the Dux, and he to Belisarius of any motions; he would have also in the Straits mouth a certain number of Dromones, or fwift Barkes perpetually kept. In Sardi-Dromone aniji mouth a certain number of Dromones, or fwift Barkes perpetually kept. In Sardi-Dromone aniji nia he Commands him to fettle one of those Officers called Duces, with a sufficient longing repair of the commands him to fettle one of those Officers called Duces, with a sufficient longing repair of the commands him to fettle one of those Officers called Duces, with a sufficient longing repair of the ancient Roman bounds, to which end he will have Souldiers that shall 19.8 Employed. watch constantly upon the borders. He charges the Officers to Train and Exer- premoni constantly cife their men, not fuffering them to straggle from their Ensigns, and sorbids them rise Majdiate raising of any profit or advantage out of their Pay, upon pein of fining four certam Naugi the raising of any profit or advantage out of their Pay, upon pein of fining four certam Naugi times as much, besides casheering. All violence towards the Subject, he severely Tame 3 in Management of the Naugi Carlot of the Subject, he severely Tame 3 in Management of the Naugi Carlot of the Naug prohibits. Gives power to Belliarius, to inlarge or leffen the Forts and Towns, this men upon the Frontiers as he fluall fee occasion. And then fees down how much every meant idlin. Officer shall be allowed, to commence from the first of September of the thirteenth Gofficture 24. Indiction, as also what shall be paid at the Offices of the Praefelius Praetorio, and Vide Mamin.

the Magister Militum, for recording the Emperour's Grants. He tells him he Gloria maque tos must appear at Court, as foon as he had fet these things in order, which he charges quertone point him to do to all effects and purposes. This Law bears date on the thirteenth of some assern assern appril, when fulfinian himself the fourth time, and Paulinus were Consuls, that is shaumer april, when fulfinian himself the fourth time, and Paulinus were Consuls, that is shaumer as the part of the property of the quered, (though fome of the ancient Limits were not yet recovered,) they are warious practimuch out in their Chronology, who refer the taking of Gelimer, and the finishing at.

of the War with him to the year following. of the war with min to the year holosthing.

66. But the account which Preceptus gives us of Belifarius his motions doth not Like thin ye.

66. But the account which Preceptus gives us of Belifarius his motions doth not Like thin ye.

76. But the account which Proceedings gives us of Belifarius him, as foon as might and Depicture of the Hillorius district the Hillorius district. very well tuit with the Letter of time Law. In Law and the Hitforian faith, noting Depiche he had ferled the Countrey, to come away to Conflantinople, the Hitforian faith, noting flower follows he either gave him leave to come or flay, as he had occasion. The date of the must slighted he either gave him leave to come or flay, as he had occasion. ne enner gave num leave to come or itay, as ne nao occation. Ine date of the most studied Law is but on the Ides of April, at which time according to the flory of Procepius, mainty states of Gelimer could hardly be taken, if he was defeated at the end of December, and ribstantial held out in Pappua three months longer, and then what time must be allowed, for supplications of fending Intelligence as far as Confiant mople? But as to this it may be faid, that In-post tamendaments. telligence might be fent to the Emperour, after the defeat of Tricamar, and the forum calamit flight of Gelimer, by which Africk was Conquered, although not fo certainly and the focus of fecurely, as after the Captivity of that Prince. More difficulty there is in reconferring that the Laws, and the late mentioned Authour have concerning the Ergs internal factors, and Impositions upon the People of Africk. In his Sanction does not be the concerning that the Captivity of Taxes, and Impolitions upon the People of Africa. In his sanction of section of the Practicus Pratorio, Jufinian expedies a great deal of tender of the medical denness and care left his Subjects should be opprefied, who had lately ground unjudicing any other first production of the Vandala, frieldy Commanding that no opprefium be used to make the vandala, frieldy Commanding that no opprefium the vertical of the vandala, frieldy Commanding that no opprefium the vertical of t towards them, by any of his Ministers, as it was his indeavour to take off the buserin reference burthens from all the Provinces in general. But Procopius, as is pretended in his feDeut Machine, cret History, which he durft not publish in this Emperour's time, tells us that as 60. he harassed the Provinces Subject to the Roman Empire, so he endeavoured the recovery of Italy and Africk, for no other reason than that he might involve them also in the fame mifery and devastation.

67. That the Number of those, of whose destruction he was Authour, could no more be Summed up, than that of the Sand. As for Africk, though it was a Countrey so large, he so wasted it, that it was esteemed nigh miraculous, for one travelling there to meet with a man. Of the Vandals that bore Arms, there were eighty thousand men, besides an innumerable Company of Women, Children and Slaves. Of Africans living in Cities, in the Countrey and at Sea, io many as cannot be expressed, but of Moors a far greater Number. Now all these were destroyed with their Wives and Children: Besides a great part of Roman Souldiers, and those that came from Constantinople; so that in all, there perished above one million and five hundred thousand Souls in Africk. The cause of all this mischief was this. Justinian after the overthrow of the Vandals, took no care for fecuring these Countries, in the good will and affection of his Subjects. He suddenly recalled Belisarius upon a false accusation, and for such a Crime as that Man could not commit, it having never entred into his thoughts to usurp against him. Then that he might squeeze and spoil Africk at his pleasure; he set over the People cruel Taskmassers, and imposed on them unheard-of Burthens, besides appropriating the best Lands to his own Domain. He prohibited Arians the exercise of their Religion, paid not his Souldiers, and disquieted the Countrey several other ways, whence Seditions and innumerable mischiefs arose, this being his humour never to be content with the present posture of things, but always innovating and confounding by his Innovations. Thus the pretended *Procopius* in his secret History, whose account how it agrees with the late mentioned Laws the Reader fees. The probability of these and other accusations, we shall examine when we come to this Prince his Character, proceeding in the story of Africk for the present, wherein let the Reader take notice, how far the certain Procopius his Narration at large makes out, what briefly is delivered in the fecret Hiflory. As for the Impolitions upon Africa, we may take his Note out of his Hiflory of the Vandal Wars, that the ancient Life 20 Tributes being not to be found upon the old Roman Tables there, which Genferick had destroyed; Tryphon and Eustratius were sent in Commission from the Emperour to make a Tax, men whom the Africans found harsh and 68. We faid a little before that the Moors feeing Belisarius imbarked for Constan-

tinople, broke the Truce and revolted, the reason and manner thus. When news was first brought into Africk of the Emperour's Fleet, they reforted to their Prophetesses, (for Women with them were the onely Southsayers) anxious about the issue, and esteeming their answers no less Infallible than Oracles. These Women foretold an Army from the Waters, and the ruine both of Vandals and Moors, when a Roman General should come without a Beard. Hereupon afraid, they renounced Friendship with the Vandals, and made a League with Belisarius, still intent upon the Success. The business of the Vandals being dispatcht, they sent to spie in the Roman Army, if there were any Commander that had no Beard, where finding all well stored in that part, they thought, as they would have it, that the Oracle concerned not them but some after Ages, and longed to break the Peace; yet afraid them Bellianius of Bellianius, they despaired of success so long as he continued with the Army. When the Manurecute they saw him Shipped with his Guard and Prisoners, and the Roman Souldiers disperfed in Garrisons upon the Borders, and altogether unprepared they fell upon the Africans, killing the men, enflaving the Women and Children, and pillaging their Houfes and Fields. Killing the Garrifon Souldiers in Byzacium, and foraging the Countrey, Aigan an Hunne one of Belisarius his Life-Guard, and Rusinus a Thracian his Bandophorus or Standard-bearer with ten Troops of Horse, made head against them, and cut off many in a narrow passage, but were way-laid themselves by four Barbarian Princes, with many thoulands of men, and being overpowred by Numbers, were defeated and flain. Solomon who had the charge of the Roman Army, hearing this news, knew not well how to carry himself. He first tried to convince the Moors of imprudence by Letters; but this having such success as was likely it should, he disposed of matters at Carthage, and marching into Byzacium incamped in Mamma, where the Morish Princes had intrenched themselves, and upon fight of his Army put their Battel into fuch order, as formerly Cabaon their Countreyman did, placing the Camels in a round, and their Women and Children in the middle. At the first Onset, the Romans were put into a confusion by the skittishness of their Horses, at the sight and cry of the Camels, which made them they

Sect. 1. could neither defend themselves, nor keep their ranks; the Moors increasing the tumult by darting their Javelins amongst them. Solomon seeing this, leapt from his Horse, commanded his men to doe the like, and keep their guard and good order, Solomen defeats warding with their Shields against the Enemies Javelins. Then fell he himself upon the Round with five hundred men, giving command to kill the Camels. Some two hundred Camels being killed, the Maors, who flood between their Legs, ran away, and the Round was entred where the Women stood; at which fight, the Barbarians amazed fled up to the Mountain adjoining; and the Romans purfuing, killed about ten thousand of them in the chase. This done, and the Camp taken, the Romans marcht back to Carthage to celebrate their Victory.

69. But Solomon was scarcely arrived at Carthage when the Moors, enraged at this defeat, made an universal Invasion, leaving none behind them; and having overrun the Countrey of Byzacium, and done all the mischief they could, encamped themselves upon the Mountain Burgaon. Solomon being come thither with his whole Army, would fain have drawn them down upon the plain ground, but they meant nothing lefs, dreading the thought of fighting upon fo equal terms with the Romans. Therefore did he order Theodorus his Scout-matter, without any noife, to get up by night into the Mountain, where it was most difficult to pass, with a thoufand Foot, and in the morning to shew himself, and charge the Enemy. He himfelf also by night removed to the skirt of the Hill, and by Sun-rise both of them set upon the Moors; who seeing themselves ingaged on both sides, despaired, and took them to their heels. Not daring to fly either to top or bottom, they ran headlong into a deep woody Valley, lying between two Rocks; and being a multitude in tu-Gives them and mult and fear, threw down and killed one another, till the Valley being full of ther great Over- dead Bodies, the rest passed over upon them to the other Rock. The Survivers affirmed fifty thousand of their Countrymen to have perished. The Romans on the other fide lost not a Man, received not one hurt, but enjoyed the Victory intire and untoucht. One of the four Princes, Ifdilafas by name, yielded to quarter. So great was the number of captive Women and Children, that a Moorish Boy was fold at the rate of a Sheep. And now with forrow they called to mind what their Wo-

men had foretold, that their Nation should perish by a Beardless Man. 70. Most of the Barbarians that were left in the Province of Byzacium would not

betook themselves to Jabdas, Prince of the Moors, inhabiting Aurasium in Numidia. Jabdas at this time invading Numidia with thirty thousand Men, made what work he pleased, being indeed the completest Man, and most valiant amongst the Moors. Several other Princes of his Nation envied him, and incenting Solomon against him, joined their Forces with his for attaching him upon the Mountain of Aurafum. An expedition they undertook together, and Solomon distributed Moneys amongst those his Auxiliaries to incourage them. But when they had travelled feven days toge-

ther, and could not light on any Enemy, he suspected his Consederates, whom as Moors, he knew to regard no Oaths, nor Hostages (though their own Children) nor any League, but as fear and awe overruled them, and fairly retreated, as it was time, all provisions being spent, resolving at the beginning of the next Spring (for Winter was now come on) to return without any Auxiliary Moors, and better furnithed. Wintring at Carthage, he provided Forces and a Fleet against the Moors of Sardinia, called by the Natives Barbaricini, who being at first a few, and confined thither by the Vandals, possessed the Mountains near Caralis, whence committing petty Stealths, at last they grew to a Body of three thousand Men, and then openly invading the Countrey, wasted all before them. In these cares and employments he spent this Winter at Carthage, as Belifarius did in Syracuse, being in his Expedition into Italy against Theodatus and the Goths. Toward the latter end of this year,

there continue, for that being few, they feared to be opprest by the Africans, but

the Sun gave a tearfull and prodigious Light, like that of the Moon, being without its clear and usual lustre, as if it had been eclipsed. The cause Renatus Des Cartes, Princip. Philib a late learned Philosopher, ascribes to the increasing of his Maculae, or Spots, which fab. 101. 2. 11. Edi. how they come to be generated at first, and increased to such a proportion, it is not Ampleodemi, proper for us here to declare; and the Reader, if he please, may consult that Au- 1656. thour. But hence doth he folve many Phanomena in the Heavens. For this reason, Sic referent a he faith, many Stars appear now bigger or lesser than they are described by ancient &c. Aftronomers; and it is possible that a Star may be so covered by these Maculae, as

utterly to disappear, as for instance, the Pleiades were once reckoned seven, although at present six onely be seen by us. Hence also a Star may appear suddenly to us, and either continue in its splendour, or return by degrees to its former darkness and obscurity, as it happened in the New Star in Cassiopeia, which appearing

very glorious at the end of the year MDLXXII. failed in its light by little and little, Sect. 1. and at last vanished in the beginning of MDLXXIV. So, faith he, do some Stars now shine in Heaven, which in time past did not appear; the cause of which is in this place more largely to be explained. But here we leave him in a road not proper to us, and return to our Historian, who affures us, that during this Prodigy Mankind was afflicted with Famine, War, and all other Mischiels which contribute to Mortality. This was the tenth year of Justinian, the DXXXVI. of the ordinary AEra of Chrift, the third of Theedatus, King of Italy; being not diftinguished by any Consulship, onely noted thus, After the Consulship of Belisarius, in ancient Monuments, and famous for the beginning of the Gothick War in Italy.

CHAP. II.

The Souldiers in 71. In the beginning of the Spring, at the time of Eafler, the Souldiers in Africk mutiny mutined upon this occasion. Solomon granted the Slaves and Moveables as boory to the Souldiers; but the Lands which were conquered, he annexed to the Exchequer, and the Emperour's Domain; by whom Souldiers, War, and all were to be maintained. Now the Romans having overthrown the Vandals, married their Wives and Daughters, who ceased not, with clamour and discontent, to tell them how unjust it was for them, who had formerly possessed the Lands by their Vandal Husbands, to be deprived of them now they had espoused the Persons and Interest of the Conquerours. Another thing was, Justinian the Emperour permitted to no Hereticks the free use of Sacraments, or Churches, wherewith the Arians in the Army, being in number about a thousand men, and most of them Heruli, were inraged; especially because at the Feast of Easter they were neither suffered to baptize their Children. nor exercise any other usual acts of Devotion, in a publick manner. And as it happened, another accident there was which seemed to blow the coals of these Discontents. Justinian had, out of the Vandals which Belisarius brought to Constantinople, made five Troops of Horse, which he resolved should lie in Garrisons in the East, and fpend their days there in the Wars against the Persians. Being shipt away for this purpole, four hundred of them coming upon the Coast of Lesbos, forced the Mariners to put into Peloponnesus; whence failing into Africk, they landed in a defart place, and went streight to the Mountain Aurasium, and the Parts of Mauritania. The Mutineers herewith encouraged, combined together; and the Arians pricking them forward, refolved to kill Solomon in the Church on Easter-day, many of his Domesticks, because of the Lands, being in the Conspiracy. At the time appointed they made figns to one another, and had their hands on their Swords, yet either struck with reverence of the place and service, dashed at his presence, or overruled by a special Providence, they could not doe the deed, though they met again the second time for that very purpose, and reviled one another for want of courage. But now it being unpossible but the thing must out, most of them withdrew out of Carthage, and falling upon the Africans, pillaged their Towns.

72. When Solomon exhorted those that remained in the City to continue faith-

full to the Emperour, at first they seemed to listen to him, till hearing what success their Fellows had in the Countrey, the fifth day of the Mutiny they reviled both him, and the rest of their Officers. They choic Theodorus the Cappadocian their General in his room, a man that was thought not to love him; and yet after they had killed the other Theodorus the Scout-master, and risled the Town, he entertained Solomon, and brought him to a Ship in the Harbour, provided for him, wherein with Procepius the Historian, and five of his Retinue, having taken what care he could to reduce the Mutineers, and preserve Carthage, he sailed to Belifarius, now lying at Syracufe, to whom he related the accident, and defired his affif-Theyelule sus tence for suppressing the Sedition. In the mean time the Mutineers, having plunto forther Ge- dred Carthage, made their Rendevous in the Plains of Bule, and choic Stotzas one of the Guard for their General; a couragious and active Fellow, who gathering together some nine thousand men in all, led them to Carthage, to which he sent a fummons, requiring them to yield without more adoe. Theodorus and the Citizens returned answer, that they kept the Town for the Emperour, sending one Fosephus to him, formerly the Clerk of the Emperour's Guards, at present at Carthage, about fome business from Belifarius; but him he put to death, and prepared for the Siege. The Defendants were thinking to yield, when Belifarius, attended onely by a hundred of his Life-guard, and Solomon with one fingle Ship arrived at Carthage about twilight, the Beliegers not doubting to have the Town the next day delivered up; upon which being intent, they passed all that night without taking any rest.

But the next morning, as foon as it was day, and it was noised that Belifarius was

come, they broke up the Leaguer, and ran away shamefully in great disorder. Belifarius reduced to obedience two thousand of them by good words; the rest he pur-

Iustinian.

70 Sect. 1. fued as far as Membriffa, a Town forty three miles distant from Carthage, where they both drew up, and prepared for fight; the General by the River of Bagradas, and the Rebels on a steep and ragged ground. They trusted to their numbers. He despised them as a foolish and undisciplined rabble. Both the Commanders incouraged their men with words fitted to the present occasion.

73. When they came to the Encounter, a strong wind blew in the faces of the 8-lifaring puts them to flight. Mutineers; which disadvantage confidency, they wheeled about, thinking that them to flight. Mutineers; which disadvantage confidency, they wheeled about, thinking that the Enemy would doe so too, and that thereby they should gain the wind. But Belifarius feeing them open their Ranks, and fall into disorder, began the Fight, which they not expecting, ran confusedly together, and presently quite away into Numidia, where they rallied, having lost but a few men, and those of the Vandals; for Belifarius having but a small Army, thought it sufficient thus to send them going; and then giving the Camp to be pillaged by his Souldiers, wherein was found much wealth, and the Vandal Women, that had been the cause of the War, returned to Carthage, and thence, having taken order for Africk, and committed Carthage to Ildiger and Theodorus, into Sicily, where he heard that his Army also mutined. By this time, Marcellus, who governed Numidia, and other Officers, hearing that Stotzas was there, got their Forces together to surprize him, perceiving he was but with a few men at Gazophylae. He confidering his danger, boldly goes amongst their men, expostulates with them for fighting against him, who stood for defence of their Rights and Liberties; he puts them in mind of the shortness of their pay, and how they were defrauded of the price of their bloud and travels, bids them, if they should find good reason upon due consideration, kill him in that place; if otherwise, to take Arms and fight, not against, but for themselves. With this language he overcame, and brought them over to his Party; which their Officers perceiving, withdrew themselves into the Church near at hand. Stotzas having united the Forces, comes thither, promifes them their lives; and when upon The Emperour his faith they were come forth, perfidiously kills them. These matters coming to the knowledge of the Emperour, he sent Germanus his Kinsman, a man of Patritian dignity, with a few others, amongst whom was Symmachus and Dominicus, both Senatours; Symmachus with the title of Magister Militum, to manage the expence of the Army; and Dominicus to command the Legions in the room of John, who was lately deceafed. Coming to Carthage, he found upon a Mufter that two parts of the Souldiers were revolted, and a third onely remaining in that and other Cities; wherefore he saw there was no fighting, and employed his time in courting the Souldiers with fair words and promiles, whereby he fo much did his bufiness, that he drew in many of the Mutineers themselves, whom treating with courtese, and giving them their full pay for the time they had been in Rebellion; at length got together fuch an Army, as to match the Rebels in number, and then prepared for a 74. Stotzas also perceived it his interest to come to fight as soon as possible: For

his men daily fell from him; and he hoped, that if he came near Carthage, he could entice them back to him again. Therefore did he march, and incamped near the Sea, about four miles from the City. But Germanus by a prudent discourse so fetled the minds of his Souldiers, that every man of them became ambitious to swear the good affection he had to his General; and the Mutineers feeing that none came over to them, as Stotzas had warranted them, separated themselves in sear, and went into Numidia, where were their Wives and Booty. Germanus followed them, being very well prepared, and overtook them at a Town called Scalæ veteres, where coming to an ingagement, his men at the beginning had the worst, till drawing his Sword himself, and calling upon his Guard to doe the like, with much adoe he who overthrows routed the Enemy on his fide, and then galloping up to Stotzas, to incouraged and the Mutuneers affifted his Troops, that they got the day. So great tumult and diforder there was in the Fight, that both fides using the same Language and Arms, and not differing in habit, or any other considerable thing, those that gave the chace killed their own Friends, till Germanus commanded his Souldiers to ask the word. He had his Horse killed under him; and being dismounted, and in danger, was hardly rescued by his Life-guard. Stotzas being fled, and the Enemy routed, he marched to their Camp, where finding much opposition, after a sharp fight, he sent a Party to another place, where the intrenchment was eafily entred, and so those coming upon the backs of the Mutineers, he became Master of it. The Souldiers fell to plundring without any regard of the Enemy, or their General's orders, who fearing the Rebels might rally, stood in the Gate crying out, and complaining to no purpose The Moors who had, according to their custome, stood a-loof, and expected th

issue, followed the Execution upon those that were worsted, and pillaged the Camp together with the Army. Stotzas at first trusting to them, rode up and defired them to restore the Fight, but perceiving how matters stood, after he had made head and attempted in vain to renew the charge, escaped with a few Vandals, and retired into Mauritania, where Marrying a Daughter of a Prince of the Countrey he remained. And so ended this Mutiny.

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75. After the suppressing of this Danger, another arose from one Maximinus. who endeavoured to renew the Mutiny, with a defign to usurp and make himself Emperour. Germanus at first would not take any publick notice of it, for fear of driving him into some desperate Act, but sent for him, and made him one of his own Life-Guard, which employment he gladly undertook, not refufing the Oath of fidelity to the Emperour, always taken upon fuch occasions, because he thought he should have a fitter opportunity to facilitate his Design. But when the Souldiers began to assemble in a tumultuous manner, having an eye upon him, he caused him to be secured, which broke the neck of the Plot; for when they missed him, had none to lead them, and wanted the numbers they expected, they ran away, yet many were killed, and many taken. Such as had not time to joyn with them, put on other Faces, shewing as if they had known nothing of the Conspiracy, and Germanus was fo prudent as to take no notice of them, nor make any farther Inquilition. But finding that Maximinus after the Oath of Allegience taken, had been more busie in his design than formerly; he caused him to be Crucified under the Walls of Carthage, and so utterly broke in peices this treasonable Project. After this the Emperour called home Germanus, with Dominicus and Symmachus, in the thirteenth year of his Reign, and restored to Solomon his former Employment, giving him another Army. He so ordered his affairs, that he quickly settled Africk in a very quiet and peaceable condition, for he used great moderation, kept the Ar-

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my in exact Discipline, and without any noise, removed all such as he knew to be Seditious, by fending them upon some specious pretext or other, either to Constan-Some intended or to Belifarius, fupplying their rooms with others, and banishing the retion flink, Ser.

he made war upon Jabdas and the Moors of Aurafium, beat them out of Zerbule
and Tumar two Caffles, the later whereof he repaired, and left herein a Garrison
to restrain their Rebellions. He took also the Wealth and Women of Jabdas, who fled into Mauritania, and forced the Moors into Zebe a part of that Countrey, the Metropolis whereof was Sitiphis tributary to the Empire.

76. Such was the prosperous Estate of Africk, under the prudent government of Solomon, which in the fourth year changed thus into mifery and defolation. The next year after his Arrival, and the fourteenth of Justinian's Reign, Cyrus and Sergius the Sons of Bacchus Solomon's Brother, were fent to Govern, the one Pentapolis and the other Tripolis. To these came the Leucathian Moors, with an Army as far as Leptis Magna, under pretence of giving them prefents and establishing a firm Peace. Sergius receiving seventy of them into the City, feasted them and gave them good words, but so it happened that jealousies arising from their deportment, they were all killed in the House, except one who escaping to the Camp incensed his Countreymen. They came to revenge the Fact, and were met by Sergius and Pudentius, with all the force they could make, who put them to the rout, and facking their Camp got much Plunder. But the Leucathians would not fo give it over, coming better prepared than formerly, and with them joyned Antalas, who till of late had been faithfull to the Romans, but now revolted out of displeasure against Solomon, for he had taken from him those provisions the Emperour had allowed him, and had put to Death his Brother, for raifing a Commotion amongst the Byzaceni. He then undertook the Conduct of them against Solomon and Carthage. Solomon hearing this marched toward his Enemies, accompanied with Sergius, Cyrus and young Solomon, all of them his Brother's Sons, and met them at Tebeste, a Town fix days Journey from Carthage. Solomon having in vain tried to perswade the chief of the Leucathians to lay down Arms, the next day defeated a party of them, and recovered great Booty they had taken, which when the Souldiers expected to have shared amongst them, he unadvisedly put them off till the conclufion of the War. Coming then to Fight, he was overpowred in numbers by the Enemy, fo that his Army being routed, when he had to no purpose endured much hazard and trouble to renew the Fight, he was forced to flie. In full fpeed, his Horfe stumbled, and down he fell. His Life-Guard fet him up again, but being fo disordered with the fall, that he was not able to hold his Bridle, he was overtaken and Slain with many of his Guards.

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77. He being Dead, his Nephew Sergius by the Emperour's order, took the charge of the Province, unluckily as it proved. The Commanders were much discontented at it, being disobliged by his young, rude and insolent carriage; for, carrying himself high upon his Riches and Power, he was perpetually affronting one or other. The Souldiers slighted him as a Coward. The Africans hated him for his extraordinary avarice and luft; but especially John, the Son of Sissinniolus an able Souldier and of great repute, was inraged, being subjected both to a mean and most ungratefull Perion. So that none of them would stir against the Moors. Antalas having this People at his Devotion, fent for Stotzas out of Mauritania, and yet wrote to the Emperour, letting him know how he had been injured by Solomon, who having now paid the price of his injustice, he was ready to submit to his Empire as formerly, provided he would remove Sergius from his Command, and fend some worthy Governour in his room, as he was well affured he could not Sorgia his New want many that were much more fit for the place than he. Notwithstanding, the phew according Emperour would not remove him, though he sufficiently knew how much the man orders thereup was hated, he respected the worth of Solomon, and pitied the manner of his Death fo much. Therefore did great diforders follow. Antalas with his Moors and Stotzas every where committing cruelties upon the Africans, and sparing no Age nor Condition, insomuch that the Countrey lay waste, the Inhabitants that remained alive flying some to the Cities and fortified Towns, others to Sicily or other Islands, and the best to Constantinople. None opposed these outrageous actions of

the Moors: many Roman Souldiers followed Stotzas; fome Renegado's and others,

who had been Prisoners staying now with him out of choice. And John, whose

name was famous amongst the Moors, being out with Sergius lay still and did no-

thing at all.

78. By these things, the Emperour was moved to take some farther care about

Africk. Yet would he not for all this, put Sergius quite out of Command, but fending into the Province Aresbindus a Senator, and a worthy Person, though no Souldier; he divided the General-ship, the Countrey and Souldiers betwixt them two, ordering Sergius to make War in Numidia, and Areobindus in Byzacium. Areobindus being arrived, when he heard how Antalas and Stotzas were incamped three days Journey from Carthage, fent John the Son of Sissinniolus against them. with the flower of his Army, writing to Sergius to joyn with him, who disclaining to be directed, and flighting the Buliness, John was forced with his small power to encounter an infinite number of Enemies. Both John and Stotzas to their mutual fatisfaction, for they were irreconcileable Enemies, died in the Battel, befides John an Armenian, who with Artabanes his Brother, being of the race of the Arfacides had revolted to the Romans, and Commanded some of their Countreymen that came over with Areobindus. The Emperour was much troubled for the Death of Serging ordered Ordered Sergins to pass with some Forces to the Wars of Italy. But though he into Italy. The redressed one evil ver another incomments a thing it was to have two Generals, John, and being convinced how inconvenient a thing it was to have two Generals, redressed one evil, yet another inconvenience wrought so much, as still to involve this Province in trouble and disorder. For Areobindus was so little versed in matters of War, that one Gontharis, who Commanded the Cohorts in Numidia, was incouraged to revolt and attempt the Sovereignty. To this purpose he procured the Moors to march against Carthage, and held secret Intelligence with Antalas, and John whom the Mutineers had made General in the room of Stotzas. Areobindus hearing of Antalas his motions, fent for Gontharis and the rest of the Officers to attend him at Carthage, and on the other fide he practifed with Cutzinas who led the Numidian Moors to turn in the Battel against Antalas, and the Moors of Byzacium. But never suspecting Gontharia, he told him his design, and he thereupon revealed it to Antalas, who yet kept all things from Cutzinas, for they hated each other, though with these clandestine designs, they sought in company together, each against him with whom he entertained Correspon-

dence.

79. But Gontharis, to bring about his Usurpation, first resolved to kill Arcobindus fecretly in the Battel, that he might not feem to intrude into the Empire, but rather that the Souldiers should put it upon him, without his seeking, according to the usual hypocrifie of Tyrants. This device succeeded not, because he could not perswade Areobindus to go out to Fight, therefore he concluded he was either to be frighted away to Constantinople, or openly Murthered. And when he had once discovered the Plot, he had fled indeed, if a fudden Storm and power of his own fate had not stopt him; but now constrained to make the best of it he could, he was advised by Artabanes, not to be difmaid at this presumption of Gontharis, but

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no power to follow, but would needs fend first and feel the pulse of Gontharis, who owning the Usurpation, then at length he resolved to go out and fight. By this time the Usurper had indeavoured to possess the Souldiers with a belief of his Cowardife, and how he meant to defraud them of their pay; when Areobindus and Artabanes issuing out began the fight. The most part of the Souldiers being uncorrupted and issuing out from several Quarters, had easily made an end of the Tyrant and his Mutineers, but that Areobindus frighted to see men killed, being a fight he was not used to, like a Fool and Coward ran away, and took Sanctuary in a Monattery within the Walls of Carthage, after which Artabanes and the rest retired, and Gontharis became mafter of the City, the Palace and the Haven. Then did he fend Reparatus, the Bishop of the place, to Areobindus, to come to the Palace upon assurance of fafety, who upon condition that the Bishop in Gontharis his name at the celebration of Baptism would by Oath establish his Security, came forth, and in a Garment called by the Romans Cafula, bentting rather a Slave, than a Souldier, came to the Palace. Here taking the holy Bible from the Bishop, he fell at the Feet of Gontharis, holding out the Book, a Petition, and his little Son at whose Baptism the Bishop had sworn his safety, and conjuring him by all that was Holy to tell him whether he should have his Life. He promised him that the next day And kills Ares he would fend him away fafe for Carthage, with his Wife and Goods, and having with much adoe raifed him from the Ground, entertained him at Supper with much Honour; but caufing him to lie in a Chamber alone, and near at hand, fent fome of his Confidents, who after his much weeping and wailing, dispatched him; which done, the next day he fent his Head to Antalas.

80. Antalas, his diffatisfaction with the Emperour being not great, was vexed at the Treason and perjury of the Tyrant, and concluding that he would neither keep faith with him nor any other, after much debate with himfelf, he refolved to fubmit to his Prince, and so marcht off, and drew to him Marcentius Commander of the Horse in Byzacium. John with his Mutineers, about a thousand men, revolted to Gontharis; and Artabanes, upon assurance of fasety, came also to the Palace with his Armenians, professing all Service and obedience to the Usurper. But being of a generous spirit he plotted to kill him, animated and spurred on to this act, as a means of attaining immortal Glory, by Gregorius his Nephew, and Artafirst one of his Guard; and to cover his delign, he undertook an expedition against Antalas and his Moors as he was ordered by Gontharis. Antalas stood him not but ran away, and Artabanes turned about also and marched back, whom Ulitheus a great Creature of Gontharis would have killed at his return; but Artabanes excused the matter, lest he should have lost the Army, Marcentius being in a capacity to have succoured the Enemy from Adrametum, and affirming it was safest that the Tyrant should oppose him with all his Forces. Gontharis took his advice, and resolved to lead them himself, leaving a Garrison in Carthage, under the Command of Pastphilas, his chief Councellour who had been a Ringleader in the Mutiny of Byzacium, and his principal Affistant in the Usurpation. Him he ordered to murtherall the Greeks, having every day himself killed some upon fear and jealousie, and having all things now in readiness, he thought good to Feast his Friends the night before his departure. Artabanes being invited amongst the rest, resolved upon it as a fit opportunity to execute his delign against the Tyrant. Acquainting Gregorius, Artafiris and the others of his Guard with his purpose, he ordered them to get in with their Swords, it being the custome when the Commanders Feasted, to have their Guards stand behind them. Artasiris he would have doe the deed when he saw it most convenient, and instructed Gregorius to bring some of their stoutest Armenians to the Palace with their Swords, (for they might not attend their Officers with other Arms) who should, (upon jealousie that their Captain was invited out of no good intention towards him,) defire to stand with the Guards of Gontharis. Artafiris cut Arrows in two, and thrust the peices round his Arme up to the Elbow, tying them with strings and covering them with the sleeve of his Coat, that he might receive any blow made at him upon his Arme, and fence it off

81. He defired Artabanes that, if he faw the Tyrant was not mortally wounded, he would kill him, the faid Artafiris, instantly, lest by torture he should discover him, and perishing basely himself ruine his Captain also; which said, he went with Gregorius and one of the Guard and stood behind him, the rest staying with those without, and expecting tillthey heard the cry within as they were directed. He had his hand upon his Scimiter, and would have done the deed at the beginning of

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82. The Guards without perceiving what was done, joyned presently with the Armenians, having most of them belonged to Areobindus, and cryed out Justinian the Emperour, which Noise received by one Company from another, reached to most parts of the City. Pasiphilus and other Mutineers were killed in their Lodg-A rick recovered ings. John with some Vandals fled to a Church, but were taken out upon promite by the means of of security and sent to Constantinople; and thus was the City and Africk recovered, on the thirty fifth day of the Usurpation, in the nineteenth year of Justinian's Reign, to the great renown of Artabanes. Projetta the Wife of Areobindus, and Neice of the Emperour, richly presented him, and Justinian made him General

of the Province; yet not long after, he was recalled at his defire, and John the Brother of Pappus succeeded him, who immediately defeated Antalas, and the Moors of Byzacium, recovering all the Enfigns which were loft at the Death of Solomon, but was again beaten by the Leucathians; and having lost many men, fled Overrun again to Laribum. Then did they overrun Africk, which they wasted to the Gates of and recovered Carthogo. and he fliered up by again and indignation ratifal his carthy Carthage, and he, stirred up by anger and indignation, rallied his Souldiers remaining, and drawing in Cutzinas and other Moors to his affiftence, gave them a great overthrow, from which such as escaped, sled to the uttermost marches of Africk. Hereby it came to pass, that the Provincials in Africk being few and very poor, enjoyed at length some quietness. And here Procopius concludeth his History of the Vandal Wars in that Countrey, proceeding to the Gothick, which by this time had been carried on nine years in Italy. For thither Belifarius, as we hinted, was fent; upon what occasion, and with what success, now we come to shew from the

first Original. 83. Amalasuntha the Daughter of Theodorich the Goth, who had Conquered Italy out of the hands of Odoacer, and the Heruli, educated her Son Athalarick his Successiour, after the manner of the Roman Princes, causing him to be instructed in Grammar and o Proop, de balls ther principles of Ingenuity. This the Goths disliked, desiring he might be bred after Goths in 1. the Barbarian way, upon which they could found greater hopesof liberty to spoil the People. The Mother at one time striking her Son for something he did in his Chamber, he went out into another Room and wept, where some of them seeing him, made a great business of it, railing on her, as if she desired to be rid of the Boy, that with his Patrimo-Athalarist, the ny fine might Marry fome other man, and Reign her felf over the Goths and Italians. young King of The Principal of them meeting together complained that their King was ill bred, that the Goth debat Learning was an Enemy to Valour, producing cowardly and bafe Spirits, and they check the Complaints of t objected the example of his Grand-Father, who did fuch great things without as much as knowing his Letters. They belought the Queen to diffuls his three Pedagogues, and to give him Companions of his own Age, who growing up with him might incline him to govern according to their own Laws, and this out of fear she was constrained to admit, though forely against her mind.

These Companions have ving fome advantage of him in years, when he grew up drew him to Wine and Women, and made him fo ill natured, undutyfull and disobedient to his Mother, that he deferted her in a faction, which had the impudence to Command her to

retire from Court. Yet carrying a mind undaunted, and above the Condition of her Sex, the pickt out three of the chief, and confined them feverally to the far-

thest parts of Italy, under pretence of fecuring the borders against the Enemy. But

holding for all this a Correspondence with their Friends and Relations, they stirred up the People against her, and the Faction grew so strong, that not able to bear up against it, she sent to Justinian to desire that, forasmuch as she was minded to quit Italy, he would give leave that she might repair to Constantinople.

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84. The Emperour glad of the News, kindly invited her to undertake the Journey. But she intending it but as a Reserve, and a remedy for necessity, having procured those three persons to be killed, remained still at Ravenna and fortified procured those time perions to be sinced, femantic that a Ruseama in United States the Government. However, things went fill Terry crofs with her. Theodatus the Son Trondomus, of Amalafrida the Sifter of Theoderich, a man in years, well skilled in Latin and the Twendomus Dockrine of Plate, but utterly unpractified in Civil and Military matters, and ex. Theodatus is ceffively Covetous, being Lord of many Towns in Tufcany, oppedied the Inhabi-Thoughet with tants round about him, which humour she endeavouring to curb, he became much Theod-abs, incenfed and bitter against her. For a great Sum of money, and the dignity of a Popula estima-Senatour, he plotted to betray Tuscany into the hands of the Emperour, dealing Acht idem junt. with some Ambassadours that were sent to the Bishop of Rome, from Constantinople for this purpole. By this time also the King her Son, was faln into a Consumption through his Intemperance, which diftracted her exceedingly, taking no comfort in him whilft he lived, and perceiving that if he died, she should be in extreme danger, because she had much incensed the Principal of the Goths. Upon the whole matter she resolved to save her self, by delivering Italy into the hands of Justinian, who, together with the Ambassadours that came to the Bishop of Rome, sent one Alexander a Senatour under the fame Character, to spie out her actions, wonde-Analytimba his ring that the came not to Constantinople as the once intended. Alexander expostu-The came in the came not to Confiantinopie as the once intended. Alexander exporta-fied in deliver lated with her about feveral matters of no very giest concernment, to which she which the openly returned a resolute and smart Answer, but secretly promised to deliver up

Italy to Justinian, who understanding what was offered both from her and Theodatus, was overjoyed, and dispatched presently into Italy, one Peter an Illyrian by Nation, by Profession an Oratour, but a man of a great reach, much mildness, and of excellent ability to perswade. 85. In the mean time Theodatus upon evident proof, not onely of oppressing his

Neighbours, but intrusion into the Royal Domain, was compelled to make restitution, wherewith he was infinitely offended. About the fame time also, Athalarick died of his Confumption, after he had Reigned eight years, which put his Mother upon a new plunge. Without confidering the Nature of Theodatus, and her late proceedings against him. To appeale his mind, she offered him the Title of the procures fler late proceedings against min. Lo appears to the former Power. He remembring how Tandaus to be King, on condition that the continued in her former Power. He remembring how king upon her she had used him, swore what she pleased, with an intent never to perform it, and being in possession of the Kingdom, acted quite contrary both to her expecta-tion, and his own Ingagements. For he made of his Council the Relations of those fhe had put to Death; some of her Friends he suddenly dispatched, and in conclufion Imprisoned her in a strong Castle, in an Island of the Lake Vulfinus in Tul-

cany. Fearing the displeasure of the Emperour, he sent some Ambassadours to per- vide Ep. 61 fwade him that she had no harm, and caused her to write to the same purpose. The est and Cassed.

Ambassaddayrs in their way mer with Persy who paragraphing the Scane was a like 10. Ambassadours in their way met with Peter, who-perceiving the Scene was quite var. It changed in Italy, thereof speedily advertised his Master, and he thence resolved to take occasion to imbroil Theodatus and the Goths. Now he sent instructions to Peter publickly to own the cause of Amalasuntha, to whom he wrote Letters full

of comfort, and of his resolution to take her part. But before Peter could reach And he cause Italy, the Kinsmen of those she had put to Death, perswaded Theodatus she was to have be removed out of the way, without which neither he nor they could be in any merch. fafety, and therefore he consenting they went to the Island and murthered her, to the great greif of the rest of the Goths, who deservedly admired her for the excellency of her Virtues. Peter protested openly against the Fact, and declared perpetual War from the Emperour. Theodatus was fo filly, as although he openly favoured the Murtherers, yet to deny the Fact, to have been committed with his

knowledge and approbation. Her Death happened in the DXXXIIII year of our Lord, in the fourth Confulship of Justinian, who had Paulinus for Collegue, in which year Marcellinus Comes finished his Chronicon.

Therapon Just 86. The Emperour being advertifed of the Death of Amatajuntna, resource up-itius relives on that occasion to make War with the Geths; the following year being the ninth on make War, of his Reign; having lately Conquered Getimer and the Vandals in Africh, through 86. The Emperour being advertised of the Death of Amalasuntha, resolved upthe Conduct of Belifarius. He Commanded Mundus the General of Illyrium to march into Dalmatia, which was subject to the Goths, and attempt Salona. Be-

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Tustinian.

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Sect. 1. lifarius he ordered to make himself ready, to Sail with a Fleet, aboard of which were four thousand Legionary Souldiers and Confederates, three thousand Isaurians, two hundred Auxiliary Hunnes, and three hundred Moors, belides his Life-Guard, making him General with absolute authority. His Instructions were to pretend a Voyage to Carthage, but to attempt Sicily, which if he found calle, he should subdue it, and not quit it upon any account; otherwise to Sail away for Africk, without discovery of his Intent. Justinian courted the Princes of the Franks by good words and presents to joyn with him, using arguments drawn from the Heresie of the Goths, and their equal enmity to them. Mundus without much adoe Conquered Salonæ. Bolifarius eafily reduced Sicily, onely Panormus Rood out, the Geths prefuming upon the firength of the place, and it was indeed by Land impregnable, but by Sea he attacqued it, and had it delivered up by composition. This Success of his, Peter the Ambasiadour made use of to territy Theodatus, whose Heart failing him, in a secret Conserence he came to this accord, to quit all pretentions to the Island of Sicily, to fend the Emperour yearly a Crown of Gold, weighing three hundred pound, and three thousand fighting men when he should desire them. That he should not put to Death, or consiscate the Goods of any Priest or Senatour, without the Emperour's consent, nor advance any to the Degree of a Senatour or Patritian, but petition himupon occasion to doe it, that in the Acclamations of the People, Justinian's name should be first mentioned, and when ever Theodatus had his Statue erected, the Emperour should have another placed on the right hand.

87. Theodatus though he had subscribed the Accord, yet fearing that the Emperour might not accept of the terms, was much distracted in his mind, out of apprehension of a War which he infinitely dreaded. He sent back for the Ambasiadour, now on his Journey as far as Albania, who discovering the terrour he was in, so applied himself to his humour, that he was perfuaded to relign the Kingdom to Justinian, having bound Peter by an Oath, not to discover this his Intent, till he perceived the Emperour would not accept of the former Capitulations, and with him he fent one Rusticus a Priest, and a man whom he much respected, and whom fome will have the fame with Agoperus the Roman Bishop. Julinian notadmitting of the first Accord, they shewed him the second Agreement, whereby he was content for a yearly allowance of twelve Centenaries of Gold, to furrender the Dominion over the Goths and Italians, having no skill, as he faid in his Letter, in the tumults of War, and being by his love to Philosophy, estranged from the noise of Battels, and preferring his Studies before a Kingdom. The Emperour ravilhed with joy, flattered him in an answer to his Letters, approving and extolling his high Wildom, and adding to what he demanded, the chief Honours of which a Roman Subject was capable, fent Peter and one Alexander joyned in Commission with him, with Instructions to assign him Lands out of the Emperour's Domain, by the Romans called Patrimonium; and having perfected the Agreement by Oaths and Instruments of Conveyance, to call in Belifarius from Sicily, to take Possession of

the Countrey, to whom he fent Orders accordingly to go over. 88. During this Negotiation, an Army of Goths entred Dalmatia, and near Sa-

lonæ killed Mauritius the Son of Mundus, who went out with a few onely to view their Body, wherewith Mundus being much greived, in great passion led his men Mundus and his without any good order against the Enemy, whom he clearly defeated, but giving the Chafe negligently, and without good confideration, (so much he was inraged for the Death of his Son;) he was Slain by one whom he pursued, according to a verse of Sibylla which the Romans now called to mind, that When Africk should be Africa and 9. recovered, Mundus and his Son should perish, which they out of the ambiguous fig. M. nification of the word, Mundus, interpreted of the World, and the whole fabrick of an Nature. The Romans now having none to head them, retired home, and the Goths having loft their chief Officers, kept close in their Garrisons, for they could not trust to the Fortifications of Salone, nor to the Romans that Inhabited it. Theodatus now in the mean time, for all his Transactions with the Emperour, slighted his Ambassadours, being of so sickle and weak a disposition, as either to be depressed with greater fears, or elevated with higher Confidence than the occasion required. Exalted upon this disaftre of Manday, hoderided Peter, who expotulating with him for his breach of Faith, he publickly told him, that as Ambassadours are by all men much respected, yet they retain that privilege by moderation onely, it being not unusual for such an one to be put to Death, if he carry himself insolently to the Person of a Prince, or commit Adultery. He did not mean that Peter had lain with any man's Wife, but onely expressed the limits of his Privilege; however he and his Collegue net-

led hereat, admonished him not upon such frivolous pretences, to violate the Laws of Sect. 1. Nations; told him that an Ambassadour, who could not have water to his hands without the knowledge of those that guarded him, could not be guilty of such a Crime. As for words, if he have in commission to speak them, he is not to be blamed, but his Master. That it is his part to doe that for which he was fent: that they therefore would utter whatfoever the Emperour had commanded them, were he angry or pleafed; and again putting him in mind that it was high time to perform what he had fworn to, they told him they had, besides the Letters directed to him, others which they must deliver to the Principal Goths themselves. By these the Emperour promised that their union with him should tend to their benefit, and not at all to their disadvantage; and defired them to give credit and affiftence to these his two Ambassadours, whom he had sent into Italy about this business.

CHAP. II.

Theidam puts a 89. He peruised the Letters, but returned until to periodic the support of put a first guard upon the Ambassadours. Tustinian being thereof informed, sent substantial Constantianus, Master of his Horse, to raise Forces in Illyrium, and attempt Salone. Belifarius he ordered without delay to pass into Italy, and make war upon the Goths. In the mean time Gripus, who commanded the Goths, had entred Salonæ; but hea-Gnymithe com- ring a report that Conflantianus had a far greater Army, both by Land and Sea, than mader of the indeed he had, he removed into the Champion Countrey; and then Conflantianus feizing upon the Town, and his Fleet lying before it at Anchor, feven days after he arose, and transported his men to Ravenna. Now did Constantianus take in Dalmatia and Liburnia, the Goths fubmitting themselves, and so ended the Winter, and

the first year of the War. Belisarius leaving Garrisons in Syracuse and Panormus, transported his Army from Messina to Rhegium, over that Strait where the Poets Bellatin pat. transported his Army from Melfina to Rhegium, over that Strait where the Poets the from Stath feigned Scylla and Charybdin to have been seated. Passing up the Countrey, where min lab. many daily came in to him, he fate down in Campania before Naples, commanding. the Fleet, which kept all this while close to the Coast, to lie within a Bow-shot in the Harbour. The Castle in the Suburbs he took by composition; and then giving leave to the Citizens to fend fome to treat with him, or hear what he had to offer, they fent one Stephanus; to whom he offered many arguments drawn from felf-preservation and liberty, pawning his Faith for as good conditions as the Sicilians had obtained. Stephanus making report hereof to the Commonalty, added his own opinion of the inconvenience of relifting the Emperour; but Pastor and Asclepiodotus, two Oratours, much devoted to the service of the Goths, on purpose to cross the Treaty, persuaded them to make such demands of Belisarius as they concluded he would never grant; and when contrary to their expectation, he had clofed with their Propositions, and the People commanded the Gates to be set open, they again perfuaded them it was their interest to stand out; forasmuch as it was uncertain which Side would get the better: And though Belifarius should have that good fortune, he could not in wildom fo much blame them for being true to their trust, as hate and despise them for, either as Traitours or Cowards, forsaking their old Friends and Masters at the first onset.

90. Hereupon they defied Belifarius, who making several assaults, was as often repulfed with loss of many of his best men; the Walls, by reason of the Sea, and the freepness of the ground, being inaccessible. He cut the great Aqueduct which served the City; but this inconvenience was eafily supplied by the Wells within, which furnished them with water sufficiently; so that he was much perplexed, considering the loss of his time, and that he must be forced to set upon Rome and Theodatus in the Winter. Refolving to rife, he had given out orders to the Army to dislodge, when a certain Ifaurian, curious to view the structure of the Aqueduct, entring into it perceived, that if a passage, which was cut for the water through a Rock, was but a little inlarged, Forces might easily get through it, and surprize the City. Belifarius herewith acquainted, joyfully entertained the overture, and procured fome Ifaurians to widen the Passage, which they did not with Hatchets and Axes, but by siling off the Rock, left they should be discovered by the noise. When all was ready, Belifarius fent again for Stephanus, and used all the arguments he could to persuade them to yield, telling them his Engines were ready, wherewith he should not fail to take the Town; but the People being still deaf to all advice of this nature, he provided him scaling Ladders, and then caused Magnus, a Commander of the Horse, and Ennes, Captain of the Isaurians, in the dead time of the night, with about fix hundred men to enter the Vault, taking with them Lights, and two Trumpets to affright the City, and give notice to the General what they did. When they were within the City, they were at a loss, not knowing where to get up, till the foremost at last found the Roof uncovered at a place where flood a Cottage, in which a poor Wo-

Sect. 1. man dwelt alone, and an Olive-tree grew at the top of the Arch. The Vault being high arched with Brick, and no steps at the hole, they found it impossible to climb with their Arms about them, till one laying his down, made a shift to clamber up, and threatned to kill the Woman if once the stirred. Then tying a Rope to the Tree, he cast the other end down into the Aqueduct, by which all the Souldiers mounted, one by one.

91. All being mounted, and the night now far spent, they made up to the Wall, and killed the Sentinels on the North-side, where the General stood expecting the event : who upon the fignal of the Trumpets given, commanded the Souldiers to fet to the Scaling Ladders. The Ladders were two fhort; but they tied two together, and so mounting the Battlements, easily took the City, and opened the Gates for the rest of the Army to enter. Great slaughter was made of all forts and conditions, especially by the Massagetes, who killed those also that had taken sanctuary in Churches, till Belisarius rode about and restrained the Angry Souldiers, bidding them take the Wealth, but spare the Owners; and let the Conquered find by experience how good Friends they had loft by the falle measures of their own Councils. He caused all the other Prisoners to be released as well as the Women and Children; and reconciling the Souldiers to them, both made them Slaves, and restored them to liberty in one day; after which they recovered also the choicest of their Goods, having hid their Gold and things of value under-ground, which now they found upon restitution of their Houses. The Gothick Garrison, consisting of eight hundred men, he took into the Emperour's pay; and so ended the Siege of Napha, after twenty days continuance, as Procopius writes, who speaks much of the humanity of Belifarius; although some others, but those of no great authority, say he was grievously reprehended for his cruelty in this City by Silverius, the Bishop of Rome, and compelled to doe penance, having put all the Citizens to the Sword, and neither spared Churches, Priests, nor the Religious Virgins. However, the Goths throughout Italy were exceedingly alarmed at his fuccels, and more amazed at the flupidity of their Prince, who made no preparations for a Battel, suspecting that he betrayed the Countrey to Belisarius upon security of a quiet and idle life. Assembling at Regeta, a place thirty five miles distant from Rome, they chose one Vitigis for their King, a man of no eminent House, but become remarkable for his valour in the War, which Theodorich made against the Gepides. Theodatus having the news, fled to Ravenna, whither the new King fent after him one Optaris, a Goth, (whom Theodatus had disobliged by hindring him from the marriage of an handsome and rich Maid he loved, by persuading her to marry another man) with orders to bring him either alive or dead. To gratify his own malice, as well as the jealousie of Vitigis, he so hotly pursued him, that he overtook him on the way; and being laid along on his back, killed him like a Beast ordained for facrifice, as the His-And Theodaiss torian expressent it, after he had reigned three years. Such was the end of this Vide Bar. Annal. coverous, ingratefull, fickle and imprudent Prince, who in old Coins is called at this 594.6 Theodabathus, with a threefold afpiration according to the pronunciation of the

92. Vitigis to improve the advantage got by the death of Theodatus, imprisoned Winitin sule his Son Theudegifclus, marcht for Rome, and thence, having not things yet in readi thinks, spice for the control of the cont nels, to Ravenna, whence he thought he might belt begin the War. Before his departure from Rome, he laboured much with Silverius the Bilhop, the Senate and Peo-laram name. ple to be true to the *Gotbick* Nation, putting them in mind of *Theodorith's* Reign, binding them with the ftrongeft Oaths imaginable, and taking most of the Senatours as Hoftages along with him. Having left a Garrison of four thousand men in Rome, and being come to Ravenna, he there by force married Matafantha, the Mansham Daughter of Amalafantha (a Virgin more beautifull than her name expresses her defined. to strengthen his Interest by so near alliance with the Bloud of Theodorich; then from all Parts did he assemble the Goths, and put them into a posture; those in Gall onely excepted, for fear of the Franks, who he thought would certainly overrun both Italy and Gall, if he with his Army should march for Rome. Therefore confidering how he should be utterly unable to graple with the Romans and them at the same time he called his Officers together, and persuaded them to draw the Franks to their fide, by giving up to them that part of Gall which Theodorich and his Successiours had hitherto possessed with a certain sum of money. The Princes of Visigidatawish the Frankt, Childebert, Theudebert and Clotarius divided the Countrey betwire hem, and took the money. entring into confederate with the countrey betwire hem, and took the money. ting to fend them aid; onely having promifed the Emperour to doe the same with him, they could not enter into an open war with him, therefore they would fend

mean time put Garrisons into Naples and Cumae, the onely strong Places in Campania, and fet all things in order for his march to Rome; which the Citizens understanding, and fearing the Torture of the Neapolitans, resolved to receive the Emperour's Army, persuaded to it by Silverius the Bishop especially, notwithstanding the Oaths formerly made to Vitigis. By one Fidelius, who had formerly been Quaftor to Athalarick, they invited him to come and take possession of their City; in compliance with which offer, he led on by the Via Latina, leaving the Via Ap-The Via Appia. pia on his left hand. This Via Appia, or Appian High-way, so called from Appius the Conful, who had caused it to be made nine hundred years before, reached five days journey from Rome, to Capua. A thing worthy of special remark, being broad enough for two Carriages to pass a-breast, paved with Stones all of the Millstone Quarry, and exceeding hard, which he had procured from foreign Countries. They were imooth wrought, equal, and so close fastned, yet without any Brass, or other ligament, that one would have thought them all of the same piece, or grown together. After fo long a time wearing by Beafts and Carriages, there was not the least chink or hole made in the Pavement, nor any one Stone broken, or worn out; nay that had as much as lost its shape and splendour in the days of Pro-

them Succours, not Franks, but of the Nations subject to them. Belifarius in the

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

93. In the eleventh year of Justinian's Reign, on the ninth or tenth day of Decem-Prospin de bells, ber, A.D. DXXXVII. full fixty years after it had been taken by the Heruli, and Gueriu. In Constitution of the State of the-thirty fourth after its captivity by the Goths, was Rome retaken by Belifarius, 5.18. who entring it at Porta Afinaria, at the fame time the Gothick Garrison issued out at the Porta Flaminia, being not able to make any confiderable opposition. The Keys, together with Lenderis the Governour, who staid behind, he sent to the Emperour, and then applied himself to the repairing of the Wall, and other Fortifications, wherein he was very much commended, both for his skill and industry. But the Citizens murmured much, and wondred that he should look upon Rome as a place fitted for a Siege, being neither fituate upon the Sea, nor having Walls (which were huge in compass) at all convenient for making defence, nor feated upon any Rock or Mountain naturally fortified, but in an open Champion, liable to all affaults. Yet still did he prepare for a Siege, storing up Corn in Granaries, which he caused to be transported out of Sicily, and compelling the Romans, though fore against their wills, to bring in all the Grain which their Farms afforded. with other things necessary for humane life. The Inhabitants of Calabria and Apulia had before this time, both in the Mediterranean and Maritime Coasts, submitted themselves to the General, which example Pitzas a Goth, now following, surrendred half Samnium, lying upon the Sea, with the Goths inhabiting as far as the River which divides the Countrey, those on the other fide refusing to be guided by Pitzas, or to give up themselves to the Emperour. Belisarius having taken in those Places with all the territory of Rome to the Tiber, and having put it into a very good posture, ordered Constantianus to take in the Cities of Tuscany. He had surrendred to him Spoletum and Perusia, with other Towns; at which time one Bessas, a Goth, but of the Emperour's Party, and an excellent Souldier, took in Narnia. An Army fent to Vitigis he destroyed almost every man; after which this Gothick King would not stay any longer at Ravenna; but sending Forces to recover Dalmatia, prepared for a march against Belisarius with no fewer than a hundred and fifty thousand men. For hearing how small his Army was, it repented him that he had left Rome; and therefore now in great anger and distain, he resolved to return thither, fearing nothing but that Belifarius would run away

94. Belifarius indeed, hearing that the whole power of the Goths was coming upon him, could not but be much concerned, having fo unequal a number to make refiftence; and he durft not abandon the Places of Infany, by calling back his Forces, left by possessing them the Goths should block up Rome. He fent orders to Bessard Constantianus to leave competent Garrisons in them, and then come to him, which Constantianus speedily did; but Bessas staying longer to settle Narnia, (a City distant about forty four miles from Rome, situate upon an high Hill, near the River Narus, over which it had a Bridge, with the highest Arches Procepius ever faw, and from which it received its name, being called by Livy and Pliny Nequinum; concerning which Tully wrote that dry weather made it dirty, and rainy weather dusty) fell upon the Forerunners of the Goths, of which he routed and killed a great number; then being prest upon by their multitudes, he retired into Narnia; and leaving therein a Garrison, came and brought news to Rome that the Enemy would speedily be with them. Vitigis would not spend time upon the

CHAP. II.

Sect. 1. Towns in Tufcany, because they were well provided, and out of a vehement desire totake Belifarius before he should run away. Within a mile and three quarters of Rome, Belifarius had upon the Bridge of Tiber built a Fort, and therein placed a Garrison to give the Enemy some stop, till the Romans might bring in sufficient Provisions, and till such time as he could receive from the Emperour those additional Forces he expected; for he conceived that the Goths repulfed here, could not pass by any other Bridge in twenty days, and to get Boats together would require a longer time. He thought fit also to incamp some of his men near the Tiber to hinder the Enemies passage, and make some trial of their Courage. But those that watched upon the Bridge affrighted with the multitude of the Goths, fled by night into Campania, and the day following the Enemy brake down the Gates, and patfed over without opposition, till Belifarius met with them unawares, who knowing nothing of what had happened, marched with a thousand Horse toward the Bridge to view the Ground where he might best incamp his Souldiers. At this time, however formerly cautious, he ventured himself farther than the nature of his place, and the present posture of Assairs required, fighting in great danger at the head of his men. By some Fugitives he was made known to the Enemy, who, neglecting all others, shot at him alone, and laid at him with their Swords and Lances. He gallantly demeaned himself, killing all within his reach; but had undoubtedly perished, had not his Lanciers and Targetiers shewed that day unparallell'd valour, holding their Shields before him, receiving all the Arrows, and thrufting off the Multitude by main strength. He lost at least a thousand on his part; and amongst them, many of the choicest of his Retinue, yet he himself was neither wounded nor shot, though the Controversie of the day was onely about his own 95. In conclusion, the Goths were routed, and driven to their Camp, which

betwixt Belliari- when they had entred, they made head against the Pursuers; and their Foot being ms and the Gubbs fresh, earliy repulsed them. The Romans finding no access here, and perceiving near Rome. another Party of Horse to make toward them, retired to an Hill, whence they were forced down, and purfued by those they had lately chased to the very Gates of Rome. Here they were in greater distress than ever; for those within, fearing that the Goths would enter pell mell with them, would not open the Gates, though the General himself called and cried to them, whose Face they could not difeern in the dusk of the evening, being also befmeared with bloud and dust, and his voice was as little diftinguished, because they had taken it for granted that he was dead from the report of such as first of all ran away. They were driven up into a narrow room, and violently charged, which put Belifarius upon a sudden and bold resolution, to incourage his men, and to give the onfet upon the Pursuers, who were much disordered; and his design so far took, that the Goths imagining this could not happen, except those within the City sallied out also upon them, in a fear ran all away, Belifarius not fuffering his Souldiers to give the chafe, but procuring as speedy entrance into Rome as possible. A day or two following was the City half incompassed by the Enemy, who lying on both sides of Pons Milvius, and thereby having free access to the River, made war in what part he pleafed. The Aqueducts, fourteen in number, being most stately Brick-works, so deep and broad. that a man might easily enter them on horseback, they broke and rent in pieces, to cut off the water from the Town. On the other fide, Belisarius omitted nothing becoming a prudent and wary Governour for defence of the Place. To supply the defect of water now wanting to the Mills, he caused strong Cables to be drawn cross the River, and fastned on both sides near the Bridge, being stretched out so as to be very sliff. To these Cables he tied Boats at two foot distance where the ftream ran ftrongest through the Arches, and placing in each Boat a Mill-stone, hung the Engine, which was to turn the Mill, betwirt the Boats. Beneath these, in the fame manner, he caused other Boats to be tied at a proportionable distance, in the manner, he caused once boats to be the at a propositional union, fitting them also with the like Engins, whereby the Mill-stones were set on work, and the City was abundantly supplied. The Goths informed of this Device, east Trees and dead Bodies into the River, that being carried down the stream, they might break, or at least disorder the Engins; but for this Belisarius invented a sufficient remedy, by drawing Iron Chains before the Bridge, which not onely should intercept what ever could annoy the Mills, but to prevent the entrance of the Enemy that way into the City. To provide also against any surprize by such clandeftine entrance, he fortified the Aqueducts for a good space, where they opened themselves into the City. As for the Common-sewers, he needed not secure them, because they had all their Mouths into the River. 96. Not-

96. Notwithstanding, the Inhabitants of Rome not used to want and hardship, bore the Siege and restraint of their liberty with great impatience, assembling together in a tumultuous manner, and railing at Belifarius. This being understood by Vitigu in the Camp, to exasperate them the more, and drive them into a perfect mutiny, he fent into the Town certain Messengers, who in presence of the Senate and Commanders of the Army should upbraid the General with temerity and prefumption; and vaunting much of the power and bounty of their King, offer to him and his Army a fafe retreat, and free passage both for themselves and their Goods. But the awe and reputation of Belifarius eafily overweighing all his Arguments; and perceiving the man was not to be frighted, he refolved to affault the City. For this purpose he caused to be made Towers of wood, equal in height with the Walls, and fet upon Wheels to be drawn to and fro upon occasion. He provided himself of many Scaling Ladders, and of four battering Rams, of which Engine, because we have not formerly spoken, we shall here present the Reader with such a description of it, as we have it from Proceeding. Into four wooden Posts of equal Abuncing Ram fize, and opposite to each other were mortessed eight cross Beams, four above, and as many below, refembling a Room of quadrangular figure, which instead of a Roof and Walls, was covered with Hides, both that it might be easier of carriage, and better defend those that were within it from any violence. Within the Engine was hung another cross Beam with loose Chains, the upper end whereof was sharpened, and armed with Iron in shape of an Arrows head; and sometime foursquare, refembling an Anvil. This Engine was mounted upon four Wheels, fastned to the four upright Beams, requiring fifty men at least to move it, who having fet it to the Walls, drew back the loofe Beam with Pullies, and then let it go again with fuch violence, that by its reiterated strokes it easily broke down and demolished whatever flood within its reach; having the name of a Ram from the end of the faid

> 97. Belifarius studying the best ways and methods how to make defence, placed upon the Towers another fort of Engins called Baliftæ, to keep off the Beliegers. These were made in form of a Bow, having on the nether part a moveable Hook, lying upon a streight piece of Iron. Having bent the Armes or Horns of the Bow with a Cord from the Hook or Nut, they let fly the Arrow, which was but half as long as those of the ordinary fort, but four times as thick, having no Feathers to facilitate its flight, but certain thin pieces of Wood, which being fixed to its fides, together with an head of Iron fuitable in bigness, gave it the perfect shape of an Arrow. The Bow being bent with Pullies, the Nut drew back, and then out flew

Beam which refembled the Horns of that Creature.

the Arrow with fuch violence, that it would reach twice as far as another; and if Tree or Stone stood in its way, down it went most certainly; which force and "on Balan under s ftrength of shooting gave it the name of Balista. Upon the Battlements of the New

Walls was another fort of Engine placed for slinging of Stones, which they called Wild Asses; and at the Gates such as they termed Wolves, made after a fashion which fomething refembled Porteulifes. Upon the ground they erected two Beams which reached as high as the Battlements. On these they laid wrought pieces of Timber chequer-wise, some streight, and some across, joining them so together, that the distances betwixt the pieces served for holes, or open places. Upon each joint stuck a piece of Wood, pointed like a thick Spur. They fastned the cross Timbers to other Beams but half fo long, and from the top reaching but half way down; then laying the Beams flat-long upon the Gates; when the Enemy approached, they drew a little down the higher Beams, which then falling flat with the wooden propured by Se. Spurs upon the Affailants, flows without fail all they lighted on. Such were the fixed free preparations Belifarius made for defence of Rome.

98. His Baliftæ did fuch execution, both upon men and the Oxen which were to draw the Engins to the Wells, that the Goths having made an affault on the 18th day of the Siege, were forced to retire from the Porta Belifaria. But Vitigu, though here repulfed, left a good part of the Army to divert the General, by plying the Battlements with Shoriatia diffance, and refolved to attacque another Part called the Vivgrium, or Park, lying near the Porta Pranestina, where the Walls were most affaultable. Another Party of Goths gave the onfet at Porta Aurelia, without which flood Adrian's Tomb, a Place but flenderly guarded, both because Belifarius thought there was no great need of it, the Wall being strong in this part, and the River running under it; and the Emperour's Army being but five thouland, at the beginning of the Siege he was conftrained to distribute his men to the most necessary Places. The Affailants being covered by the Porticus, which then reached to Saint Peter's Church, were not discovered by the Defendants, till they were got very near,

PART III.

Sect. 1. which rendred the Balifie of the Romans useless; and from the ordinary Arrows they secured themselves with their Leather Bucklers, which much resembled the

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Perstan Targets. Pressing hard forward, and plying the Battlements with their Shot, they had almost incompassed the Tomb, and were ready to set to their Ladders, which to far discouraged the Befreged, that they definited of refiltence, till they took a refolution of tumbling the Statues and great Stones which stood upon the Tomb, on the Enemies head, who was hereby forced to give ground, and then the Romans taking courage, repelled them without much labour. They attempted also Parta Rancratians upon the River, to no purpose; but that Place, which of all others had been most for their delign, they utterly neglected. This was a part of the Wall betwirt the two Gates, Flaminia and Pinciana, which had of a long time been broken down half way from the top; and Belifarins at his first coming went about to repair, but the Romans hindred him, alledging that the Apossile Peter, whom above all they reverenced, had promifed to protect the Place. And their expectation, faith our Authour, did not deceive them; for the Enemy, during all the Siege never approached it, to the great wonder of the Defendants. And no man fince that time hath been so bold as to repair it, the Wall remaining in the same

condition, and broken as formerly. 99. In the mean time Bessa and Peranius being hotly charged by Vitigis at the Vivarium, or Park, fent for Belifarius. Long before this time the Romans perceiving the ground here to be flat, and the Wall decayed, had compassed it with a Flancker, not onely for defence and fafety, but for pleafure, as keeping of Lions, and other wild Beafis, whence it had its name. It had no Battlements, nor any other Fortification; and therefore Vitigis ordered his Engins to be brought hither, and doubted not, but if he could break through the Flancker into the Park, to carry the City, the Walls within being of no moment at all. Yet did Belifarius suffer them to break in, and then fending Cyprianus upon them (who did great execution by reason of the straitness of the Passage whereat they entred) sallied out against the Goths with his whole Army, fet fire to their Engins, and charged them with such violence, that he put them to flight, having taken care that at Porta Salaria should Beliferius makes at the same time be made another Sally; so that as they ran from one place, they

were unexpectedly received at another; and being both affailed by the Pursuers, intercepted by others that lay in wait for them, and plied with continual Shor from the Battlements, thirty thousand of them were flain, and more wounded, the business lasting the whole day. This Success exceedingly incouraged the Defendants, but the General knew this would not doe the work. For the Goths were fill twelve thousand ftrong; and Firigu, he doubted not, understood so far his Interest, as to dread being bassled in this his design. Knowing that the Siegewas like to continue long, he wrote to the Emperour for new supplies. The useless Multitude he fent out of the City, fome into Campania, fome into Sicily, or elfewhere, as they could be best disposed of ; and because his Souldiers were so few, that all parts of the Wall could not be guarded, and they must needs be spent with contimual duty, he listed the poor Artificers who had no means of subfishence left them, and mingling them with the Souldiers, allowed them daily pay, whereby he provided both for the indigent Inhabitants, and the relief of his fick and wounded men. Having some suspicion that Silverius the Roman Bishop practised to betray the City, he fent him away into Greece, and foon after placed Vigitius in his Chair. Upon the same account he banished certain Senatours, whom after the retirement of the Goths he recalled. Fearing designs upon the Gates, the broke the Keys twice a month; every night he changed Sentinels, as also their Officers who walked the round, with the names of the Sentinels in writing, having orders to place new ones.

default to receive their punishment. O He caused Musicians to play all night upon the Battlements. And lent out Moors to die with Dogs about the Dirch, to discover fuch as came toward the Walls.

1000 Vitigis finding hunfelf overmatched, broke out into a rage, and caused all Vinite putters 100. Virige mining mining the beginning of the Mar he had brought to Ranemaj to be put to death, two onely excepted, Gerbennius, and Reparatus (Brother to Vigillius, Billiop of Rome) who having timely dotice of it; with the workers felves into Ligaria. Perceiving that the stelleged had free pallage and traffick, as well by Sea as Land; he refolved to take in Portugior the Roman Haven, lying at thirteen miles distance, at the Rivers mouth and this he easily did, the Place having none to defend it, although three hundred men would have made it good, by reason of its strength : but Belifarius wanting Souldiers to defend Rome itself; could

where they found any miffing; and the day following to produce such as had made

not possibly spare any Garrison for it. When it was but a little too late, about twenty days after came a supply from the Emperour of sixteen hundred Horse, under command of Martinus, and Valerianus, most Hunnes, Slavenians and Anta, feated beyond the River Danubius. With these he resolved to make war upon the Enemy, and so managed his business with that industry and rare sagacity, that in three gallant Sallies he killed about four thousand Goths, and a little after cut off near a thousand more, whom their King, in imitation of Belisarius his conduct, had fent at two several times towards the Walls, by such small Forces to indamage the Besieged. Vitigis, besides the inequality of the match betwixt him and Belisarius, had this great disadvantage, which, though the other understood very well, he never confidered. Almost all the Romans, and the Auxiliary Hunnes were Archers on horseback. The Gotbick Horse used onely Lances and Swords, and all their Archers fought on foot, incircled with their heavy armed men. Hence it came to pass that their Horsemen, unless they came to hand-strokes, could doe no service, but were eafily fhot and ruined, and their Foot could not make incursions against the Enemies Horse. The Goths feeling the effects, though they understood not the cause, would no more approach the Walls, nor purfue the Enemy any farther than to drive them from their Trenches. The Romans on the other fide were elevated with their profperity, and grew fo refolute and gay-humoured, that fcorning to carry their business as formerly by fallies and surprize, they would have the War managed in a brave and open way, and longed to come to a general Battel.

101. Belifarius, knowing well what odds there were against him, could not approve of any fuch defign, till wearied with the exclamations, both of Citizens and Souldiers, at length he refolved upon a Battel; yet fo as he would begin with Excursions. He often attempted this way, but without success, which made him fully determine to fight openly; and the Goths being informed by Fugitives of his defign, were not a little pleased, being quite out of heart, by reason of his strategems, and hoping not to find him the same man in a pitcht and open Battel. Having prudently fignified to his men the change of his Resolution, and exhorted them so to stand by

him therein, that they might render prosperous that course by their valour, upon which their courage and forwardness had put him, he led out his Army at the two Gates, Pinciana and Salaria. He ordered Valentinus, a Commander of Horse, to pass Belliaim pro- Gates, Pinciana and Salaria. He ordered Valentinus, a Commander of Horse, to pass which for a by Porta Aurelia into Nero's Fields, with a small Party; and there to make onely gint Burd, be- by Porta Aurelia into Nero's Fields, with a small Party; and there to make onely partition Battle, be-ing confirmined a countenance of fighting, and keep the strong Body of Goths, which lay in that his Souldiers place, from passing the Bridge of Milvius (which stood at a distance from the City) and relieving their Fellows. This division he took to be of the greatest importance; and therefore not daring to mix the new Volunteers, who were most of them Artificers, and utterly unpractifed in matters of this nature, with the rest of his Army, for fear of disorder; he assigned them a Post without Porta Pancratiana. beyond the Tiber, hoping that the Goths in Nero's Fields would be so apprehensive, both of them and Valentinus his Troops, that they would not dare to quit their station, to join themselves with the rest of their Army. He resolved to fight onely with Horse, because most of his Foot had got Horse from the Enemy, and were expert Riders, his Insantry was inconsiderable, both for number and courage, and not able to form any confiderable Battalion; he would therefore place them near the City-ditch, to receive the Horse, in case of a defeat, and to repulse the Enemy. But Principius, one of his Guard, and Tarmutus, Brother to Ennes, Captain of the Ifaurians, laid before him how great an inconvenience it would be to want his Foot, and to put an affront upon the Roman Infantry, which in all Ages had born the brunt of War, and had indeed cut out the way by their Swords to that greatness of Empire, to which that State had arrived. All the miscarriages of this War they cast upon the Commanders, and begged leave that they on foot might now fupply their places, refolving to ftand the flock of the great Multitude of the Barbarians. The General at first denied the motion, both out of respect to their Persons, and the Infantry it felf, which he knew must be brought into extreme danger. At length, at their importunity, he yielded that some few Foot, being placed at the Gares, upon the Battelments, with the common People, and about the Engins, the reft should be commanded by those two Officers, but stand in order behind him, lest by apprehension of danger, they should put the Army into any disturbance; and that receiving fuch Horse as were routed in seasonable time, they might resist and repell the Purfuers.

102. Vitigis put his whole Army into a readinels, and ordered certain Troops, under command of Marcias, to keep Nero's Fields, and continue Masters of the Bridge. Having excited his men to animolity, by propounding to them the fad

Sect. 1. Pattern of the Vandals in Africk, he placed his battalions of Foot betwirt the wings of the Horse, and both near the Camp, that in case of a rout they might have the farther to purfue, and doe greater execution; for if they could but once come to hand-strokes, he little doubted to overpower the final numbers of the Enemy. Yet at first the Romans had the better, the Goths falling thick by the Shot, but such were their numbers, that they could not be missing; and Belifarius his men now fully perceived that their valour, how great foever, was far inferiour to the conduct and wiledom of their General, whom, though they had in a manner confirmined to this way of fighting, yet now they thought they fhould doe bravely enough, if they onely pulled on the Fight as far as the Intrenchments, and having done some execution, could retire into the City with the first fair pretence. In Nero's Fields the Romans fell fuddenly upon the Geths, and terrified them so with their multi-tudes, that they sled in diforder to an Hill, for they took them all for Souldiers, and sarmed, though mote of them were nothing left, a great number of Seamen and Slaves being also mixed with them. And they speedily made it appear how the Goth had miconceived of them, falling into confusion, and growing deaf to all the directions by Falentinus, their Captain. They tuffered the Goths quietly to retire, neither would they pass over the Bridge to the affiltence of Belifarius, nor by breaking it down, cut off the passage of the Enemy, by which means they might have easily gained the day; but applied themselves wholly to rifting and pillage. The Goths viewing them for a time, when they could once believe their own eyes, and perceived how madly they neglected their opportunity, fell with great violence down upon them, and eafily routed them, being thus intent upon their plunder. In the mean time, the Roman Forces, at the Gaths Intrenchment, were much diminished and weakned, though fewer fell on their Side than the other, by reason that the disproportion was so great betwixt the two Armies. The Barbarian Horse seeing their advantage charged the Enemy with their Lances, who not abiding the shock, The Roman Ar- retired to their Foot, which neither enduring the charge, both Horfe and Foot ran

away, with the Goths at their backs, the whole Army being absolutely routed. By the means of Principlus and Tarmutus; the Foot, and most of the Horse escaped with greater case; for they forming to fly, still bore upon the Enemy, and fought with admirable refolution: Principius was cut in pieces, together with two and forty of the Foot. Turnwise, when he was even quite frent, was refcued by his Brother, and recovered the Gates, but there fell down in a fwoin; and being carried in upon a Target, survived but two days, leaving behind him immortal honour. The Romans within fearing Enemies and Friends might enter pell mell into the City. tumultuously shut the Gates against the slying Souldiers, who in this distress leaved over the Ditch, and flood trembling, with their backs to the Walls, unable with their broken Lances and Bows to keep off the Goths, who were ready to leap over to them; till feeing numbers of common People and Souldiers appear upon the Bat-

telements, after some reviling Language, they despaired of fuccels, and to retired.

103. The Roman Souldiers, taught by this lesson of experience what they resuled to learn from the Precepts of their General; were now well fatisfied that there was Propingle 85. no ingaging with their whole Army, and therefore skirmished, as formerly, with Gathe like a their Horse lined with Foot, which marched by the Saddle skirts, and ever had the better of the Barbarians, though they used the very same manner of fighting. Many gallant Acts were performed by faveral of the Generals Life guard, and others, with which the time was fpents, till be underflood that a fupply of money was already arrived in Italy, which how he should get into the City until operand. by the Edgmy, must now needs be both his great fludy, and defign. He led out his whole, Army, as it he was fully bent upon a battel, which amufed the Gotha; and caused them to unite together, whereby they were diverted from the Place where he had appointed the Treasure, with its Colvoy, so enter. But they could not live upon money. Both Famine and Plague raged fore in the City the Summer following mithich to much overcame the passenge of the Chazana, that they imporm-ned the Usanto to come to another Barrel, and promised that not one of them would be abiling from it. ... He consider them by pretefting that fuddenly they should have Supplies of the Emperiour, telling them, that an Acmy, was coming forbig, that not and Practice on the Rupper but contributed to it land such a Fleet was already arrived has Do Romen Eyes had ever behold the like, for it covered the Shows of Campania, and much of the Intian Gulf it felf. And it being reported, indued, that the Eurpentur would find horces to Maples, he disparche thisher Propping the Historight, bottom tread the Souldiers, to feel the Ships with Corn, and with a forficient Conveys to bring shout to office. Taking more heart from this and other incourages

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. Justinian. CHAP. II.

Billiaiu in a ments, he not onely reinforced his own Garrison, but by feizing on the neighbou-manner besses ring fortresses, and the several Avenues about the Town, intercepted the provisions which came to the Goths, and in a manner befieged the Beflegers.

104. From Constantinople, at length, arrived at Naples three thousand Isaurians, at Succours arrive Hydrus, or Otranto, eight hundred Horse Thracians, besides one thousand Horse should Succours arrive from Confianti- and three hundred already had reached Rome, by the way of Samnium and Via Latina. In their march through Campania, they joyned to them five hundred men newly levied there, and coasted along the Sea-shore, having many Waggons with them, wherewith to fortifie themselves if occasion should be, besides the convenience of carrying Corn and other Provisions: Some Troops they fehr by Sea to meet and joyn with them at Offia. Belifarias having Intelligence of their motions, had reason to be concerned left the Goths by their multitudes should intercept and cut them off, and therefore had recourfe to his feldom failing Strategems. At the beginning of the War he had caused to be rammed up with stones the Gate called Porta Flaminia, not finding it so convenient for Sallies, and lest the Enemy should make advantage of that weak place and force the City. From this Gate he now make advantage or that weak place and force the cuty. From this Gate he now caused the flones to be removed in great fecrecy, and there placing as covertly as might be the greatest part of his Army, ordered certain Forces to ifflee out at another Gate, and after some short Skirmilhing, to counterfeit a flight, and draw down the Gaths to the Flaminian Gate, whence he Salled unexpectfeitly with his whole Power, and did great execution. By these disafters their Courage was now with healthy a than they have had to dea with a Compile the base. quite broken; they saw they had to doe with a Captain, who as well in downfight Valour, as fagacity and strategems could not be matched; they themselves instead of Conquering the Besieged by Straits and difficulties, were pinched with Famine. being excluded from all Provisions, and what by the War, and what by the Plague and other Calamities, were reduced from many thousands to a far inferiour num ber. But when they heard of the Forces arrived from Constantinople, the number and power of which fame had increased beyond their due proportion, they their confulted about a Retreat, and how with best advantages of honour and safety The Guids fend they might retire. They fent three Commissioners into the City with instructions to infift upon the violence and force which Justinian by this Invasion had put upon them, being the rightfull owners and Possessours of Italy; ever fince Zeno the Em-

perour had passed that Countrey over to Theodorich, when he put him upon making War with Odoacer and the Heruli. By the Mouths of these men they boatled. that they had maintained the Commonwealth and Laws, in as great freedom and vigour as ever did any Emperour. That there had not been any one new Law made by Theodorich, or any of his Successours written or unwritten. And as for Religion, that they had not at all infringed the liberty of Confcience to the Italians, nor violated the privileges and immunities of the Roman Churches. In a word, that all preferments had been conferred upon Romans, not a Goth being advanced to any place of Note, particularly they had given way that the Roman Confulship should yearly be conferred on Romans by the Eastern Emperours. 105. Belifarius denied utterly, that Zeno had conferred the Dominion and So-

vereignty of Italy upon Theodorich, though he was content to employ him against the Usurpation of Odoacer. He inveyed against the ingratitude of that King, who never thought himself of reftoring that Countries to the true and undoubted Lord, and told the Messengers, they must not think he could give away the Emperour's Provinces. They then offered to quit Sicily, which they knew to be very commodious for the bridling of Africk. He answered that the Emperours had also quitted Brittain, an Island much larger than Sicily, and left it to the Goths, our of a principle of bounty and gratitude, to fuch as well deferved of them, and therefore he could not account this of theirs to be fo great an Offer. They their mentioned Campania and Naples, and the payment of an Annual Tribute, but still his answer was, that he had no other Power of Commission than to reposses the Emperour of what was his own; and therefore as the laft remedy; they defired they might have liberty to fend to the Emperour hundelf, and that he would think of fome reasonable time of Truce for that purpose! To this he replied that he was manufacture not averfe, and after feveral meetings, at length a Cellation, and exchange of feat to the Em-Hoftages was agreed on; the Cellation to continue three Months till Ambellations from

might be dispatch for the Eniperous Resolutions, who should return those and information and factor though the truce were broken, by default of either hardy. During this New gottation, the Robinsti halt time and opportunity to receive he the implies of them, Money, and Provisions lately mentioned. They continued Marters at Sea, and

for that reason the Goth's were more and more straighed of Provisions, and con-

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Sect. 1. ftrained to abandon Portus, and several places and Posts which they had taken up about the City, the better to block it up. These places Belisarius caused instantly to be feized and Garrifoned by his own men, which lying at fome diffance and in a Circle, the Befiegers perceived themselves now plainly beleagured, and being impatient thereof, sent to expostulate with the General, and to demand a speedy restitution, as having onely upon some occasion withdrawn their men, and not expected the places would be so surprized. . The cause of their quitting them being so notorious, he onely laughed at their pretext, and then they began to be jealous of each other.

106. He nevertheless prosecuted his Design to the utmost, and made the best advantage of all occurrences. Finding Rome sufficiently provided of men, he sent out the supernumeraries into the Countrey to be as a slying Army, to catch at opportunities, either of doing some thing notable against the Bessegers, in case the truce should be broken, or seizing such places as they might conveniently attack. Greater hopes still attended his affairs, for about this time came Datius Bishop of Milan, with some of the principal Citizens, promiting him to reduce not onely that City to the obedience of the Emperour, but all Liguria with it; yet all felicities have their inconveniences attending, there is nothing abfolutely good in this World, the best men, if not the best gems, have their slaws and imperfections. Though Belifarius understood all the arts of a General, was perfectly practised in the mystery of Fencing, knew his guard, and as well how to keep off all the violent affaults, as undermine and obviate all the cunning attempts and fecret plots of his Enemies, yet he either fuffered himself to be surprized by passion, or deluded by feminine infinuations. There was one Præsidius a Roman Citizen of good Quality, who dwelling at Revenue, upon great displeasure conceived against the Goths, withdrew himself privately from that City, at such time as Vitigo marched toward Rome, communicating his Defign to none, nor taking money or any thing else with him, but two short Swords, the Scabbards of which were set with much Gold and pretious Stones. When he was come as far as Spoletum, Constantinus then happening to be there, upon notice given him of the Swords, fent Maxentiolus one of his Guard, and took them from him by plain force. He was much grieved and offended at the wrong, and hafted to Rome to complain to Belifarius; but the Siege and all the difficulties thereof coming on, he held his peace till this time, when he thought the dangers were well over. Making now his complaint, the General reproved Confantinus, and advised him to wash his hands of so foul an Imputation, but he put it off with a Jest, and onely drolled with the man whom he had wronged. Prasidius hereby inraged, and meeting Belisarius as he rid through the Forum, took his Horse by the Bridle, and with some clamour demanded, whether it was the Emperour's Law that a poor supplicant slying to Rome for resuge from Barbarians, should be robbed of what he had about him. For all the threats of the Guard, he would not let go the Bridle till the General had promifed him, that the Scimitars should be restored.

107. The next day Belifarius fent for Constantinus and other Officers, and laid his Commands upon him to restore the Swords; to which he answered, that he would fooner cast them into the Tiber. The General growing angry, askt him if he thought not himself to be under his Command, to which he replied, that in other things he would obey him, because such was the Emperour's pleasure, but that which he now Commanded, he would never doe. Belifarius at this called in his Guards, which being perceived by Constantinus, he asked if it was to kill him. The General faid no, but to compell Maxentiolus to restore the Swords, which he had taken from the man and given unto him. But he concluding it was to kill him, thought to fell his Life at a dear rate; and drawing a short Sword, made a pass at Belifarius, who by stepping back, and imbracing Bessa that stood next him, a voided the danger. Yet still in a rage he made at him, but two others of the Commanders laid hold of his hands, and drew him back till the Guard came in and wrested the Sword from him. Then and there they hurt him not, out of respect to the presence Belijains can of the Officers, but carrying him into another Room, there killed him by Com-ferth confusions mand of Belijarius, who in this one thing, faith our Historian, offended against the Laws of Piety and his own Inclinations, being otherwise eminent for his moderation towards all men. This Procepius wrote and published in the life-time of Belifarius, but in his fecret History as they call it, he gives us another account of this tragical Act, and makes the defign of it more private and deep laid, and impious dy, and by her Domesticks was discovered to be frequently naught with Theodofius mand

a young man, whom she and her Husband had Christned just as they departed from Sect. 1. Constantinople, and carried along with them in their expedition into Africk. Their fecret practices being made known to Belifarius, he gave order to fome of his Guard to kill him, but he having notice thereof, fled away to Ephefus, for those about the General chofe rather to let him goe, than incur the indignation of Antonina knowing their Mafter to be so fickle and uxorious, that there was no heed to be taken of his Resolutions. And she so plied him with her Language, and cunning infinuations, that he was content to believe that the was wronged, to recall Theodofius and to give up into her hands her Accusers, whom, as the report went, she first punished by cutting out their Tongues, and then she caused the wretched Creatures to be cut in pieces, put in facks and cast into the Sea. Now it so happened. that amongst others who pitied the Case of the General, Constantinus was much concerned for him, and let fall this expression, that had it been his case, he would rather have indeavoured the destruction of the Woman, than of the young man. The words being carried to Antonina, she conceived implacable malice against him, but kept it close, that she might the better find out a convenient opportunity to ven it. At length she took this advantage, and so followed it on, that when Configurations she also been easily pardoned for that wherein he had offended Presidius and Belifarius, she procured him to be made away, to the General's great dishonour, who incurred thereby much displeasure, both with the Emperour and his Nobility. For this Constantinus, or Constantianus, was Master of the Horse to Justinian, was a man eminent for good Conduct, both in affairs of Peace and War, having done extraordinary good Service in Dalmatia, Libania and several other places. But he was to have a mischief, as Procopius observes, and this, if we could believe the Authour of the Appendix to Marcellinus his Chronicon before that grave Wri- vide Baron, 48

ter, happened to him not at Rome but in Campania. 108. However, we must return from this his Tragedy to that City, on which we shall now find the Goths to have a Design, notwithstanding the Truce. They let down fome Souldiers into an Aqueduct to discover, if there was any passage by it to be made into the Town, and they found their way clear and direct into the midst of the City, where in ancient times an Ascent had been made into the Palace; and Belifarius in the beginning of the Siege, had providently raifed a Workto damm up the Cave. Finding here a full stop, they returned and made a report to Vitigu of their Adventure. In their passage up the Vault it happened, that at a certain place not far from the Walls, there being a breach in the Arch, one of the Sentinels faw light, which he discovered to his rellows, but they made nothing of it, concluding it to be the eyes of some Wolf, which in so dark a place shewed like Fire. But the flory going from one to another, at last it came as a matter of news to the General's ear, who most wife and cautious, thought fit not to flight such an The Gubs has hint as that might prove, but caufed some of his men to enter the Aqueduct, who regamped that he had many through the call the home of the call the home of the call the home of the call the call the home of the call th

on the Aqueduct, that the Goths perceiving it, knew they should but loose their

time in any more attempts of that nature, and therefore resolved upon a general

Affault, and at Dinner time came on, on a fudden, with their Scaling Ladders at Porta Pinciana. But their approach was not so secret, but that it was timely enough discovered by Ildegerd, whose turn it was then to Command the Watch, who finding them in disorder by reason of the hurry, more couragiously charged we resulted in them; and the Alarm being given through the Streets, the Romans flocked to the At Walls, and so the Affailants were driven back, and forced difgracefully to quit

their enterprize. Vitigis still had another Design: The Walls to the River were flightly Built, the ancient Inhabitants having there trusted to the natural Fortification of the Tiber, upon which account also that part of the City had at present no confiderable Guard. He corrupted two Romans dwelling about St. Peter's Church, to carry a Veffel of Wine to the Sentinels about the Evening, and there fitting drinking with them till about Midnight, to put into their Cups a certain fleepy Drug, which when it had had its perfect Operation, they were to give the fignal to the Gab' to the opposite shore, who pailing over to feale the Mals, that they might better doe their Work, he put his whole Army in a readines to Storm the

Disponed in City. But one of those men discovered the Plot, and his fellow who had the their bet upon Ding about him, being first tortured and forced to produce it, had his Nose and Ears cut off, and then set upon an As, was in that manner sentinto the Camp of the 68th, who acknowledged the hand of God in detecting and preventing all their Councils, which tended to the taking of the City.

Justinian.

109. In the mean time, the defign which Belifarius had in fending out his fupernumerary Forces upon other places of Italy, took well enough. John, who Sect. 1. Commanded them, wasted all Picenia, overthrew and killed Ulitheus the Uncle of Vitigis, and seized on Ariminum, which being but a days Journey from Ravenna, OMSOG, Well the Goths (as he had rightly imagined) were much flariled at the report, and extreme hits took justiles ly fearing Ravenna, as also being in great want of provisions, after they had spent one

They rate their year and nine days in the Siege of Rome, about the Summer Tropick burnt up

their Huts, and by day-break departed. Belifarius, when the one half of them were got over the Bridge, iffued out and fell upon the Rere, which though it made head floutly against him, yet many were Slain, and many Drowned, by pressing and crouding and falling into the River, with their Arms upon them. Vitigis pur ftrong Garrisons into all places in his Passage, and marcht towards Ariminum, which he refolved by all means to recover. Belifarius gueffing at his defign by his Interest, dispatched away Ildeger, and Martinus with a thousand Horse to get before him, by taking some nearer way, and to cause John with his Troops to rife from thence, and to place in their room fome Foot, which he ordered to be taken out of Ancona, a Town standing upon the Ionian Gulf, two days Journey from Ariminum. For he considered that this Town, being onely Garrisoned by Foot, and no Commanders of Note in it, the Gabs might possibly defpile it, as a work of no Mastery or advantage, and if they should Beliege it, that Provisions would last longer for Foot onely, and that Jabbs shying Body of two thousand bare the Command Language and the Horse, would doe good Service against them, and possibly force them to raise their Siege. Ildeger and Martinus did as they were injoyned, eafily preventing the

Goths, who by reason of their Multitudes and want of Provisions, marcht slowly and out of their way; befides, they durft not come near the Via Flaminia, because that Narnia, Spoletum and Perusia were at that time held by the Romans. 110. In their way, Martinus and Ildeger took Petra, a Castle standing upon a

Rock, almost inaccessible by reason of its steepness on one side, and a swift unfordable River running by the other. They took the Souldiers out of Ancona, and brought them to Ariminum, but John would not forfake the place, and detained four hundred men Commanded by Damianus. The City was inflantly Befieged by Pitigis, who thought to doe his work by a wooden Tower, made higher than the Walls, which he would not have drawn by Oxen, as that of Rome had been, but born by men within it, who carried also a broad scaling Ladder wherewith the Souldiers should mount the Battlements. They carried it so near the Walls, that there was onely a small and inconsiderable trench betwixt them; but resting themfelves by Night, and not fearing any opposition, John with a Company of Pioneers iffued out, and inlarging the Trench, cast up the Earth toward the Town, and made therewith such a rampart that rendred the Engine useless the following day; for though Vitigis caused the Ditch to be filled with Faggots, yet the weight of the Turret so pressed them down, that they could not move it over them, and attempting to draw it back, John fallied out upon them, and an hot Fight began, to that the Goths hardly at last, and with great loss brought back the Turret to their Camp, resolving to make no more Assaults, but lie still and starve out the Enemy, whom they knew to be in great want of Provisions, and utterly at a loss how to come by any. In the mean time, Belifarius had his mind intent upon another quarter of Italy, fending a thousand men under Command of Mundilar towards Milan, if possible to get that City into the Emperour's hands, at least to transfer the Seat of the War into the Enemies Countrey. They took Milan without opposition and all Liguria, or the Countrey round about it, which when Pitigis underflood, he dispatched thither, with an Army, Vreas his Sisters Son, and solicited over Theodebert King of the Franks for affiftence, who would not fend him any of his bear bear the own Subjects, for fear of difgusting the Emperour, but procured him ten thousand

Orest the No Burgusdias; who pretended to come of their own accord. With them the Gords w of Vinight unexpectedly befreget Milan , and fo firaitned the Romans within , that in a firtle time they wanted Necessaries. Mundilas had also, by Garrisoning sygral other Towns thereabout, to leftened the numbers of the Souldiers, that the Townstein were forced to Watch in their turns. So the Winter ended together with the third

Vestroi the War.

11.1. About Middiummer following, Belifarius refolved to leave a small Garrisonous and Mafes the Eas in Rome, and march against Vitigis. In his way he took in Tudera, and Clustum, the sum of the Company and received Intelligence that Narfes an Eunuch, the Comes Sacrarum Largitimum, and a received Intelligence that Narfes an Eunuch. am as a man Valiant above the condition of Eunuchs, was from Confiantinople, arrived in the Supply Picenia. He brought with him five thouland men, commanded in several Regi-

ments, by Justinus General of Illyrium, and another Narses an Armenian, formerly mentioned, besides two thousand Heruli led by Visigandus, Aloethes and Phane-theus. The ancient Seat of these Heruli was beyond the River Danubius. They

worshipped many Gods, whom they thought they pleased by humane Sacrifices, most of their other Customs being also different from the practices of the rest of the World. The Aged and Sick amongst them, were not suffered to stay the time which nature or the Disease had determined, but were upon their own defires, put upon a pile of Wood and thereon killed, by any Herulian except one of their own Kindred, for their Relations were not permitted to have any hand in their Death. This done, Fire was fet to the Pile, and when the Body was Burnt, the remaining Bones were gathered together and Buried. If the man was Married, his Wife was to strangle her felf at his Monument, or else be subject to perpetual infamy and reproach. This People in time subdued all Nations about them, and forced them to submit to the Yoke, amongst which were the Lombards, who had e'er this, imbraced the Christian Religion. Contrary to the former practice of Barbarians, they made these Lombards pay Tribute, either out of Ostentation, or a greedy defire of Wealth. When Anastrasius the Emperour Reigned, they continued quiet for three years, having none upon whom they could justly exercise their Valour, but then out of impatience of rest and idleness, they reviled Rodulphus their Prince . as lazy and effeminate, who inraged by their reproaches, refolved to make War right or wrong, and the storm must fall upon the Lombards. There being not the least pretext of any miscarriage alledged for this Invasion, they sent to expostulate with him, offering to pay the last peny of their Tribute if any were behind, and rather than not to have Peace, to purchase it with an inlargement of their former Contributions. He dismissing the Ambassadours with ill looks and worse Language, they fent to him the fecond and third time, and when they could nothing prevailthey protested that if he would without any cause make a War, they must and would with their utmost force oppose the Invasion. And herein they appealed to Almighty God, as an indifferent Umpire, the least of whose Assistance they said was able to

overbalance the greatest power of Earthly Potentates.

112. The Heruli deaf to all fuch Religious Language, and placing their trust in the greatness of their numbers, prosecuted their Design, and resolved speedily to come to a Battel. Their expectation failed them; for many of them were Slain upon the place, together with Rodulphus their King, and the rest betaking them to their Heels, were almost all cut in pieces; for that the relidue not able to protect themselves, who had lately fought the Destruction of others, were forced to quit their ancient Seats, and wandred up and down the Countries, lying upon the Danube, till they came at length to the place which the Right inhabited, before fuch time as they passed with the Goths into Italy. The ground was very waste and barren, fo that they were forced hence by Famine, and journeying on fate down near the Gepide, who at first received them as humble Suppliants, but afterwards offered them many Indignities, ravishing their Wives, and driving away their Cattel, with which at last being tired, they passed the River, resolving to try the Courtefie of the Romans. Anastastus knowing the ground not to be sufficiently planted, was content to admit them, and there for fome time they lived, till by committing feveral Infolences against the Romans, they incurred his Indignation, and drew a War upon their own heads, wherein most of them perished, as the rest had certainly done, but that they betook themselves to prayers and intreaties begging their Lives, and offering them to the Service of the Empire, to which yet they proved not ufefull in the least degree. Justinian coming to the Government, for all this, was kind to them, giving them a good Countrey to Inhabit with other things, and making them his Friends and Affociates, perswaded them to become Christians. Upon this they grew civiler, governing themselves according to the Laws of Christianity, for the most part, and serving the Romans in their Wars according as the nature of their League and Alliance required. Yet they retained their former perfidious, and covetous principles, which they accounted nodiffrace at all. Of beaffly lust they knew no bounds nor measures, not confining themfelves to the use of mankind, of whether fex foever, but extending their extravagant appetite to other forts of Animals. The truth is, faith Protopius, in wickedness they exceed all other Nations, and most commonly pay dear for the pravity

113. Some few of them continued in their fidelity to the Romans, the rest revolted upon this occasion. They put to Death Ochon their King, for no other reaion at all, but because they were resolved no more to live as Subjects. Indeed he

of their disposition.

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Sect. 1. had been Master before, but of a mere Title, enjoying nothing of Royalty but the Name, for all forts would fit and Eat with him, and as oft as they pleafed, put affronts and indignities upon him; this being the most filly and light of all Nations, upon the face of the Earth. But they had no fooner committed, but they repented of that horrid ACt, finding Anarchy more burthensome than Monarchy, and an absolute necessity of having some one to Command and rule them. After much time spent in debates, they resolved to fend for one of the bloud Royal, from the Island of Thule, by which name Procopius calls and describes the vast continent of Vide Camdenant Scandia, being as it appears in Maps, of the form and fashion of a Peninsula. For in Brit. when they fled their Countrey, after the Defeat received from the Lombards, some of them, as was faid, feated themselves in Illyrium, others would not pass the Danube, but chose rather to plant in the utmost borders of the habitable World, and under conduct of many of the bloud Royal, making their way through the Countries of the Slavi, Varni, Danes, and others, at length arrived at the Ocean, over which they passed into the Island of Thule, as the Historian will have it, who fpends time in a description of the place, which can agree with no other Countrey than that of Scandia. But the Messengers fetching one of the Bloud from this place, he died by the way, which forced them to return back, and bring another whose name was Todofius. But he being long upon his Journey, fuch Heruli as lived about Singedon, conceiving that the Emperour might be offended, if they made choice of a King without his advice and approbation, fent and defired him to name the man, who preferred to the place one Suartas of that Nation, that had lived long at Constantinople. Him they received and obeyed for some time, till they had news of the approach of Todosius, against whom as his Rival, he led them out, but when they were come within a days Journey, they revolted from him to the new Comer, and he was glad to fly for his Life to Constantinople. The Emperour consulted how he might provide for his own Honour in his restitution. The Heruli not ignorant hereof, betook themselves to the Gepida, and this was the occa-

The Armies of 114. But to our purpose, the Armies of Belifarius and Narses joyned together Belifarius and at Firmum, a City standing on the Adriatics Coast. at Firmum, a City standing on the Adriatick Coast, where they consulted by what ways and methods they should manage the War. If they should go to the Relief of Ariminum, it was feared that the Enemy from Auximum would fall upon their Backs, and harass the Countrey inhabited by Romans. On the other side, it was thought hard to fuffer the Befieged to perish for want of Necessaries. The Officers generally expressed much indignation against John, for having through rallness, and a thirst after Wealth, cast himself into so great a danger, and disobeyed the orders received from Belisarius. But Narses who loved the man above all things, for fear he should miscarry, pressed the General earnestly to march to Ariminum, whence in the nick of time as it fell out, Letters came from John; intimating that without Succour, he must necessarily yield the place within feven days. Belifarius found himself surrounded with difficulties, being either to loose Ariminum, or in all probability to fuffer the Towns about Auximum to be Burnt and destroyed, and his own Army flancked and distressed in case of a Battel. To provide therefore against both inconveniences, he left Aratius with a thousand men by the Sea fide, to be a check upon the Enemy in Auximum, with express Command, not to fight but in their own defence. He fent fome Forces by Sea; under the Conduct of Ildeger, with orders to Sail directly for Ariminum, and to Land near the Foot, which he would have march by the Sea shore, under the Command of Martinus. And giving them directions to make many Fires when they came near the Enemy, to amuse him with a false apprehension of their numbers; he with Narfes and the rest of the Army, marcht at a distance from the Sea by the Mountains, refolving not to come to a pitcht Battel, both because his numbers were short, and the Goths were grown desperate upon their missortunes. But the division of his Forces, and the Strategems he used, had their wished effect: For, some straglers of the Goths lighting by chance upon a party of his men, and feeing others appear upon the Mountains, reported that he was at hand, with an innumerable Army. They prepared for a Battel, expecting him toward the North of Ariminum, and still having their eyes on the tops of the Mountains, But by Night, when they were about to take their reft, appeared the Fires, fome fevera-miles off to the Eastward, kindled by Martinus, which cast them into a terrible: fear, apprehending that the next Moraing they should be surrounded; then by Sun rife, they saw a great Fleet coming, which struck them with consternation, made them altogether desperate, and deprived them of all power of Consultation;

fo that they neglected all Commands, being onely intent upon truffing up their Sect. 1. Baggage, and thoughtfull how they might quit the Siege, and get into Ravenna with whole skins. Much of their Baggage they left behind, flying in such disorder and tumult, that had not the Besieged been heartless with their miseries, and feeble for want of Bread, they might eafily have cut them in pieces, and made an end of the War.

115. After this fuccess, jealousies began to arise betwixt Belisarius and Narses, whose Followers flattered him by extolling his Power and Parts, and fomented the difference by perfuading him that it was far below him to fight under the Standard of any General. Belifarius aware of it, fought to divert his humour by Action: and in an Assembly of Officers, discoursed much about the security and insolence which ever attend good fortune. He propounded to their confideration how strong an Enemy they had still to deal with. That Vitigis was in Ravenna with many thousands; that Urwas still besieged Milan, and held all Liguria at his devotion; in Auximum was yet remaining a great and gallant Army; and feveral other Places the Goths held, as far as Urbiventum, a City not far distant from Rome, each of which was able enough to contend with the Emperour's whole Power. He affured them their late successes had neither happened for want of men, nor courage on the fide of the Goths, but that they had been overreached and tired out with variety of Strategems. His opinion therefore was, that part of the Army should be sent into Liguria and Milan, and the rest march to Auximum, and wait such opportunities as Providence should present. Narses excepted against this, that the rest of the Army should be confined to Auximum, alledging that the Goths from Ravenna Would fall upon them, and that being charged on both fides, and wanting Provisions, they must necessarily perish. He told him he was not against his going to Auximum with a Party, in the mean time the rest would fall upon Amilia (or Lombard Cifpadana, reaching from the City of Ast to Parma) not doubting to give a good account of it, and so to alarm those in Ravenna, that Belisarius should bring Auximum to what Terms he pleased, all relief being thereby cut off. Belisarius dreading nothing more than the division of the Army, for he judged the Emperour's Affairs would thereby absolutely miscarry, produced the Letters of Justinian, by which it appeared, that he had not fent Narfes into Italy to command his Forces, it being his pleasure that Belisarius should have the sole Command thereof, and the rest of the Officers observe his orders in all things concerning his service, and the good of the

116. Narfes took hold of the last words of the Letter, affirming that the General did now advise contrary to the good of the State, and therefore they were not obliged to follow his directions. Hereupon Belisarius sent Peranius with a Party to beliege Vrbiventum, and he himself led the rest of the Army against Vrbinum, a City distant from Ariminum a days journey, and fituate upon a round high Hill, not craggy, but unsafe to mount, by reason of its steepness, and nearness to the City, onely to the North lies an entrance in the plain ground. Narses and John followed him, but encamped feverally at the foot of the Hill, and e'er long persuading themselves that the Town was not to be won, because John had formerly in vain attempted it, they rose by night, and notwithstanding all the motives the General Mele pars could use, went away with part or the Army to a random. The feed the other resolved to proceed, though the Besieged, seeing half of the Forces risen and departed for an Assault: when his business was ted, were much elevated, and he prepared for an Aslault; when his business was done otherwise to his hand, by reason that the onely Fountain they had in the City dried up of it felf, and in the space of three days so failed, that the Goths were constrained to drink water and mud together. Upon the approach of the Assailants, the Befieged yielded to Terms of Indemnity, which were readily granted, although the Romans knew nothing of the Fountain, and thought the terrour of their Arms had alone procured the Surrender. Narfes lying still in Ariminum, was amazed at the fuccess, and sensible of some reflexion upon himself, and his Companions, sent John with the Army against Cefina, which he finding impregnable, went, and took in by surprize an ancient City called Forum Cornelii, and afterwards recovered all Æmilia, the Goths avoiding all Ingagements. Belifarius having taken in Orbinum, considered that the Winter Tropick approached, and therefore thought it not expedient to go against Auximum, the fiege of which he knew must be long; for the Town of it self, by reason of its Situation, was not to be forced, the Goths within it were many, and of the best, and having had time enough to provide for the worst, they had foraged the Countrey, and brought in great quantity of ProJustinian.

117. He ordered therefore Aratius to winter in Firmum, to hinder the incursions of the Goths; and understanding that the Garrison in Vibinentum was stenderly provided, he marched thither, hoping that upon fight of his Army they might yield the Place. Nature it felf had made the Town impregnable, being built upon an Belliaring be-freges Orbitals Hill flanding alone in a Valley, plain at the top, but toward the bottom craggy, Hill flanding alone in a Valley, plain at the top, but toward the bottom craggy, and so incompassed with Rocks, that there was no need of Walls, or other Fortifications; for there was but one way to the City betwixt these Rocks, which being guarded, the Inhabitants feared no Attacque at any other part, confidering that where the way lay into the Town, a large and unfordable River took up all the space betwixt the Hill and the Rocks. So that there was onely a small Block-house at the faid Passage, and a Gate, which the Goths diligently watched. But Behsa riss begitt the Town, hoping, by advantages he should make of the River and otherwise to starve them out. They were indeed very barely furnished, yet they indured beyond expectation when their Provisions failed, which they had so husbanded, as onely to keep life and foul together, feeding upon Hides and Skins foaked in water, and upon vain hopes suggested to them by Albilas their Governour, a man of great reputation amongst the Gaths. But the Famine not onely raged within the Walls of this Town; for, the Summer following, the Corn in these Parts grew not in fuch quantity as formerly, being neither covered with the Plow nor Harrow, but lying upon the furface of the Land, which yielding but a small crop, this also was loft for want of reaping; for it shed, and never grew again. In A grievous Fa. Tufcany the Mountaneers fed upon Acorns, which bred all forts of Difeafes amount mine in Italy, them. In Picenia died for want of bread fifty thousand Roman Husbandmen, and more in other Parts. Precopius, who was an Eye-witness, thus describes their Countenances, and the manner of their deaths. They grew first lank and pale, choler prevailing (by reason of the natural heat its preying upon, and torrifying the humours, without any fresh supply) spread a yellowish and wan complexion about their Bodies. As the Difeate increased, and moisture decayed, the Skin became like to a tanned Hide, as it feemed, cleaving to the Bones. Afterwards they grew as black as Links much burnt; their Countenances were ghaftly and staring, like Mad-men. Famine made not an end of all, many perished by satiety and much eating; for the natural heat being confumed, together with that which nourished and maintained it, if they fed to satisfaction, and not by little and little, as new born Children, they overpowered it, and not able to digeft, prefently died. Sometimes Famine so overcame Nature, that they fed upon one another. Two Women about Ariminum were reported to have eaten seventeen men, killing them as they flept, and were by the eighteenth discovered, and by him served in the same kind. Many flooping to eat Grais, and not able to pull it up, fell upon their Hands, and died with some of it in their Mouth. There was not the least thought of Burials.

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

Such ravenous Fowls as fed on dead Bodies would not touch these Carkasses, there being no Flesh to allure their Appetites. So grievous was the Famine. 118. At this time Milan was belieged by the Goths, under the Command of Vraus, which Belifarius understanding, sent Martinus and Vliaris to the relief of that City. They coming as far as the River Poe, a days journey from Milan, there encamped themselves, and though solicited by their distressed Friends, still loitered and deferred their passage, and at length excused themselves to the General by Letter, pretending that the Goths in Liguria were too strong for them, being affilted by a Multitude of Burgundians; and upon this account the Army feared to pass the River, with which they could doe no other than comply. Upon the receit of this Letter Belifarius commanded John and Justinus to join with Martinus, which they refused flatly to doe, except they received orders from Narses, to whom then he wrote, defiring that the Emperour's business might not be indangered by their mutual Emulations; and Narfes was so moved, as to write to them to doe what the General had enjoined. But during these delays and tergiversations, the Besieged were infinitely diffrested by Famine, forced to feed on Dogs, Rats, Mice, and such like Creatures. The Goths offered Mundilas and his Souldiers Terms of Indemnity, but refolved to destroy the Ligarians, which resolution so moved the Governour, that calling his men together, he earneftly endeavoured to diffuade them from yielding; inciting them by arguments drawn from honour and valour, to make a lufty fally upon the Beliegers. But they were deaf on this Ear, and yielding the Ciry upon the Conditions offered, were made Priloners together with Mundilas. The Girls demolish the City, put all men of ripe age to the sword, to the number of three hundred thousand, the Women they made Slaves, and gave to the Burgandians as a reward. Reparatus, a Presect, they cut in pieces, and cast him to the

Dogs. Bergantinus onely with a few more escaped; and passing into Dalmatia Sect. 1. through Venetia and other places, at length brought news of the difaster to the Court. The Goths making use of their good fortune, took in other Towns by composition, and reduced speedily all Liguria. Martinus and Vliaris with shame and difgrace enough, returned toward Rome with their Forces. 119. Belifarius knew nothing of what had passed till the Winter was over, and

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that he marcht with his Army into Picenia. Vliaris then he banished his presence; and the whole matter he wrote to the Emperour, who yet would punish no man: but understanding how great differences had been betwixt Belisarius and Narses, he recalled Narses, and gave to Belisarius as absolute command as ever. Vitigis was fenfible, as well of the effects of this prudent resolution, as the disposition of Belifarius, who, he concluded, would the next Spring come against him in person to Ravenna. Now did he confult, as in a desperate condition, what might be the most proper way and method for redress of so impendent an evil. Of the faithfulness of the Germans (or Franks) they had had too fresh experience, wishing onely they might continue Neuters. Varis, King of the Lombards, as allied to the Emperour, declined all Overtures. And therefore, as he was advised by his ancientest and wifest men, he sent Ambassadours to Chosroes the Persian King, to persuade him to invade the Roman Territories, concluding, that if Justinian had such an Enemy at his back, he would give him sufficient diversion, and he must needs recall his best Captain, and make peace with himself and his Goths in the West, the better to attacque his Eastern Assailants. Thus indeed it came to pass; but in the mean time Belifarius following his present Instructions, and the course of his Fortunes, resolved if possible to take in Auximum and Fæsulæ; and then having cleared his passage, to set upon Vitigis in Ravenna. Having appointed sufficient Forces to besiege Fa- Belli amous 5. fulæ, he himself with eleven thousand men sate down before Auximum, the Metro- inipit. polis of Picenia, standing at ten miles and an half distance from the Adriatick Sea.

and from Ravenna ten miles above three days journey, fituate upon an high Hill, without entrance on any plain ground, and confequently not approachable by any

120. Belifarius besieged the Town, distributing his men into several Quarters; and notwithstanding their Ambushes, and some venturous things they attempted, vet the Befieged were driven into fuch straits, that they sent to Vitigis, whom they threatned with a speedy surrender of this Place (which he accounted the Key and Fortress of the Countrey) in case they had not sudden recruits. He promised them relief with no less than his whole Forces, but upon better consideration, when he had elevated them with vain hopes, he lay still in his Quarters, doubting indeed. left John with his Troops should fall upon his back, but more discouraged by the failing of Necessaries; for he knew not any way to supply the Army, the Romans being Masters at Sea, and fetching their Provisions from Sicily and Calabria, which they landed at the Castle of Ancona, whilst the Goths groaned under the want of Necessaries. Hereupon they again earneslly solicite Vitigus for relief, who orders Vrau with the Goths in Liguria, to go to their affiltence, promiting that he himfelf would follow with his whole power to raise the Siege. Uraa past the Poe, and fate down at the distance of seven miles from the Roman Camp, thinking it sufficient to doe thus much without hazarding a Battel, which if they should lose, they should, he knew, endanger all : and the Romans were no whit eager of the fight, judging it enough to keep their new-come Enemies from joining with the Befieged. In the mean time, whilst these two Nations harassed and weakened each other; a third was aware of the effects of their quarrel, and feeing them fo far spent by their mutual hostilities, that they had rendred themselves in all probability incapable of reliftence, resolved to attacque both, and decide the controversie by removing the occasion of their dispute. These were the Franks, who repining after so many glorious Precedents of their Forefathers, so sit idle at home, conceived now they had a fit opportunity of making themselves Masters of (at least) a confiderable part of Italy.

121. Forgetting their late oaths and obligations, both to Romans and Goths, as being, in the judgment of Procopius, the most faithless of all men, they invaded Italy with an Army of an hundred thousand men under conduct of Theodebert. Of there, some were Horsemen, and attended their Kings: the rest Footmen, using neither Bows nor Lances, but a Sword, a Shield and a Battel-axe, the Iron whereof was broad and two-edged, and the handle as short as the hilt of a Sword; this at the first charge upon the fignal given, they cast from them, and therewith breaking the Shields of their Enemies, did great execution. When the Goths perceived them

Sect. 1. to have passed the Alpes into Liguria, they much rejoiced, concluding that these fame men, they had so often courted and tempted by money and other offers in vain, had now unbethought themselves, and were come to their assistence. And so long as they continued in that Countrey, they committed no hoftile Action, nor gave any cause of jealousie, that they might quietly and securely pass the Poe, which they did at Pavia, so free from opposition, that the Goths gave them much assistence in their march. But having made themselves Masters of the Bridge and Passage, they inflantly feized on their Wives and Children, which they cast into the River, as the first fruits or spoils of the War; for though they had taken upon them the name of Christianity, yet these Barbarians, as the Historian telleth us, in his days still continued many heathenish and superstitious practices, as amongst the rest humane Sacrifices, wherewith, and by other facrilegious, rather than facred, means and methods, as he observeth, they were wont to make a guess of what was to come. The Goths in great fear fled into the Town, and the Franks or Germans, as Procopius calls them, passed by directly to their Camp, where at first they were, upon the same surmize, kindly received; till laying about them with their Axes, and beginning to doe mischief, they were presently discovered by the Goths, who then took them to their heels, and fled by the Roman Camp into Ravenna. The Romans seeing them fly, could think no other, but that Belifarius had routed them, and now gave the chase; therefore they took Arms, and resolved to fall in with him. But for their offered affishence they found themselves as badly treated as those that fled, and being eafily beaten, because surprised, when they could not return to their Camp, they fled into Tuscany, and sent news of the Accident to their

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122. The Franks thus became Masters of both the Camps, where they found of Gubiand & Provisions fufficient for their prefent supply. But they were come into an exhausted of Gubiand & Provisions fufficient for their prefent supply. But they were come into an exhausted of Gubiand & Provisions fufficient for their prefent supply. But they were come into an exhausted of Gubiand & Provisions fufficient for their prefent supply. But they were come into an exhausted of Gubiand & Provisions fufficient for their prefent supply. But they were come into an exhausted of Gubiand & Provisions fufficient for their prefent supply. But they were come into an exhausted of Gubiand & Provisions fufficient for their prefent supply. But they were come into an exhausted of Gubiand & Provisions fufficient for their prefent supply. But they were come into an exhausted of Gubiand & Provisions fufficient for their prefent supply. But they were come into an exhausted of Gubiand & Provisions fufficient for their prefent supply. But they were come into an exhausted of Gubiand & Provisions fufficient for their prefent supply. But they were come into an exhausted of Gubiand & Provisions fufficient for their prefent supply. But they were come into an exhausted of Gubiand & Provisions fufficient for their prefent supply. But they were come into an exhausted of Gubiand & Provisions fufficient for their prefent supply and their pr not any bread, nor any thing, except that liquid Element to digest the slesh, which cast them into fluxes and dysenteries, so that having no Medicines, nor other conveniences at hand, a third part of them are faid to have perished, and the rest staid in these Parts, not able to march any farther. In the mean time, Belifarius hearing of this Invafion, and how the Troops of John and Martinus were routed, began to suspect the state of his Affairs; and desirous to divert the storm from his own Army, which he knew could not but be very great, in case the Franks and Goths should join together, he wrote to Theodebert, given him good words, and exposulating with him for the breach of these Articles, which he had most religiously figned, Belifarius writes putting him withall in mind, that the Emperour's condition was not fo weak, as to render him incapable of calling him hereafter to account. Theodebert somewhat moved with this Letter, more troubled at the opprobrious language of his men, who reviled him for fuffering them to die like dogs in a desolate Countrey, and most of all touched with a sense of his present Estate, rose up with all his Franks that sur-

vived, and hasted home. 123. Martinus and John returned with their Troops to prevent the Enemy his raifing the Siege of Auximum, wherein the Goths heard nothing of the Franks retreat, but quite spent, and out of heart, by reason of the delay of affishence promised from Ravenna, thought once more, and for all, to importune Vitigis; and not being able to fend any Messenger out of the Town, by reason of the strict watch that was fet upon them, they corrupted with money a Souldier in the Roman Army, who flood Sentinel to keep off the Inhabitants from cutting Grass, the best supply of Victual they now had. To their Letter fent by this Fellow, Vitigis returned a plaufible and kind answer, which so animated them, that they refused all offers made by Belifarius. But finding they got nothing but good words, they fent the fecond time, declaring they should not be able to struggle with the Famine any longer than five days more, to which their King replied as formerly, holding them in furpence with the like hopes. The Romans all this while were weary of the fiege in a barren Countrey, and disheartned at the obstinacious humour of the Besieged. Belifarius fecretly admiring what the thing should be which thus held up their spirits, procured a Sclavonian, who, as the rest of his Countreymen upon the River Ifter, was well practifed in stealing Enemies, to catch one of the Goths that came out of the Town to gather Grass, by whom the whole matter about the Sentinel was discovered; for when brought face to face, the Fellow (by name Barcensiris, and a Bessian by Nation) confessed all; and being by the General delivered up to his Companions to be punished as they faw convenient, was burnt alive. Belisarias seeing them still hold out, thought he might possibly complete his design

by demolishing a Conduit, which from the North-side of the Town, and near to Sect. 1. the Walls, supplied them with water. A great contest happened about this Conduit, the Belieged isliving out, and with all their force indeavouring to protect it. having the advantage of the upper ground, which they improved to the flaughter of their Enemies. But the Romans bore upon them still, Belifarius their General calling upon them, who whilft he thus performed the office of a valiant Commander, had loft his life, but that Vingdius, one of his Guard, perceiving the Arrow coming toward his Belly, put his Right hand between, and to his own great damage and mifery faved him harmless. For being wounded, and in great extremity of pain, he retired; and afterwards his Sinews were cut afunder, and he loft the ufe of his Hand. Yet did the Besiegers so stoutly ply it, that they drove up the Garrison within the Walls: but when they expected the fruit of this labour, and thought the Conduit to be broken down, they were deceived, the men that were fer about it, not being able to force one stone out of it, so strong and artificially was it built. Hereupon Belisarius caused dead Carkasses, Lime and poisonous Herbs to be cast into the water; and refolving to use no more force, attended to his Guards and Sentinels. For he doubted not in a fhort time they would be starved out, being in extraordinary great wants, and merely kept alive by expectation of relief from Ra-

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124. The Garrison in Fasula at this time struggling with the same miseries, and despairing of succour from that Place, yielded to quarter. Cyprian leaving a Party in the Town, brought the Inhabitants, with his Army, before Auximum, where Belifarius shewed them to the Besieged, thereby signifying what they were to trust to, and how groundless were their hopes and expectations from their King. Confidering of the matter, and how unable they were to hold out against the Famine, they offered to yield the Town on condition they might enjoy their lives and goods. The General was not averse to it; but the Souldier opposed it, shewing his wounds, and recounting the labours and dangers he had undergone in the fiege, of which, he affirmed the plunder of the Town to be the due and proper reward. At length the Romans, forced by the prefling opportunity, and the Goths by the Famine, came to this accord, that the Souldiers should have half the goods, and the Befieged with the other half become Subjects to the Emperour, which was accordingly done, and the Town was immediately furrendred. Belifarius having thus taken Auximum, hasted toward Raveima with his whole Army. Both sides of the River Poe he caused to be guarded; to hinder all importation of Provisions, and so it happened, that the Goths, having procured much Corn to be brought down the River in Barks, the water fuddenly failed, and thereby it became prize to the Romans, who having feized it, the River as fuddenly recovered its former stream, and became navigable; an accident unheard of in ancient times; fo that Providence it felf feemed to decide the Controversie. The Kings of the Frank's understanding how matters paffed; could not endure to think of the Romans regaining their poffelion of Italy, but defiring to pull for it themselves; sent Ambassadours to Vitigis, offering him speedy Aid, on condition they might share the Country with him. Belifarius being aware of it, lent also his Messengers, who so disputed the business, and answered all the arguments of the Franks, that Vitigis, after long conference with the offers of the his Nobility, difmift the Ambaffadours with a denial, and inclined to an Accommodation with the Emperour. For by that which had lately happened at the Poe, he faw what affiftence and fidelity was to be expected from the Alliance of the Franks.

Belifarius to make as fure work of it as he could, and to bring them to his Conditions, by his Guards still hindred the importation of Provisions. Vitalianus, he ordered into Venetia, there to take in what Towns he could; and hearing that in the Magazine of Ravienna there was much Corn, he procured a Citizen for a fum of money to let it on fire, and that with fuch lecrecy and expedition, that they within knew not whether to impute it to lightning, or delign, but it drove them into irrefolution, and distrust of one another; and made them conclude that God himself The Gubs inha. made war against them. At this same time such Goths as inhabited the Alpes Cottie. bing the Alper which divided Gall from Ligura, under the command of Sifigis, yielded themselves to one Thomas of the General's Retinue, fent by him thither for that purpose. Just now was Oracs with four thousand men, gathered out of Liguria, and the Alpes, marching to the relief of Ravenia, but understanding what Sifigis had done, retreated, and went to beliege him and Thomas together. This coming to the knowledge of John and Marries, the Brother's Sons of Vitalianus, who then by about the Poe, they hasted to their relief; surprised some of the Castles, and made Slaves a-

125: Now began the Romans and Goths to fend Messengers to each other. But

Justinian.

Sect. 1. mongst others, many of the Wives and Children of Ureas his Souldiers, who perceiving they followed him to finall purpose, whilst at home they lost all that was dear unto them, ran away suddenly to John. So that Uricas could doe nothing there, neither could he relieve Ravenna; but retiring with a few Followers into Liguria, there lay still, expecting better fortune.

126. Things thus standing at the Alpes, and Vitigis with his principal Goths being close shut up in Ravenna, Dominicus and Maximinus arrived, both of Senatorian Rank, as Ambassadours from the Emperour, with commission to make peace with from Conflanti- Vitigis upon these terms; that he should enjoy half the Revenue, and the Dominame with Terms, to which nion of the Countrey beyond the Poe; the other half to be the Emperour's, with Vinigis yields. the rest of Italy, which should all be subject to him, and pay him tribute. Vitigis and his Goths most gladly accepted the Conditions, but Belifarius fretted exceedingly, as thereby deprived of the glory of ending the War, and carrying Vitigis Captive to Conflantinople, which he knew he could now accomplish without much Belifarius refu- trouble. He slatly refused to sign the Treaty, which made the Goths jealous that the Peace was fraudulently propounded, and raifed the indignation of some of his Officers, who taxed him with a delign to oppose the Emperour's service, and to lengthen

the War. Hereat netled, he called together the Commanders, and told them he was resolved to sland to their determinations, who still affirming that the Emperour's Instructions were the best, and that they were not able to subdue the Enemy by war, he made them express it in writing, that they might not be able to deny it afterwards. But the Goths were now fo pinched with famine, that they could hold out no longer. They were weary of Vitigis his government, yet scrupled to yield to the Emperour, fearing to be transported to Constantinople, and planted there-The Gaths No. about. The Nobility upon the whole matter, resolved to declare Belifarius Empebility would de-rour of the West, and sent to him underhand, promising him all fidelity and allegiance. He being tied to Jufinian by oath never to innovate, during his life, would not rake the Engire without his conference and the conference of the not rake the Engire without his conference and the conference of the confer not take the Empire without his consent, and the name of an Usurper he abominated; yet he resolved to make use of this opportunity to facilitate his design, and therefore seemed to accept the offer. Vitigis perceiving the matter, commended the resolution of the Goths out of fear, and animated Belifarius, promising his affistence to remove all impediments out of the way. 127. Belifarius keeping in his mind what had been concluded at the Council of

Officers, lest they should mutiny, or make any stir, because their Resolution was not put in practice, now fatisfied them that he could easily make Vitigis, and all his Goths, the Emperour's Captives, share their Wealth, and recover all Italy to the Romans, which they earnestly prayed him to effect. Then did he send to the Goths, willing them to perform their offer immediately; and being preffed fore with famine, they hasted away their Ambassadours, whom they commanded publickly to He makes use of speak of nothing of moment, but privately to take oath of Belifarius, that he would not any way endamage the Goths, who should enjoy the same privileges and immunities, as the Roman themselves. As to other things, he swore in a certain form of words; but for the Empire, he faid he would give oath to Vitigis himself, and

the Commanders. The Ambassadours not imagining he would refuse the Sovereignty, which from their own inclinations, and the general temper of Mankind, they concluded that he defired above all things, prayed him to accompany them into Ravenna. He fent away Narfes, Aratius, Beffas and John, to quarter in other Places, knowing them to bear him no good will, and alledging, that if they remained altogether, he could not possibly get sufficient provisions for such a multitude of men. Then with the rest of the Army did he enter Ravenna, and caused the Boats, laden with Corn, to be towed up into the Haven. Procopius, who beheld the entrance of the Roman Army into the City, tells us how by that fight he was convinced, that Affairs are neither carried on by multitudes of men, by valour, or any other humane efficacy; but that there is some higher and greater Power which steers, governs, and directs the minds of Mortals thither where nothing can hinder the preordained fuccess. The Goths here had much the advantage both in power and numbers of men, fince their coming to Ravenna, had not fought one Battel, nor received any accident, which could reasonably make any impression upon their Spirits; yet being subdued by those that were fewer and weaker than themselves, they counted it no shame to submit to slavery and bondage. The Women, who had been made believe that the Enemy was more numerous, and that the Romans were more tall and gallant Persons than they proved, when they saw the Souldiers enter, spit in the faces of their Husbands, and pointing at the Conquerours, upbraided them with their cowardise and indiscretion. 128. Beli-

128. Belifarius dispersed the Goths to their own Houses, fearing no insurrection, Sect. 1. because of the Army so near garrison'd. Vitigis he kept in honourable restraint. The Treasures of the Palace he seized, with intent to carry them to Constantinople, but fuffered none of the Gaths to be plundred, leaving them their Effates according to the Accord. Now several Towns were, by such Goths as held them, surrendred into his hands; but in the mean time he was traduced to the Emperour, as defigning Belifaring called to usurp, who believed not the Accusation; but the Persian War pressing, sent for

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to Rome for the him to make an Expedition that way. The Goths hearing he was called home, at Paffam War. full made little reckning of it, not believing he would be guilty of 60 much falls. first made little reckoning of it, not believing he would be guilty of so much folly. (fuch they accounted it,) as to refuse the Kingdom so fairly offered; but afterwards feeing what preparations he made to be gone, and that he was in earness, thought it time, to lay their heads together. The cheifest of those that Inhabited beyond the Poe, betook themselves to Uraas the Sisters Son of Vitigis, whom lamenting fadly their Condition, they defired to take the government and conduct upon him, and lead them out upon tome defign, in the execution of which, at the worlt they should but prefer a glorious Death before ignominious Slavery. As to action he agreed with them, but refused the Title of King, both because being so near a-kin to Vitigu, his bad fuccess would make him despised, and he thought it not confiftent with good nature to intrudeupon his Uncle. He propounded to them Ildebald the Governour of Verona, a man very well accomplishe, and of great Valour,

whose Uncle Theudis King of the Visigoths, would in all probability for his sake, ef-national chosen pouse their cause and quarrel. Ildebuld then was sent for from Verona, invested national pairs with the purple Robe and proclaimed King, which done, he advised that Belifarius Ildibaldus vel should be fent to, and moved to put in execution what had been lately accorded, Tenonice Hilder and after they knew his mind, that they should enter into Action, and govern bald, eximic A themselves accordingly. Ambassadours are dispatched away, who put him in mind dax, the bole loss accordingly. of the late Agreement, blame him for not having performed his promife, reproach him for being a voluntary Slave, and preferring Servitude before Sovereign Authority, and provoke him by all arguments possible, to accept the Government, assuring him of the fidelity of Ildebald, who, as they faid, would willingly lay the purple at his feet, and falute him King of the Goths and Italians. But he contrary to their expectations, refused the Title, protesting that during the Life of Justinian, he would not meddle with any fuch matter; which after they had heard, they instantly departed, and made a report to those that sent them. Belifarius having left the charge of Italy with Bessas, John and some others, and ordered Con-Stantianus to remove from Dalmatia to Ravenna, began his Journey towards Conflantinople; the Winter ending, and with the fifth year of the War, the second Book of the History thereof written by Procopius.

129. Ildebald being secure of Belifarius, whom he knew to be upon his Tourney, according to the Council formerly taken, gathered together all the Goths and discontented Romans he possibly could, and seriously applied himself to his Business, Proceeding Bell which was no less than an endeavour for the recovery of the Dominion of all Italy, Guinici, lib. 3. He set up with a thousand men, and one single Town in Picenum; but within a while all Liguria and Venetia came dropping in to him. And his game was the greater by reason of one Alexander a Logotheta or Auditor of Constantinople, who

having scraped together abundance of Wealth, by informations against Souldiers, whom he accused to have defrauded the Treasury; had raised much money for the Emperour, and from his clipping the Coin, had got the Nickname of Forfi-Alexander Forfi-cula or Sciffers. Him after the recalling of Belifarius the Emperour fent into Italy, det being first, where fetting up his Office in Ravenus, he called to account fuch as never had been into his deeth where fetting up his Office in Ravenus, he called to account fuch as never had been into his deeth with the country, and the Souldiers with michigant the property of the country of the count

for all their wounds and hazards, he requited with slender accounts and empty Tickets. Hereby the *Italians* grew ill affected to the Emperour, and the Souldiers were so alienated and indisposed to his Service, that they would not ingage their persons in any considerable enterprize, all which mightily advanced the affairs of the Goths. Neither would the Commanders which Belifarius had left to the defence of those Parts much concern themselves. Onely Vitals who lay in Venetia, with a great number of *Herulians* belides others, refolved to try his Fortune with *Ildebald*, before his power should grow to too great an height. A Battel was valiantly Fought near *Tarvijum*, where the *Gotbick* King had the better of his Enemy, who having lost most of his men, escaped and fled. This success got *Ildebald* repu-

tation, which he no fooner had got, but as fuddenly he lost it, together with his Life. A pique arifing betwixt his Queen and the Wife of Ureas, who despised her for her mean Habit and attendance, whilft as yet her Husband enjoyed no Royal Re-

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Sect. 1. rally as they could, with a few followers, made to the nearest Towns, and there fecured themselves.

133. Totilas without delay fent Forces to beliege Florence, which was then governed by John, who having little or no Provision for holding out, fent to Ravenna. praying the Commanders he might be relieved. Hereupon a confiderable Army was fent, and upon rumour of its approach, the Goths railed the Siege, and removed to Micale a Town distant from Florence a days Journey, whither, the Romans having left a few men in the City, purfued them, and it was agreed; that fome one of the Commanders should suddenly set upon the Enemy, and the rest to march after fair and foftly. The lot fell to John; but then again the Officers would not fland to the Agreement, so that he was constrained with his own Troops onely to ingage, and a fharp Encounter followed, wherein he at length had the difadvantage. Yet had the rest come up in time, faln in with him and fer upon the Enemy, the day had affuredly been their own; but an unlucky Rumour being spread, that John was killed by one of his own Life-Guard, the Army e'er it had joyned all ran away, not in Bodies, but every man flifting for himfel! Many perified in the Chafe, and they who escaped were feized with fact a pannick fear, that they ran on for many days, none purfuing them; till recovering the places where they thought to fecure themselves, there, as it were, they hid their Heads, none of them having the least thought of turning again, but expecting severely to be Besseged. Totilas treated his Prisoners with such humanity, that they willingly entred into his Service against the Romans. And then ended the Winter, toge-

ther with the feventh year of the War. 134. Totilas improving his opportunities, took in feveral places, and marching Toilas takes fe- through Tuscany into Campania and Samnium, easily made himself Master of the veral places and strong Town of Beneventam, which he diffmantled. Then with the greatest part of his Army he laid Siege to Naples, fending out the rest to take in Camae, and other places where he raifed a great Sum of money. By his civility to the Wives of feveral Senatours, which he therein surprized, he got great Reputation, and having reduced Bruttia, Lucania, Apulia and Calabria, both seized on the publick Tributes, and private Rents, bearing himself as absolute Lord of Italy. Hereby the Roman Army receiving no Pay, was driven into great Necessities, and the Emperour contracted a vast Debt; the Italians betwixt them both were harassed and discouraged, and the Souldiers grew disobedient to their Officers, and were very glad to lie idle in Garrisons. Constantianus held Ravenna; Rome, Spoletum, Florence and Perusia were Commanded by John, Bessas, Justinus and Cyprianus, being the places they had fled to. The Emperour was extremely troubled to hear how matters went, and dispatched away with a good Fleet, and a considerable Army, one Maximinus with the Title and Character of Præfettus Prætorio of Italy, the better to govern the Officers, and supply the Army. He being a man altogether unpractifed in War, and befides that a Coward, and of a flow Nature, loitered upon the Coasts of Epirus; Justinian after him sent Demetrius as his Lieutenant, who had formerly Commanded the Foot under Belifarius. He hearing how Naples was distressed, had a great mind to relieve it; but having with him but inconfiderable Forces, he Laded a number of Ships in Sicily, with Corn and other Provisions, hoping to fright the Enemy, who hearing of an huge Navy, expecked a great Army to come along with it. Had he directly made for Naples, he had undoubtedly frighted away the Beliegers and done his work, but being afraid to put in there, he Sailed on for the Port of Rome, to gather up Souldiers, who being lately beaten by the Goths, refused to follow him against Totilas, so that he must either stay where he was, or undertake the expedition of Naples, with those few he had brought along with him. Chusing the latter Course, when Totilas had notice of his coming, he manned out many fwift Pinnaces, which falling on him on a fudden, as he lay on the Coast near Naples, amazed and defeated all his Fleet, took all the Ships and men aboard them, except fuch as at first leapt into the Cock-Boats, amongst whom was Demetrius himself. Maximinus being fairly advanced as far as Sicily, fate still at Syracuse afraid of the War. The Commanders in Italy, especially Conon the Governour of Naples, importuned him to come to their Suc-Observations, late and wearied with the Scoffs and Revilings of all men; he refolved to ftay himself famefully defeated.

Was it the death of Williams and was it the was it the depth of Winter, and the Fleet coming near Naples, so great a Storm took

them, that the Seamen could neither use their Oars, doe any other work, nor hear one another. Doe what they could, they were driven upon the shore where the Enemy lay incamped, who had so case a game of it, that they funk Ships, and killed men as they pleafed, without any refiftence. Some few escaped, the rest were

taken, together with Demetrius who was got about the Floet. 135. Him did *Totilas* lead with a Rope about his Neck to the Town Wall, where he compelled him to perfwade the Citizens to yield; by telling them that no fars ther Succours they were to expect, and all their hopes had perished with the Na-

vy. Hereat the befreged being grievously diffusyed, Letika took the opportunity to give them good words, and offered to Conoward his Souldiers all Indepnity, in case they would presently surrender the City, with all security of Persons and Estates to the Citizens themselves. Being extremely prest with Famine, they ac-Nation for the offer, and notwithstanding they had capitulated for thirty days time, to ex-

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pect Succours, wherein no Hostility was to be exercised, yet niged by their neceffities, they received Totilas within a while into the City; and prefently after the Winter ended with the eighth year of the War. Totila carried himself not at all like a Barbarian toward the Neapolitans, fearing left the languifning people should by sudden eating their fill surfeit themselves, he set Guards at the Gates, and Port, commanding no man to go out, and with a provident care gave them Food, more sparingly than their ravenous appetites required, adding thereunto infenfibly every day, and increasing their allowance. Having thus restored them to their former frength, he fet open the Gates, and let go as many as would, Coson and fuch of his Souldiers as refuled to flay he Shipped, giving them liberty to Sail whither they pleafed, who shaming to go to Constantinople, were bound for Rome, but the Winds being cross, and not able to get off, they feared he would break the Agreement and doe them mitches. But he on the contrary taking notice of their misfortune called them to him, cheared them up, and the Wind not ferving for a long time, furnished them with Horses, Waggons and Provisions, and gave them a Convoy of Goths to Rome. The greatest part of the Walls of Naples he demolished, being inclined rather to finish the War at once by Battel, than draw it out at length, (which must make it very uncertain and hazardous,) and be ever Skirmishing with Artifices and Strategems.

136. Either to get him a great name, or, as he himself affirmed to his Officers, being very fentible how much his Nation by their vitious living, had incurred the displeasure of Almighty God, he punished Vice with all severity. One of his Guard. though a Valiant and otherwise deserving man, and the Officers made great Intercession for him, having ravished the Daughter of a Roman of Calabria, he put to Death, and gave his Estate to the Woman he had abused. In the mean time, the Roman Army acted all things quite contrary, leaving no infolence unpractifed against the poor Italians. The Officers lived riotously with their Mistresses in the Garrisons, having the Souldiers disobedient and full of all forts of disorders. The poor Countrey-man groaned under both the Armies; the Goths taking his Lands, and the Romans his Goods, by both he was beaten like a Slave, and his Meat eaten out of his mouth. Constantianus troubled hereat, wrote to Justinian, protesting his disability to wage War with the Goths; the Commanders figning the Letter, which was no other than a plain and open confession of their fear and cowardise. Totilas having now his mind upon the City of Rome, thought fit first to trie whether by Letter he could procure the Senatours to joyn with him, upbrading them much with the ingratitude they had shewn to the Family and Nation of Theodorich and Amalasuntha, and exaggerating the wrongs they had received from the Greek Emperours and their Armies. John forbad the Senatours to answer him; whereupon he privately conveyed other Papers into the City, no body knew how, but they were posted up by Night in the most remarkable places, and discovered in the Mor-Meurs to had ning. The Arian Priests were suspected, and turned out of Rome. And Totilas states perceiving that this Artifice would not take, resolved no longer to use fair means, rous to all see but sending part of his Army into Calabria to take in Otranto, he himself with the blession out of Army on the Calabria to take in Otranto, he himself with the to an are but tending part of his Athry into Caracter to the Rome. The News much lights to God reft of the Forces, went againft the Towns lying about Rome. The News much light to God reft of the Forces, went againft the Towns lying about Rome. The News much light to God reft of the Forces, went againft the Perfan War lay heavy upon him, forth with the Control of the Perfan War lay heavy limit for the state of the Perfan War lay heavy limit for the state of the Perfan War lay heavy limit for the state of the Perfan War lay heavy limit for the state of the Perfan War lay heavy limit for the state of the Perfan War lay heavy limit for the state of the Perfan War lay heavy limit for the Perfan War lay heavy lim

himself necessitated to call back Belifarius, and send him the second time into Italy; Anno Justin. 12. the Winter now ending with the ninth year of the Gothick War. Before we fetch Christic 544. him out of Persia, its convenient to see what he did there, and how matters stood in the Eastern parts, fince the time we left them at the Peace concluded with

137. After the Ratification of the Peace, the State of both Princes was endangered Redeundum ad by feditious attempts; that of the Emperour by the Commotion of the Common fort, hips self. 14. called Nica. as we formerly thought and the other of the Parket by Common fort, 1787-28. called Nica, as we formerly shewed; and the other of the Persian, by a Conspiracy of

Sect. 1. certain of his Nobility, after this manner. Chofroes himself was a man of a perverse, unruly and turbulent Spirit, which made fome of his ftirring Subjects fo weary of unruly and turbulent Spirit, which made fome of his fittring Subjects fo weary of Agree Combinis Government, that they confulted how to make another King; out of the Family.

The Combinist Combined Com in one of his Eyes, they agreed to promote his Son, and that he as his Protectour, Police lib. 1. should manage publick Business. But Chofrees had the Plot revealed to him, and fent all the Confpiratours to another World, with all the Male iffue of Zames, one onely excepted, Cabades by name, who being fostered by Adergadambades the General, (whose Wife preferved him, notwithstanding the King's express Command he should be put to Death,) it cost the old man his Life, after that the King came to know of it, though he had done excellent Service, and subdued twelve Nations under the Persian Yoke. For his own Son revealed it; and, after his Father was treacherously Slain, as a reward succeeded him in his Office. Cabades being sent out of the way escaped, and either he or one that usurped his Name, came long after to Constantinople; and was, as the Grand-Child of that great King, honourably treated by Justinian. But the Emperour's affairs prospering in Africk under the Conduct of Belisarius, Chofroes and his Persians were much vexed, repenting they had made a Peace, and thereby given liberty to the Romans so to increase their power. Chofrees by his Ambaffadours in meriment, demanded his share of the Vandal spoils, as having by the peace been a great procurer of the Conquest. Justinian thought it fitting not to disoblige him by any harsh return, but sent him a considerable pre-138. The Peace was indeed very scasonable for the Emperour's affairs, and that fent in money.

in more respects than that of the African War or Conquest. For in the Eastern parts, not long after the Ratification, one John a Souldier of the Garrison of Daras, revolted and set up for himself, which Usurpation had certainly been very mischievous, had the enmity continued betwixt the Persians and Romans; but the Peace being made, Chofrees would not lay any new foundations of a Quarrel, by fomenting this Rebellion, and the Usurper was Slain, when he had enjoyed his precarious Dignity not many days. Yet though he took no advantage of this Sedi- Idem lib. 2.

tion, and digested indifferently the Conquest of Africk, his Concoction being furthered by the late golden Cordial he had received from Constantinople, when he Choffees envying heard of the success of Belisarius in Italy also, the Conquest of that Countrey the fuccess of Be-would not down; he could now hold no longer, but he must find some specious lifaring treats to reserve the War. He made use of Alamandarus the Saracen, pretext or other to renew the War. who laid claim to a Countrey called Strata, fituate to the South of Palmyra, bearing neither Trees nor Corn, but nourifhing fome flocks of Sheep. Arethas claimed it as belonging to the Romans, the Title he faid being sufficiently made out by the name, and the testimonies of the oldest men then living; Alamundarus refused to dispute about names, and alledged that the Inhabitants had anciently paid him Rent for Pasturage. Much time was spent in the Arbitration, during which Chofroes complained that Justinian had practifed against his Crown, by indeavouring to gain from him Alamundarus, who had been importuned with offers of great Sums of money to revolt. He produced the Emperour's Letters written to Alamundarus, and affirmed that he had also written to the Hunnes, to invade the Persian Dominions, who had fent him the very Originals themselves. When upon these pretences, true or falle, he refolved to break the Peace, he was thereto farther excited and incouraged by the Ambasiadours of Vitigis, who, as we formerly hinted, hired two Egged thereto Ligurian Preiftstoundertake the Journey, and perfwade the Perfian that the day of the fall and ruine of the Goths would certainly be the Cave of his own Deftruction.

Not confidentiate the interest of those the four them, he resolved to take their advice. Not confidering the interest of those that fent them, he resolved to take their advice, and give a stop to the Emperour's growing power, at whose Success and Conquests he every day more and more grudged; the Armenians and Lazians also stirring his gall, by discourses concerning the insufferable ambition of Justinian.

139. Some unlucky accidents also happened, which much exasperated the Armenians against him. One Simeones, who had delivered up Phar angium to the Romans, had begged of him some Armenian Villages in the heat of the War, and being not long after Slain, by such as formerly possessed them, the Emperour gave them to Amazaspes his Sisters Son, making him withall Governour of Armenia. Not long had he so continued, when one Acacius a follower of Justinian accused him of Confedence racy and fecret Intelligence with the Persians, and having by his directions treacheroully Slain him, was made Governour in his place. He was a man of a most wicked and ravenous disposition, so harassing the Armenians by new Impositions, that not able to endure his Cruelty, they Conspired together and killed him, which

PART III.

Sittas flain.

CHAP. II.

done they ferred out Pharangaim. The Emperour hearing the news, tends situated in the Company of dead, the Emperour fent Buzes to Jucceed him, and the Armenians feeing there was no flope of reconciliation, betook themielyes to Chorrees, to whom in many words they agree and the ambitious purpoles of Fulfinian, who troubled, as they faid, all the World with his Arms, and at the best onely referved but the Persian Dominions for his last Morfel, when he should have devoured all the Weltern Countries. As incommended the Weltern Countries. ragements, they told him, they had flain one of his two belt Commanders: and as for the other, Belifarius, they were very confident he was to jealous of his Military Glory and Interest, that he would not employ him. He liked well both of their Propolitions and Realons, and having as strong an inclination himself to the breach of the Peace, it was resolved in Council to make war upon the Romans in the beginning of the Spring. This was towards the end of Autumn, and the thirteenth year of fultinian's Reign, wherein happened the great Famine in Italy we formerly 140. The Romans were furprized, not the least suspecting any breach of the

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

A Comet.

West, and breathed out his discontent in the charges lately mentioned. Yet a Comet which appeared at this time in Capricorn, at first about the length of a tall man. afterward much longer, with its Tail turned toward the East, the Sun being then in Sagittarius, much amazed them. Immediately after a great Army of Hunnes, paffing the River Ister, overrun all Europe, a thing sometimes done, but never with such mischief as now it happened. From the Adriatick Sea, which Proceedings calls the Ionian Gulf, they wasted all Countries as far as Constantinople; and having never formerly attempted any walled Town, took thirty two Castles in Illyrium, and destroyed Cassandria (of which in Ancient times we have heard much under the name of Potidiza) which done, with one hundred and twenty thousand Captives. and much Booty, they retired home. Afterward they did much more mischief in several other Inroads. They forced their way over the Wall of the Cherfone Jus, flew many of the Inhabitants, and made Slaves of most of the rest. Some crossing the Strait betwixt Seffus and Abidos, wasted Asia Minor; others having spoiled Illyricum and Thessaly, assaulted the Wall at Thermopylae, where the Garrison stoutly demeaned it felf, but they unluckily found the path up the Mountain, and entring Greece, wasted all except Peloponnesus, and so retired. Not long after, the Persians breaking the Peace, openly infested the Roman Territories, at such time as Belisarius had subdued Vitigis, and brought him to Conflantinople. Before the Invasion, Juftinian perceiving Julius white Chofroes to quarrel, and be much out of humour, sent a kind of Remonstrance to him by one dualidation a product man with the Conflantinople.

him by one Anastasius, a prudent man, who had suppressed the Rebellion at Daras.

Herein he answered the things laid to his charge, complained of Alamundarus his

forraging the Roman Territories, and with much feriousness laid before him the

great inconveniences which follow fudden and rash resolutions in point of War.

Chofroes answered not a word, neither yet would he dismiss the Messenger.

Peace, hearing onely that Chofroes murmured against Justinian's Successes in the

break the Peace.

141. But towards the end of Winter, and of the thirteenth year of Justinian's Reign, (for he was declared Emperour, together with his Uncle, the third day before Easter) he entred the Roman Territories with a great Army, holding on his the Roman Ter- course toward Syria and Cilicia, till he arrived at the City of the Surenians upon thoris with a course toward Syria and Cilicia, till he arrived at the City of the Surenians upon Euphrates. This Town, notwithstanding his faith given to the Bishop thereof for their indemnity, he most cruelly burnt to the ground; having killed most of the men, and made all the rest Slaves, because they had not yielded at the first fummons, and for a terrour to others. Yet either out of covetousness, or for the love he bore to Euphemia, whom being one of these Captives, and very beautifull he made his Wife, and infinitely doted on her, he yielded that upon fecurity given for two Centenaries of Gold by Candidus, Bishop of Sergiopolis, those that remained,

to the number of twelve thousand, should be set at liberty; although his mercies were

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Sect. I. fo cruel, or his kindness so empty and barren, that the greatest part of them pe- E. Spin Received in the period of them pe- E. Spin Received in the period of them pe- E. Spin Received in the period of them pe- E. Spin Received in the period of rished through the effects of those miseries they had already undergone. Now in a address. braving manner did he fend away Anastashus, willing him to declare to Justinian in what part of the World he left Chofrees, the Son of Cabades; and then marcht he forward. Buzes, who commanded all the East in the absence of Belisarius, understanding what had happened to the Surenians, seemed to buckle himself to a strenuous refistence, and gave good Council to the Inhabitants of Hierapolis, that in case of a fiege, they should neither with their few numbers ingage the whole Perfian Army, nor yet keep all their men in the Town, but guarding the City with a fufficient number, lodge the rest near at hand at the bottom of the Mountains, whence by their frequent Onsets, both upon the Enemies Camp and Foragers, they might either force him to raife his Siege, or make his Assaults uneasse, and cut off from him all forts of Provisions. This Council he gave, but meant never to practile any thing himself, going away speedily with the choicest part of the Army, no man, either Friend or Foe, knew whither, nor what was become of him. Justinian hearing of the Invasion, sent away Germanus his Brother's Son in much haste with three

Buzes runs

from the Roma

hundred men, and a promife that a great Army should suddenly follow. 142. Germanus being come to Antioch, first applied himself to fortify the City, but perceiving his attempt to be vain for want of time, and that to begin, and not perfect, would but shew the Enemy which way to commence the War, he delisted from this enterprise; and when both he and the Antiochians considered that the promifed Army came not from the Emperour, and that in all probability Chofroes would make for that City, they refolved in Council to buy him off with money. To negotiate the business with him, they chose Megas, Bishop of Berrhæa, a prudent

man, who could not with all his wife Reasons charm the rude and unquiet humour of the King, but at last brought him to these Terms, that for ten Centenaries of About 31 500 li. Gold he should quit all the Eastern Provinces. But before the Bishop could fetch the feel. Ratifications, he wrested 2000 li. weight of Silver from those of Hierapolis to save

their City, and refused to accept of less than twice as much from the Berrhwans, because their Walls were much weaker. They offered him the 2000 li. but as for more, they protested they could not pay him; and when he pressed upon their City, they relinquished it, and fled by night to the Castle, where being but one Spring, and that drank up by the Cattle, they presently found themselves in a lamentable estate. Megas could not with all his Rhetorick perfuade the Antiochians to the Agreement he had made with Chofrees, being kept off by Julian, the Emperour's Secretary, who was fent Ambassadour to Chofrees, together with John, the Son of Rusinut, and forbad them expresly to give money to the Enemy, or sell the Emperour's Towns. Megas returning to Chofrees was much afflicted, finding him fo closely belieging his own Fellow-citizens; for they were reduced to the utmost extremity, the Persian Army having entred, and feized the Town. He expostulated with him about his perfidious dealing in fuch terms, and used such arguments, cries, and intreaties, that assuring

him they had no more money than the fum they had offered, he procured the li-

berty of those poor men. According to the Faith he had given them, they were

fuffered to goe whither they pleased, and amongst them some of the Souldiers. But

the greatest part of these revolted to Chofroes, complaining of the sad condition

they were in, being behind in their pay for many years, and went with him afterward into Persia.

143. Chofroes perceiving from Megas that the Antiochians would part with no money, marcht thitherward, and encamping near the River Orontes, fent to demand the ten Centenaries of Gold, which if he should receive, he seemed willing Besseges Antioch. to pack up, and be gone. Thither went the Ambassadours, betwixt whom and him passed much discourse and expostulation to no purpose. The common and light fort of People of Antioch from the Walls flouted and derided him, and almost had floned his Interpreter, wherewith inraged, he resolved presently to give an Assault. The Wall being weakest at the top of the Hill, and the Places where the Belieged were to fight being narrow, they tied long Beams together between the Turrets, and inlarged the itandings for more men to oppose the Asialants. The great breadth and height of the Rock commanded the Wall, and caused the Fight to be equal, as upon even ground, and here lay the disadvantage of the Romans. Yet had they put out but three hundred men, possest the Rock first, and kept off the Enemy, in all probability the Town had not been indangered, the Barbarians having no means to affault, being beaten perpendicularly both from the Rock and Walls. But this being neglected, and confequently the defence very difficult, and the fervice hot at the Rock; when the Romans preffed up to make refistence, the Ropes which tied

The Defendants the Beams fundenly broke, and down they all fell. They who made good the Tur- Sect. manage their rets, hearing the noile, imagined that the Wall was broken down, and ran away. Then did the old Souldiers take their Horses, and rode to the Gate, giving out they were to receive Buzes and his Army. Thither can also the Antiochians, Men, Women and Children, and precling out altogether, the Souldiers bore them down, and many were killed in the crowd. The Perhans let to their scaling Ladders, and mounted without any opposition, which made them fear some strategeme, and take care how they descended through the Rocks and Precipices from the Hill. Chofrees esteeming all things less than the taking of the City, gave the Souldiers fair leisure to run, the Perfians pointing at them with their hands, and bidding them halle and get away. When they faw them and their Commanders got out at the Gate of Dapbne, they fairly descended into the midst of the City.

144. Here at first they were encountred by some rath young men, who laying at them with stones, and forcing them to change their place a little, seemed to themselves to have the better, sung their Peam, and cried full iniques Callinicus, as if indeed they had got the victory. In the mean time Chasses sitting upon a Turret by the top of the Hill, sent for the Ambassadours to come to him, which being taken notice of by Zaberganes, one of his Commanders, he fearing a composition would be the product of a Conference, came to him, shewed him the present estate of the Antiochians, and diffuaded him from yielding to those who were already conquered, and had nothing but fury and desperation to bear them up. Chosenes apt enough to be persuaded, sent some of his best men against them, but news was presently brought that the work was done, and the Perhans were Victours, who so The City taken, far improved the Victory, as neither to spare Sex nor Age. All forts of misery fell upon the poor Inhabitants, the Persian King shedding Crocodiles Tears, and preten-

ding to be moved with pity and commiferation, though he was the most false, perfidious and fordid man alive. He commanded his men to make Slaves of fuch Antiochians as furvived, and to take the spoil of the Town. He himself took out of the Church a vast Treasure of Gold and Silver, caused many admirable pieces of Marble to be taken down, to be transported into Persia, and then gave order to burn the City, the Church being preserved through the great instance and importunity of the Ambassadours. But not onely did they burn the whole City, (the Cathedral excepted, with some Houses that stood towards a Corner, and joined not to other Buildings) but what was without the Walls, except the Church of St. 74lian, and the Houses about it, where the Ambassadours lodged, besides the City Walls they wholly forbore. And thus perifled the greatest, the fairest, the most populous, the richest and happiest Roman City in the East, (whose beauty and magnificence appeared even in its very Ruins) by the most impious of all men living. which thing much startled Procopius the Historian, though at last he resolves all in-

to the Equity and Justice of Divine Providence.

145. The Ambassadours, as they had reason, touched with a sense of so sad a spectacle, could not forbear to lay before him his perfidious dealing, to which he answered, and alledged some things specious, and some things palpably false, to lay the load upon Justinian. After many Recriminations and Arguments, it was accorded that the Romans should pay to him fifty Centenaries of Gold, and a perpetual 157500 li yearly payment of five more, not in way of Tribute, but for guarding the Caspian 15720 li. Sterl. Gates, and quitting all pretences to Daras, and this colour Chofrees himself would put upon it. Hereupon no more Acts of hostility were to be committed; but receiving hostages for performance he was to depart speedily into his own Countrey,

whither other Ambassadours should be sent by the Emperour to treat and settle a to this in his Return to the first in his march, wrefting from that of Apamea, which offered him to weight of Silver, ten times as much, even all their Treasures of Gold and

Silver, which were very great; and from the poor City of Chalcis (distant ten miles and a half from Berrhwa) two Centenaries of Gold. Neither was he minded to return the same way he came, but to cross Euphrates, and risle Mesopotamia in his passage, Having crossed the River near Obbane, he was very ambitious to become Master of Edessa, induced by a confident Tradition, then amongst Christians, that it was never to be taken, by reason of a certain Letter which our Saviour Christ was faid to have written to Agbarus, at that time Toparch of the Countrey, whereby

he promised amongst other things, that this City should never be conquered by Barbarians. The Epistle, if we may believe *Procopius*, they ingraved upon their Gates for a defence; and when Chofroes had lodged his Army three miles off, and by break of day marched towards Edessa, they went out of their way so far, that the

Tustinian.

Sect. 1. next night they lodged in the same place, and this happened twice unto them. At length, when with much adoe he had got to the Town, his Chops, as it was reported, fwelled with Rheum, which so much astonished him, that he resolved not to attempt the Place; but he fent his Interpreter, and demanded money of them. They fent him word, that of their City they had no fear; but to prevent the wasting of their Towns and Villages, they would give him two Centenaries of Gold, which he received, and in this matter kept the Agreement.

146. Now came Letters from Justinian agreeing to ratify the Treaty between him and the Ambassadours, whereupon he discharged the Hostages, and prepared for his Retreat. He condescended that the Antiochian Captives should be ransomed, and the Citizens of Edessa, to their great commendation, offered whatever they had toward so pious a work; but the Design was crossed by Buzes, who expected to raise some profit out of it. But Chosenes, notwithstanding the Emperour's Letters, and his full Agreement, yet could not forbear pilling the Country in his pasfage; and being come to Daras, he fairly laid fiege to it. He fprung a mine, and had undoubtedly taken it, but that the thing was discovered seasonably by a man (or more than a man, faith the Historian) who coming from the Perfian Camp, feemed to gather up the scattered Arrows, and warding with his Shield, as if he jeered those upon the Battlements, told them where their danger lay, and bad them carefully provide for their fafety. Then did the Belieged by a cross Mine defeat the purpose of their Enemies, which Chofroes perceiving, and seeing there was no hope of taking the Town, capitulated for a thouland pound weight of Silver, and Julinian protect went his way. Julinian, by this attempt upon Daras, protested that the Peace to due Feec to was broken, and refused to stand to the Ratification. Chospies in Affria, a days to broken. journey from Ctefiphon, built a City, wherein he bestowed the Antiochian Captives,

and called it Antioch of Chofroes. He maintained them at the publick charge, not like Captives; gave them the name of Bafilici, as exempt from the jurisdiction of all Magistrates, except the King; built them a publick Bath, a Cirque, and furniflied them with other delights, bringing from Antioch and the neighbouring Roman Chifort builds a Cities Chariotiers and skilfull Multicians. If a Roman Captive fled hither, and was City calld An-challenged for a Kinfinan by any of the Inhabitants, he might not be taken thence into of cobjects. by his Master, of what quality soever he was. At this time Belisarius received orders to return to Constantinople, where having wintred, at the beginning of the Spring he was sent General against Chosroes, with the Officers that accompanied him out of Italy. Of his Gothick Prisoners Vitigis staid at Constantinople; the rest served with

him against the Perstans, and to what purpose we shall shortly see. 147. Whilft Belifarius made hafte to prevent any new Invafion of Chofroes, he in the mean time led an Army into Lazica, being invited by the Inhabitants upon this occasion. The Lazians, who first dwelt in Cholchis, were subject to the Romans; not to payment of Tribute; but when their King died, the Roman Emperour was wont to fend to his Successour Ensigns of Majesty. They guarded the Marches of the Countrey, and hindred the Hunnes, their Neighbours, from invading the Roman Territories; receiving for this no money, nor Souldiers; nor ferving in the Emperour's Wars, onely they traded with his Subjects of Pontus, bartring their Native Commodities, as Skins, Hides and Slaves, for Corn, Salt, and other things which their Countrey wanted. But upon account of Gurgeres King of Iberia, there being some Roman Forces lodged in Lazica, they were very unruly, and Peter their General was fo rapacious, as very much discontented the People. This was in the time of Justin; and when Justinian came to the Government, he sent several Commanders into Lazica, and at last John Tribus, a man raised from mean condition, and advanced to this Command onely for being the wickedest of all men, and a most fit person, by right or wrong, to raise Money. He persuaded the Emperour to build a Town upon the Sea, which was called Petra, wherein he Lorded it, and tyrannifed over all the Countrey; for he prohibited Merchants to import Salt, or any other Wares to the Lazians, fetting up a Monopoly, and felling to the People at what rates he listed. Upon this account, and by reason of the unusual burthen lying upon them from the Roman Army, they were much discontented, and at last The Lazians re-refolved not to endure it, but revolt unto the Perfians. There was no need of using many Arguments to Chofroes, to accept the protection of them, though their Ambaffadours infifted upon the convenience he would have of infefting the Roman Territories by Sea; the onely difficulty lay in the unpassableness of the Countrey. But they told him, that by cutting down Trees, and casting them into the ill Places,

promifed to be his Guides, and to work in the head of the Army.

the way might be made easie enough for his Forces to march, and they themselves

148. Char-

148. Charging then the Ambassadours not to make known their Negotiation, he Sect. 1. gathered together a great Army, not revealing his Intent to any but his most inward Counsellours, and pretending a Journey into Iberia, where a Nation of Hunnes was reported to invade the Persian Confines. And he had this advantage by his secrecy, that the Spies which Belisarius sent into Persta affured him there would be no invasion of the Roman Territories, the King being ingaged in a War with the Hunnes. But Belifarius, believing there would be no invation by Chefroes, resolved to take the advantage which the pretended Hunnish War would afford him, and to enter Perfa with a confiderable Army. All his Officers concurred with him, one-ly Reguithancus and Theolithus, Commanders of the Forces in Phanicia Libani, though they approved of the Invalion, yet feared in their absence that Alamundarus the Saracen, would forrage Phanicia and Syria, and that the Emperour might be offended with them for neglecting their charge. Hereupon they hung back, and refused to join in the Expedition; but Belisarius told them, they imagined that which would not be; for in Summer, for two months of that Season, the Saracens intended Religion, onely busied themselves in the Service of their God, and made no Inroads; but in case there should be occasion, he promised to dismiss them and their Troops within two months, and commanded them to march along with him. Chofroes by this time taking that course the Ambassadours had directed him, passed through Lazica without interruption, and came into the middle of the Countrey, where the Poets feign the Story of Jason and Medea to have been acted. Here Gubazes, King of the Lazians, came and adored him as his Liege Lord, furrendring, together with himself, his Royal Palaces, and the whole Countrey into his hands, except Petra, which John Tzibus held with a Roman Garrison. Chosroes sent a Party under command of Aniavedes, to surprize this Town, but by a Strategem of John, who unexpectedly issued out upon him, when he thought there had not been a Souldier in the Town, fo filent they were, he was beaten back; at which the King inraged, some say, crucified Aniavedes, then with his whole Army he begirt the Town, and after John was killed with a shot, by a Mine made the narrow entrance into the City passable, and the Romans affrighted, yielded upon composition for their Lives and Estates. Chofroes finding in Petra much Wealth belonging to John, was, contrary to his wonted humour, therewith fatisfied; and not fuffering the Goods of the Romans to be toucht, permitted them to live and mingle with the Persian Army. 149. Belifarius hearing nothing of these Matters, marched with his Army towards Nifibis, which he faced and skirmished with a Party that sallied out against him. The Persians slew fifty of the Romans, and took the Ensign of Peter, General of Armenia, who had a particular Post assigned him; but Belisarius coming in to his relief, beat them back within their Walls, killing one hundred and ten of them; and though they fet up the Enfign as a Trophy on their Walls, and braved the Enemy, yet durft they fally no more out of their Fortifications. Having no hope to

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

Takes Sifibra-

CHAP. II.

take Nisibis, he marcht on to a Fort called Sisibranum, full of Inhabitants, besides eight hundred of the choicest Persian Horse, commanded by Blechames, a Person of great quality. But having not laid in any Provisions, they were prevailed with by promises and fair words to yield. The Inhabitants being Christians, and anciently Romans, the General treated with all fairness and civility; the Persians, with Blechames, he fent to the Emperour, who caused them to be transported into Italy against the Goths. E'er this Castle was taken and demolished, he considered there was no marching any farther; and refolved to fend Arethas with his Saracens, being men unfit for Assaults, but excellent Plunderers, with some of his best Souldiers commanded by John and Trajan, to enter and harass Affyria. They passed the River Tigris, and finding good Pillage, ranfackt many Towns, and got great Wealth, of which Arethas fearing he might be deprived by the Romans, refused to return to the Camp, as he had been ordered, and caufing a report to be spread of a great Army at hand, at the Rivers side, advised John and Trajan to return some other way into the Roman Territories. The Army of Belifarius hearing nothing of these Forces, were distracted in their thoughts. The Heats were so great, that the Souldiers, especially those of Thrace, could not endure them, stirring much, and lying in close Cabbins, so that a third part of them lay half dead of Fevers. All earnestly desired the and Chiffnes to return, and Reguithancus and Theodisfus now alledged, that the consecrated Time of the Saracens being at an end, the Towns of Libanus and Syria would become a prey to Alamundarus. It was resolved therefore in a Council of War to make a speedy retreat. Chosroes in the mean time having taken Petra, had the news of Be-

lifarius his Invasion, and what Arethas had done beyond Tigris. Leaving there-

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Sect. I. fore a Garrison in Petra, he marched back into Persia, with the rest of his Army, his Prisoners and booty. Belisarius was sent for by the Emperour to Constantinople, and there frent the Winter.

150. In the beginning of the Spring, Chofrees invaded the Roman Territories In Spring Cost the third time with a great Army. Candidus Bishop of Sergiopolis, having not reer makes a third Invasion. kept his word with him, he Imprisoned and tortured, whereby he procured much Treasure out of the Church, but besieged the City to no purpose. Being come into Comagena (or Euphratesia,) he neither foraged the Countrey, nor took Towns as formerly, but resolved to make a farther Journey, and pass directly for Palestine; for, hearing this Province was very fertile and well Inhabited, he longed to take the spoils thereof, and especially of the Treasures of Jerusalem. The Romans in his passage made no resistence, thinking it sufficient that they secured themselves in their Garrisons. Justinian hearing of the Invasion, again sent away Belisarius, who passed by Post with great speed into Comagena. Justus the Emperour's Brother's Son, with Buzes and some other Officers were got into Hierapolis, and sent for Belisarius to come to them; but he liked not their advice, and went to Europus a Town Situate upon Euphrates, where he fell to levying of an Army, and called the Officers away from Hierapolis. Chofroes hearing he was come hither, marcht no farther but dispatcht Abandanes one of his Secretaries to him to complain that the Emperour had not fent his Ambassadours to ratify the Treaty. Belisarius having notice of his coming, chose out fix thousand of the goodliest of his men, as if he would fend them out to hunt. He ordered Diogenes one of his Lanciers, and Adolius the Son of Acacius an Armenian, and one of those Officers near about the Emperour, which the Romans called Silentiarii, being also at present Captain of the Forces in Armenia, to skirt along the shore of Euphrates, and at times to make shew of passing the River and invading the Countrey. He himself when the Ambassadour was at hand, retired to his Pavilion made with Boards according to the custome, that he might feem to be in a poor Town without Provisions. On the one fide of the Pavilion stood the Thracians and Illyrians, behind them the Goths, next the Herulians, and then the Vandals and Moors. They took up much ground, not flanding still but walking at a distance, and lookt carelesty and considently upon the Ambassadour. None had his Mantle on, but Linen Coats like Women girt about them, holding in their hands an Horfemans whip. For Arms, fome had Swords, some Battle Axes, others Bows onely, looking like Huntersthat gave the chase to wild Beasts.

151. The Ambassadour coming to Audience, said it was a foul Indignity, that Cæsar (so the Persians called the Emperour,) had not sent Ambassadours about the Articles, and that thereby his Master was constrained to enter the Roman Territories in an hostile manner. Belifarius with a smiling countenance, and a look altogether void of trouble or fear, answered that Chosroes made War quite after another manner, than other Princes used, who first were wont to demand their right, and if they were refused, then betook themselves to Arms; whereas he being first entred into the Bowels of the Empire, did not shame to talk of Peace; and with this he difinissed the Ambassadour. Abandanes returning, perswaded his Master to lay down his Arms and be quiet, for he had light upon a Captain, the stoutest and the wifest in the World, and upon such Souldiers, as eye never beheld the like, whose order and demeanour he could never fufficiently admire. Befides he told him, the match betwixt them was very unequal; for if he overcame, he should but vanquish a Slave of Cæsar's, but should be be defeated, he should get infinite dishonour to himself and his House. If the Romans should be beaten, they might escape into their Fortresses, being in their own Countrey; but if his Army should be worsted, not one would escape to carry the News into Persia. Chosroes moved by these reafons, had a mind to go home, but march back again through the Wilderness he could not, his Provisions failing: he knew the passages of the River to be Guarded. but in conclusion thought it best, though with hazarding of a Battel, to get over the River, and to make his Retreat through a plentifull Countrey.

152. Belifarius knew well that one hundred thousand men could not stop his Beliffarius by his passage, much less could he doe any thing effectually with his small Numbers. Now Building, crases he concluded it better policy, to make him a Bridge than to hinder his Design, and Consider to the characteristic fearing that Diogenes and Addins might interrupt his quitting the Roman Territories, he sent them orders to forbear, and so Chofrees speedily making a Bridge, passed with his Army over the Euphrates. This was done with much ease, for the Persians had ever ready in their marches great Iron hooks, wherewith fastning long Timber together, they could make a Bridge with great Expedition. Being got on

the other fide, he fent to tell Belifarius that he had gratified the Romans by his Retreat, but he expected Ambassadours from them immediately. Belisarius also went over the River, and fent to Chofroes to commend his Resolution of Retreating; he promifed that Ambassadours should speedily be dispatched after him from the Emperour to similit the Articles accorded, and he desired him that in his passage, he would treat no otherwise than as friends the Roman Subjects. This he promised, on condition he might have fome Principal man for Hoftage, and accordingly Belifarius fent him from Edeffa, John the Son of Bafilius, though fore against his mind, being the chief man of that City, both in respect of Birth and Fortune. But e'er the Hostage could reach him, he neglected the agreement, and in his way not

The king takes able to bridle his humour took Calinicum, wherein were none to defend it. For bridles his humour took Calinicum, wherein were none to defend it. For pulse, and de-their Walls being just at this time in mendings and therefore part of them down modified his. Upon report of his approach, the wealther fort carried out their code, and evited to the proofs and evident to the proofs and evited to the proofs ar upon report of his approach, the wealthier fort carried out their goods, and retired to other strong places. The rest with many Peasants that slocked thither continuing in the Town without any Garrison, he made Slaves, and laid the City even with the ground. Shortly after receiving John the Hostage, he retired into his own Countrey. The Armenians who had revolted to Chofroes, took assurances from the Romans, and with Baffaces went to Constantinople. Thither also was Belifarius fent for, being, and that worthily, highly admired and extolled by all men; for, this action of fending away Chofroes feemed to furpass his Triumphs, over both Vitigis and Gelimer. Certainly it was a matter of great moment, when the Romans were terrified and hid in their strong holds, and Chofrees with an huge Army was in the midst of their Countrey, for a General, coming Post from Constantinople, to Belifarium defer. incamp with a few in the very face of the Enemy, to stop his passage, and then redy admired. either frighting him with his good Fortune and Valour, or deceiving him by Art, to make him in effect run away, and really to defire and exchange Peace for War, after a tedious and fruitless expedition. This his prosperity, which seemed hitherto constant and unmatchable, the Emperour resolved farther to try in the War of Italy, where things at this time went very ill, upon what occasion we shewed e'er our pen left the History of that Countrey. Though his fortune now began to change, and shew the fickleness of her own nature, with the lubricity of all humane greatness and excellency, yet having followed him in his proferous Eflate, we shall not leave the conduct of so great a Captain, in his adverse Condition, but accompany him into that Countrey, and leave Chofroes a while to ruminate upon his

late great Atcheivement. But here in our Journey we had like to have been preven-

ted by a fad accident, which being more destructive than War it self, had almost

effected a Peace by taking away the Persons, and consequently the quarrels of both

153. This was a Plague which almost confumed Mankind, of which Procepius concludes there was no other cause, than the immediate hand of God himself. For it neither came upon one part of the World alone, nor in one season of the year, whence fubtile wits (as he faith) might fetch pretentions. It afflicted the whole World and all Conditions of men, though of never fo contrary a nature and dispofition, sparing no Constitution nor Age. The difference of men as to their places of Dwelling, Diets, Complexions, Inclinations or any other thing did no good in this Disease. Some it took in Summer, some in Winter, and others in other seasons. It began amongst the Ægyptians of Pelusium, and spred to Alexandria with the rest of Ægypt one way, and the other to those parts of Palestine which border upon Ægypt. From thence it travelled to the utmost bound of the world, as by set Journies and Stages, making destruction its onely business, and sparing neither Island, Cave, nor top of Mountain where mankind inhabited; for if it leapt over a Countrey, returning afterward, it left it no cause to rejoyce above its fellows. It began still at the Sea Coast, and thence went to the inland parts. In the second year of its Progress, it arrived at Constantinople about the middle of the Spring, where it was the fortune of Procopius then to refide. Apparitions of Spirits in all shapes humane were feen by many, who thought the man they met, struck them in some part of the Body, and so foon as they saw the Spirit, they were seized with the Disease. At first when they met them, they repeated Divine Names, and sled into Churches to no purpose. Afterwards they were afraid to hear their friends call them, locking themselves up in their Chambers and stopping their Ears. Some dreamed they faw fuch fights, others heard a Voice tell them, they were inrolled in the Number appointed to die. But most without warning became feverish fuddenly. Their Bodies changed not colour, nor were hot, the Fever being fo remiss till Evening, that neither the Patient nor Physician; by his Pulse could ap-

Sect. 1. prehend any danger. Yet to some the same day, to others the next or many after, arose a Bubo both in the Groin, the Armeholes, under the Ear and in other parts. Those were the general symptomes which happened alike to all the visited

154. There were others different, whether fo made by the diversity of Bodies, or the will and pleasure of him that sent the Distemper, our Authour cannot say. Some were feized with Drowfiness and Slumbring, others with a sharp distraction. The Slumberers forgot all things, if they were lookt to, some would eat, some that were neglected starved to death. Those that were distracted were vexed with Apparitions, crying out there were men to kill them, and running away, being fo troublefome and unruly, that their Keepers were pitied as much as they themselves. No Physician or other caught the Disease by touching sick or dead Bodies; many strangely continuing free, though they tended and buried infected Persons, and many catching it they knew not how, and dying instantly. Many leapt into the Water, though not for thirst; and many into the Sea. Some without slumbring or madness had their Bubo gangreen'd, and died with extreme pain, which doubtless happened also to those that had the Phrensie, though being not themselves they understood it not. Some Physicians hereupon conceiving the venome and head of the Disease, to lie in those Plague fores, opened the dead bodies, and searching the Sores, found an huge Carbuncle growing inward. Such whose bodies were spotted with black Pimples the bigness of a Lentile lived not a day. Many died of vomiting Bloud. Some that were given over by the most eminent Physicians, unexpectedly recovered, others, of whose recovery they thought themselves secure, fuddenly perished. No cause of this sickness could be reached by man's reason. Some received benefit by Bathing, and others it hurt. Many died for want of Cure, and many escaped without it; in a word, no way could there be found of prefervation, either by preventing the fickness, or mastering the Disease, no cause ap-

pearing either of their falling fick, or of their recovery. 155. Women with Child which were visited, certainly died, some miscarrying, fome fairly delivered, and perifhing with their Children; three Women onely were fafely brought to Bed and recovered, their Children dying, and one died whose Child had the hap to live. Such as had their Sore great and running plentifully escaped; the violence of the Carbuncle being thereby asswaged, and this was the most certain sign of health. Such whose Sores staid as they first arose, underwent the milerable Accidents formerly mentioned. Some had their Thighs withered, when the Sores rose upon them and did not run. Some escaped with diminished Tongues, and lived stammering or uttering sounds without distinction all their days. In Constantinople this Pestilence lasted four months, raging three months with all extremity. In the beginning few died more than usual. Then it growing hotter and hotter, it came to five, and at last to ten thousand and more every day. At first they buried their Dead carefully, but at length all came to Confusion, and many lay long unburied. Servants were without Masters, Rich men had none to attend them. In the afflicted City was little to be seen, but empty Houses, no Trade going, nor Shops open. The Emperour was much concerned as he had reafon, and committed the overfight of the poor to Theodorus, one of the Referendarii that subscribed the Emperour's answers to Petitions, who to those that were in want distributed money out of the Treasury. To these passages Procopius adds, that many out of fear left their bad courses of Life, and consecrated themselves to God; and many when the danger was over, fell to their old despising of God again, and so he ends the description of this Pestilence, which though it continued but four months at Constantinople, yet Euagrius, who both himself and his Family Vide Euagr. History was visited with it, tells us, it lasted the space of two and fifty years, prevailing so lib. 4.6.28. much, that it deflroyed in a manner the whole World. Seeing then that it outlived *Procopius*, no wonder if in fo long a time, and fo various Climates and Countries. tries, it changed its Symptomes, and varied fomething from those accidents which fell out in his days. Yet the description of Euagrius differs very little from that of his. He affirms that in some things, it resembled the Plague of Athens, described by Thucydides, and in other respects was far unlike it. That it began in Æthiopia as the other did, but exceeded all that ever were before it, and confidering how long a time it raged, and flitted up and down, he admires that Philostratus should wonder at the Plague which happened in his time, because it continued fifteen years together. But whereas the History of Procopius was fufficiently known to the World, and particularly to Euagrius himself, who has taken, as all learned men know, much out of it, its a greater wonder he should say, that the History of this

Plague was not penned till the time that he undertook it; for we cannot in the Sect. 1. least imagine but it was the self-same Plague they both speak of. Never any Plague was so like it, as that dreadfull one in the time of our Edward the Third. It began, as may be gathered from Procopius, not in the tenth, as some have written, but about the eighteenth year of Justinian's Reign, the third after the Consulship of Bafilius, the third of Totilas, the DXLIV. of our Lord, and the ninth of the Gothick War in Italy, to which we must, after this digression, now return.

CHAP. II.

156. Belifarius being designed to give a check to the Arms of valiant and pro-Redend. ad his span is the span for the span f with Vitalius, General of Illyrium, raifing about four thousand men, came to Salone, determining to go to Ravenna, and thence raife the Siege, for the Enemy lying in Campania and Calabria, there was no landing near Rome either with secrecy or security. He reinsorced the Garrison of Otranto by fresh men well supplied, ta-Tailer takes Ti-king out the old, who were half starved. In the mean time Totilas took Tiber, and

put all the Townsmen to the Sword, together with their Bishop, the manner of

whose death, Procepius tells us, he would conceal, lest he should leave to Posterity Monuments of Inhumanity. But the Goths being now Masters of this City, which

was situate sisteen miles above Rome, and commanded the River, the Romans could not import any more Provisions out of Tuscany. Belisarius came with his Fleet to Ravenna, where in vain indeavouring to draw over to him the Souldiers of Totilas, he sent a Party into Emilia to attempt some of the Cities of that Countrey. The The Mani de Isaurians now left the service, and went home, excusing themselves to the Emperour by their want of Pay, and an Invasion which the Hunnes had made into their Territories. Totilas not ignorant hereof, fent some Forces to drive the Romans out of Emilia, but they were worsted by Belisarius his Troops, who then reinforcing Auximum, which the Goths had befieged, two hundred of his men were flain by an

The Ruman re-Ambufcado, and all their Arms and Baggage were loft; for when upon confideration of their disability to match the Betiegers, and that by flaying, they did but consume the Towns Provision, and make it more liable to be taken, they resolved to depart, their Resolution was made known by a Renegado to the Enemy. Pisaurus a small Town upon the Gulf betwixt Auximum and Ariminum, Belisarius fortified, which Totilas having attempted to florm, but to no purpose, returned to the fiege of Auximum, where the Romans kept close within their Walls. Finding both by espials and his demeanour that Belisarius was not able to fight him, he fell upon other strong Towns, blocking up Firmum and Ascalum in Picenia; and so ended the Winter with the tenth year of the War, written by Procopius. 157. Belisarius being most concerned for Rome, sent Artasiris a Persian, and Bar-

obedience to the Romans.

bation a Thracian, two of his Life-guard, to defend it, together with Bessas the Governour at present, and ordered them, in case they were besieged, to make no Sallies at all. Being utterly unable to relieve the beleagured Towns, he fent John to Conflantinople, taking of him an oath for his speedy return, and to importune the Em-Bolifaring fends perour to fend a new Army, and fufficient supplies, for the old Souldiers were quite framew Army, out of heart, by reason of the want of their expected Pay for so long a time. The substance of these things he signified to Justinian in a Letter, which though they were fufficiently pungent, yet they moved the Court very little, and John staid long at Constantinople, where he married the Daughter of Germanus the Emperour's Nephew by his Brother, and was so taken up with his Bride, that he minded none of those Matters for which he was sent. In the mean time Totilas took in several Towns in Tuscany and elsewhere; and having in vain attempted Perusia, though he procured Cyprianus the Governour to be treacherously murthered, departed towards Rome, which he closely befieged. During the Leaguer he did no damage at all to the Husbandmen of Italy, letting them fecurely till their Ground; onely the publick Revenue or private Rents he took to his own use, and thereby sufficiently provided for his Army, while the Befieged laboured under all forts of miferies. For after a brisk fally made by Artafiris and Barbation against the mind of Bessas, wherein having faln into an Ambuscado of the Enemy, they lost most of their men, and hardly escaped themselves with their lives, the Famine began to grow fore in the City, no Victuals

158. Belisarius by this time repented his coming to Ravenna, upon the persuafions of Vitalius, where being shut close up, he gave sufficient scope to the Goths to

being imported either by Land or Sea. For the Goths, after they had reduced Na-

ples, scoured the Seas by a Fleet of Barks, and surprized all Vessels in the way from

Sicily to Rome. Totilas having men enough to spare, sent an Army into Emilia,

and laid siege to Placentia, a City standing upon the Poe, and onely continuing in

CHAP. II.

advance their Affairs, Providence indeed turning all his Councils and indeavours to the contrary end. Fearing not onely the loss of Rome, but all the rest, and not able Sect. 1. with fo fmall an Army to relieve them, he once resolved to rise and surprize some Places near the City, whence he might in certain junctures of time be able to afford the Besieged some succour. Yet committing Ravenna to the care of Justinus, he marched through Dalmatia to Epidamnus, and thence writing Letters of a fresher date to the Emperour, expected in return an Army from Constantinople. At length came a number of Souldiers, partly Romans, partly Barbarians, under conduct of John the Nephew of Vitalianus, with whom were joined in Commission Isaac the Armenian, Brother to Aratius and Narses. Narses also the Eunuch, whom he had fent to the Herulian Princes upon the same account, brought many of that Nation along with him, who were commanded by *Philimuth* and others, and in their march did the *Romans* a very great fervice by adventure. For meeting by chance with a multitude of the Sclavi, who having passed the River Ister, plundred all the Countrey, and took a great number of Captives, they had the courage to fight them ; and though inferiour in numbers, beat them out of the Field, rescued the Prisoners out of their hands, and fent them home. Belifarius in the mean time fent Valentinus, and Phocas an expert Souldier, one of his Life-guard, to relieve Rome, which from Portus they attempted to no purpose, as also did Vigilius the Roman Bishop from Sicily, who fending fome Ships laden with Corn to relieve the City, they all fell into the Enemies hands. And so ended the Winter and the eleventh year of the Gothick War, written by Procopius. 159. Vigilius the following Summer was fent for by the Emperour to Constanti-

Placentia yiel-

nople. Placentia was by famine (which confirmined the Belieged at length to eat one another) forced to surrender upon composition. Rome was well nigh brought into the same extremity, though the poorer fort were very much supported by the liberality of Pelagius a Deacon of that Church, who having dwelt long in Constantinople, in the grace and favour of Justinian, was grown very rich; and being newly come to Rome, spent most of his Riches upon such as were in want by reason of the Siege. He also at the desire of the Romans undertook to plead their Cause before Totilas, who received him very gratiously, but dismissed him without any satisfaction in relation to his Message. Herewith the Besieged were utterly discouraged. and the Famine growing fore upon them, though the Souldiers Victual was not yet all spent, Multitudes slocked to Bessas and Conon weeping, and bitterly lamenting their condition, and praying them either to give them Food, to let them go, or else kill and dispatch them out of the way. The Officers answered, that to supply them A grievous Fa- with Victuals was impossible, to kill them was impious, and to let them go unsafe; mine in Rome. but they cheered them as much as they could, and put them off with great affurances of Belifarius and an Army from Constantinople. The Famine grew every day more unsupportable. Bessas and Conon having laid up great quantities of Corn for the Garrison, at first retrenched their own allowance, and fold to the Richer fort at huge rates; as for example, a bushel of Wheat for seven golden Staters. The meaner fort not able to reach so high, paid a fourth part, and the Bushel was fill'd up with Bran, which their Stomachs were able enough to digeft. An Oxe was fold at fifty Staters. He thought himself no mean man that could get a dead Horse to feed on. The Multitude fed on Nettles growing near the Walls, and amongst Rubbish, which they first boiled to prevent stinging. Such as had Purses at first to go to the Rate of the Wheat and Bran, when they failed, purchased it with their Houshold-stuff. till all the Corn being spent (save a little preserved by Bessa) and Money failing, they all betook themselves to Nettles. There not being enough of this to fill their Bellies, much less to supply the necessities of Nature, they pined away, their Skins grew pale and wan, and they looked like fo many moving Ghosts. Many chewing Nettles, fell down and died with them in their Mouths as they went along. They forbore not one another's Excrements; and many, when Dogs and Rats failed them, killed themselves. Afterward the Commanders, seeing things reduced to this extremity, for Money, fuffered fuch as would, to go out of the City. Some few staying behind the reft, fled whither they could; but most of them were so weak, that they died on Shipboard, or else upon the High-ways. Such as the Enemy caught, he failed not, though not out of any compassion, to rid out of this miserable life. To fuch a dreadfull condition was reduced the State of the People and Senate of Rome.

160. Belifarius moved with this fad Calamity, failed from Epidamnus unto Portus, giving in charge to John to march through Calabria; and having cleared those Parts of the Goths, which were not very many, to meet and join with him about Rome. But John having done fome execution upon several Parties in his passage,

durst not venture to pass by Capua, though it had no more in it than three hundred Sect. 1. men, and he had at his heels the choicest of the Roman Army, so strong were his fears of being furrounded by the Goths. Therefore did the General, fearing fome desperate Resolution of the starving Romans, study some means to victual the City, which he had not Forces enough to relieve by fight. Upon the Tiber, about eleven miles below. Rome, where the Chanel is narrowest, Totilas had laid a Bridge of Planks, and at either fide built wooden Towers, and put good Garrisons into them to hinder the passage of Barks up to the City. Belisarius therefore tied two Barks together, upon which he raifed a Tower of Wood, higher than those the Enemy, had made at the Bridge; and lancht into the Tiber two hundred Pinaces, the fides of which were full of Loop-holes to shoot at the Enemy. Aboard the Pinaces he put Corn and other Provisions, and towards the River's mouth, in places of advantage, laid Horse and Foot by either Bank, to hinder the designs of the Enemy upon Portus. This Garrison he committed to the care of Isaac, together with the charge though he heard Belifarius were flain, but to keep close to his Guard, that upon any ill Accident there might be a place of retreat; for other Forts in the Countrey there were none, all the rest being in the hands of the Enemy. He himself conducted the Pinaces, and caused the two Barks with the Turret to be towed after; on the top of which he put a little Boat, full of Pitch, Rozin, Brimstone, and other combuiltible matter. That these his Devices might better succeed, he had the day before fent order to Beffas to make a general Sally, and alarm the Enemies Camp.

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

161. Beffas making great gain of the Corn which had been laid up for the Souldiers, was not willing the Siege should be raifed, and therefore neglected both these and former orders. But Belisarius rowed up the stream, which ran strong against him; the Goths all this while lying quiet in their Trenches. Near the Bridge he found an Iron Chain croß the River, which, after he had killed fome, and frighted away the reft who made opposition, he easily removed, and passing on to the Bridge, fell presently to work. The Goths from their Towers valiantly defending themselves, he caused the Barks with the Turret to be rowed near to the Enemies Tower, which stood in the water by the way from Portus. Then was the Cockboat set on fire, and shoved down just upon the said Tower of the Enemy, which instantly fell afire, and burnt with it felf two hundred Goths, together with their Officer, one of the valiantest of their Nation, the Roman Souldiers in the mean time plying with Shot fuch as came from the Gothick Camp to the relief of their Fellows, fo thick, that being amazed at the Accident, they ran all away. They laid hands on the Bridge, and had fuddenly pulled it down, and gotten into Rome, none oppofing, but that Fortune now shewed her fickleness, and some envious Dæmon plotted the ruine of the Roman Affairs, in the opinion of Procopius. The good Success of

His Defiga fru the Romans at the Bridge had the ill luck to be too foon reported at Portus, which tickled so much Isaac the Governour, that not able to hold, he must needs have a share in the honour; and forgetting or slighting the Commands of the General, went hastily to the other side of the River where Ostia stands, and with an hundred Horse of the men left him by Belisarius, charged the Enemies Quarter, commanded by Roderick a skilfull and valiant Souldier. Surprifing the Goths, he wounded Padreys, many besides Roderick himself; and they suspecting more to be coming, or rather feath, since on purpose to draw him on into danger, quitted their Quarter. For Islaac having lear this feath, since of the centred the Trenches, and falling to pillage, the Gorbs returned upon him, killed use, mane stammers. many, and took himself and others Prisoners. The news being carried to Belifarius and Himbanis ex by some Horsemen, that Isaac was taken by the Enemy, astonisht thereat, and ne Gothico frequent ver inquiring the manner, but thinking Portus and his Wife to be loft, and all ruined, by reason that now the Army had no Fortress to retire to, he had not a word to fay, a thing which to him before had never happened. Immediately he drew back his Forces, meaning to charge the Enemy unprepared, and by all means to

162. Coming to Portus, and there perceiving as well the precipitancy of his own llough trou. Councils, as the Rafiness of Isaac, the thoughts thereof so tormented him, that the offiniad, he through perturbation of mind he fell into a Fever, which afflicted him a long time, the through perturbation of mind he fell into a fee and brought him to deaths door. Roderick died of his wounds within three days, we which so incensed Totilas against Isaac, that out of revenge he put him to death.

recover the Place.

In the mean time Beffas drives a great Trade within Rome, hunger and necessity Bifur basely co-raising his Market to such a pitch, that wholly taken up with the thoughts of his profit, he totally neglected his Charge, so that the Souldiers were negligent, the Sentinels slept fecurely, none ever viliting them, calling them to account, or going

Sect. 1. the Round, as was usual; and the Citizens almost starved, refused to keep any watch. Matters flanding thus, four Ifaurians being Sentinels near Porta Afinaria, flipt down the Walls by Ropes tied to the Battlements, late at night, when their Fellows were alleep, and coming to *Totilas*, undertook to receive his Army within the City. He fent them back loaded with promiles, and with them two Souldiers, who found all things in repose and security, and accordingly made their report of the easiness of the Enterprize, yet would he not trust to it, searing some treachery in the Ifaurians, who not many days after came to him again, and so urged him to the business, that he fent two other Souldiers with them. These examining all exactly, made such a report as agreed with the former; but in the mean time some Goths were taken by the Roman Scouts, who being brought to Beffas, acquainted him with the hopes of Totilas to have Rome betrayed into his hands by Ifaurians. Yet did both Bessard Conon make slight of the Advertisement; and the Isaurians coming the third time to Totilas, and he fending others, and one of his own Kindred with them, and they reporting still the same thing, he resolved upon the Enterprise.

163. The same night therefore he filently armed his Forces, and led them to

Porta Afmaria. Four Goths strong and valiant he appointed to mount the Battlements with the Isaurians, who being got into the Town, went to the Gate, and not meeting any body, with their Battle-axescut in two the Timber Posts upon which the Gates hung, and wrenched off the Iron-work and Locks, which being done, Rame surprised, they opened the Gates, and received in Totilas with his Army. Totilas to provide against all Ambushes, suffered not his men to scatter abroad, but drew all up to one place. Upon the Alarm the City was presently in a tumult. Most of the Roman

Souldiers ran out with their Commanders at another Gate. Some of them took fanctuary with the Townsmen in Churches. Of the Patritians, Decius, Basilius, and some others, having Horses, fled with Bessas. Maximus, Olybrius, Orestes, and others, fled to Saint Peter's Church. Of the common fort remained but five hundred men, who took fanctuary also; the rest were either sled or starved. Totilas in the morning, fearing no Ambush, went to Saint Peter's Church to prayer, his men in their way killing about fix and twenty Souldiers, and fixty Commoners. Thither being come, Pelagius the Deacon, with the Gospels in his hands, came a Suppliant to him: Crying out, O Spare, my Lord, your own People. Totilas scoffed at him at first, but won with his importunate Supplications, forbad his Goths to kill any more, but gave them leave to plunder the City, referving the choicest of the Pillage to his own use. Much Wealth was found in the Houses of the Patritians, but the most considerable was the Treasure of Bessas, which by his covetous exactions he had heaped up for Totilas. Many Senatours, and Rusticiana the Widow of Boetius, and

out blushing. The Goths indeavoured to put her to death, for bribing the Roman Commanders to break down the Images of Theodorich in revenge of her Husband's and Father's deaths, but Totilas preserved both her and all other Women from the cruelty and infolence of the Souldiers, to his great honour and reputation. But thus was Rome taken, and handled by the Goths in the twelfth year of the War, the fixth after the Confulship of Basilius, the one and twentieth of Justinian's Reign,

Daughter of Symmachus, a most pious and charitable Matron, went begging their

Bread of their Enemies, wandring from door to door, and craving sustenance with-

and the fixth of Totilas, A. D. DXLVII.

164. Totilas perceiving his men to be elevated with their good fuccess, made a fober discourse to them, wherein he shewed, how according to the justice and moderation of their Actions, both the one fide and the other had hitherto rifen and fallen, gone down the wind, and prospered. The Roman Senatours he reproached with fome bitterness, that having received such benefit from the Gothick Kings, been employed in all Offices, managed the whole State, and inriched their Families, they had carried themselves so ingratefully to their Benefactours, and betrayed their own Interest by bringing Greeks into their Countrey. For whereas they had never received any hurt from the Goths, but abundance of good, he affirmed they never could boast of any benefit from Justinian, except it were their being deprived of almost all Commands, called to account for their Arrears, even the Treasury of the Goths, and paying their Tributes in times of War as well as Peace. He objected many things, carrying himself as angry Masters are wont to do towards their Slaves, for such he told them they must account themselves; yet at the intercession of Pelagius, when they flood filent before him, he promifed them pardon, and let them

Tailas fends to go. But to Justinian he fent the said Pelagius, with Theodorus a Roman Oratour, as his Ambassadours, threatning, if the Emperour would not imbrace Peace, to lay Rome flat with the ground, to kill all the Senate, and bring the War into Illyrium;

by Letters he propounded to him the example of Anastasius and Theodorich their Sect. 1. reigning peaceably together; offering, in case he would doe the like, to own him for his Father, and that he should have the Goths his Friends and Allies against whomsoever he pleased.

who refers all to Belifarius.

CHAP. II.

165. To this Justinian onely answered, that he had made Belisarius his General and Vicegerent, with absolute authority, who had full power to manage all things of that nature as he pleased. During the Voyage of the Ambassadours, Totilas in vain attempted to open the passage into Lucania, the Straits being guarded by Tullianus, who had levied fome Pealants in that Countrey, and had three hundred Antians left him by John, who of all Barbarians were most proper to fight in a fastness. Totilas inraged at this repulse and defeat of his men, resolved to demolish Rome. Tailor thereup- leaving part of his Army in some Town thereabout with the rest to go against John on purpose to and the Lucanians. He threw down a third part of the Walls, or thereabout, was ready to fet fire to the fairest and most eminent Buildings, and had nothing more in his thoughts than to make the Seat of Rome a Pasture for Sheep; when Belisarius advertised, sent a Message to him, and by Letters diverted him from his purpose.

He infifted much upon the Majesty and Grandure of this Ancient City, which having been raifed to this pitch of greatness by the vertue and industry of so many Ages, Posterity could not but look upon him that destroyed it as an Enemy to Mankind, depriving them of the Pattern and Spectacle of the worth and gallantry of their Ancestours. Should he prove victorious, he told him, he would by demolifling Rome, ruine not what was another's, but his own, being the goodliest Possesfion in the World; whereas, in case he was worsted, by preserving it, he should obtain abundant thanks from the Conquerour; but by destroying it, deprive himfelf of all pretence to mercy and favour. In conclusion, that he would get nothing by it, but a fame in the World, fuitable to fuch a proceeding which now attended his Refolution herein either way; forafmuch as whatfoever the Actions of Princes be, fuch must necessarily be the Name and Reputation they must bear from them.

166. Totilas upon often peruling the Letter, and feriously considering the Advice. forbare doing any farther harm to Rome; and fignifying his determination to Belilarius, difmilt the Messengers. Most of his Army he caused to incamp at Algidum, fifteen miles to the Westward of the City, to keep Belisarius fast in Portus; with the rest he himself marched against John and the Lucanians. Not a man did he leave in Rome, leading some Senatours with him, and sending the rest, with their Wives and Children into Lucania. John hearing of his coming, retired into Otranto, after whose departure, the Husbandmen were directed to manure their Grounds as formerly, which were now declared to belong to their old Landlords. Tullianus also ran away, and his three hundred Antians betook themselves to John's Army: so that all on that fide the Gulf, Otranto excepted, became again subject to the Goths. who grown bold, and stragling abroad in small Parties, John's Forces killed many of them, which caused Totilas to unite his Army about Mount Gargarus, almost in the middle of Apulia, where he incamped in the very Intrenchments of Hannibal. In the mean time Spoletum was retaken by the means of Martianus a Roman Souldier, who counterfeited himself a Fugitive; and John seizing upon Tarentum, fortified it by a Ditch cut through the Isthmus. Totilas surprized Acherontis, a strong Castle of Lucania, upon the Confines of Calabria, into which he put four hundred men, then led he his Army toward Ravenna, leaving a Party in Campania to look to the Senatours thither confined.

well as he can.

167. But Belifarius hearing how Totilas had quitted Rome, burnt with a defire of once more possessing himself of that City, and leaving a small Garrison in Portus, Beligining again went thither with the rest of his Army, and a full resolution to hold it. Not able formers are in a short time to repair the great breach made by *Totilas* in the Wall, he heaped Stones rudely one upon another without any Morter, onely to give it the form and shape of a Wall, but without it pitcht good store of Stakes, having formerly made a Ditch round about, as was faid before; And the whole Army labouring chearfully, the Work was finished in five and twenty days. The Romans out of the Adjacent Countrey flocked thither, as well out of love to the Place, as to be supplied with Victual, which in abundance was imported by Belifarius up the River. Totilas at the News went instantly back to Rome, not fearing to recover it; for the Gates he had broken down, were not yet fet up for want of Artificers. But where the Gates had stood, Belifarius placed some of his best Souldiers, commanding the rest from the Walls to oppose the Assailants. And that they did with such courage, that the Goths, who hoped to take the Town at the first onset, finding the business difficult, grew angry, and their anger made them more resolute and venturous.

Sect. 1. Necessity also constraining the Romans to be Valiant, the Fight was hot, and continued from Morning to Night, which being come, the Goths who had received great loss, returned to their Camp, and dressed their wounded men. The besieged kept Guards upon the Walls, and caufing their best men by turns to watch the Gates, pitcht besore them many Tribuli or Murices, which were made after this fashion. Four Iron sprigs of equal length, they fashned together in such a form, that their right lines made a triangle every way. These they cast upon the Ground, and three of them stuck fast; the other standing upright, hindered the approach of Horse and Men, and if by chance they were turned over, the point that stood up before, pitched into the Ground, and another got up in its stead, hindring thus a charging Enemy.

168. Totilas the day following, affaulted Rome the fecond time, but receiving After many AC the worst, the Enemy sallied out upon him, and killed many of his men; and ma-sals draws off. ny days after though he had made great preparations, he had the same fortune, and was forced to draw off to Tibur, breaking down the Brides upon the River, that the Enemy might not fall upon his Rere, onely that called Pons Milvius, he could not demolish. He caused to be rebuilt the Castle of Tibur, which formerly his Countreymen had demolished, and kept himself for some time quiet within it. Belifarius in the mean while fetting up the Gates at his ease, which he lined with Iron, and once more fent the Keys to the Emperour, with which paffages ended the Winter, together with the twelfth year of the War. The Goths, who had formerly magnified their King, efteemed his Valour, admired his fortune, and accounted themselves happy in their Choice, upon this little misfortune and want of fuccess, began to be quite altered in their thoughts and demeanour towards him, reproaching him licentiously for his unadvitedness, in not demolishing all Rome when he took it, or in not keeping it himself, but thus ruining what they had effected with much time and labour. Having fent Forces to beliege Perulia, and the Siege wanting some affistence, when he purposed with his whole Army to march thither, they received his Directions repiningly. This put him upon an Apology, wherein he shewed the vicissitude of all humane things, the inconstancy of Fortune, especially in matters concerning War, and proved that his want of fuccess, was the product of his disastrous Stars, not the effect either of his Neglect Besseges Perusia. or Ignorance. From these and such like Topicks he so framed his Discourse, that he perswaded them to undertake the Enterprize of Perusia, and sate down before it. As the Goths thus ordered their matters, John who had belieged the Castle of Acherontis, departed fuddenly from before it into Campania, and there fet at liberty the Senatours and their Wives, fending them into Sicily. And he routed a party of four hundred Goths, he accidentally met at Capua, whom Totilas fent to prevent that which he accomplished upon the Senatours.

169. Totilas inraged to be thus robbed of his prey, must needs be revenged upon John, and marches prefently upon the News against him, over Mountains and through by-ways to avoid his Scouts, and by Night he fet upon him contrary to the true Maximes of War, which plainly shew it to be the best for a stronger Army Tobs cleapes his to make an open Fight. He was ten to one in numbers, and might eafily have taken them all as in a Net, but upon the alarm, they most of them slipt away by the advantage that darkness afforded them, and with loss of scarcely one hundred men escaped with their Leader to Otranto. Things standing thus in Italy, the Emperour, upon the importunate Letters of Belifarius, sent about one thousand four hundred men in several parties, and under several Officers, and wrote to him that he was to expect a great Army in Calabria, wherewith he would have him give the Enemy Battel. Hereupon he pickt out of his men, seven hundred Foot, and two hundred Horse of the choicest, and leaving the rest to Conon, to guard the places about Rome, departed for Sicily, thence intending to put in at Tarentum. But making for this place, by contrary Winds and Storms, he was constrained to come to Anchor in the Haven of Crotone, to the Eastward of the Bay. (Tharium being on the North, and Tarentum standing about the middle,) and there to stay with his Wife and all the Foot intending to fend for John's Army. His Horse he Commanded to march higher into the Countrey, and Quarter there where the Mountains of Lucania reaching into Brutia, and meeting at a strait make two narrow Passages, the one called in Latine Petra Sanguinis, and the other Labulla, neighbour to which was Ruscia the Arcenal of the Thurians, and seven miles and an half above it a strong Castle, built by the ancient Romans, which the Goths had a little before poffessed, and therein placed a strong Garrison. The Horse being hither sent, that they might better get Provisions, and keep off the Enemy in fastnesses, met Forces

fent by Totilas to relieve that Castle, which they utterly deseated killing above two Sect. 1. hundred. The News hereof being brought to Totilas by those that escaped, he also understood of the ill government, and careless demeanour of the late Victors, for they neither lay together in one Body, nor kept Guards upon the two passages, but elevated with their fuccess lodged securely far asunder, and all the day stragled for Provisions, without sending abroad their Scouts, or advising upon any course of safety. Totilas therefore with three thousand chosen Horsemen, comes suddenly upon them, and easily amazed and defeated them, whereat the Romans were much creaft-fain, having fet their hopes upon thefe, as being extraordinary good men. Belifarius having News of the Defeat, and that the Gaths would fuddenly be with him at Crotone; in great grief ran to his Ships, weighed Anchor, and with a fair wind came the same day before Meffina in Sicily, distant from Crotone eighty seven miles, standing right over against Rhegium.

170. About this time, a mighty power of the Sclavi passed the Danube, and did The Stlavi pai infinite milchief in Illyrium, peircing as far as Epidamnus, killing and captivating all they found, and spoiling the Countrey. They took many Castles none defending them, and roved up and down without Controll; the Commanders of Illyrium waiting still upon their Motions, with fifteen thouland men, but not daring to come near them. The same Winter were many terrible Earthquakes in Constantinople and elsewhere, all by Night, but no hurt was done. But the River Nile swelled eighteen Cubits, and overwhelmed all Ægypt. In the Countrey of Thebais, and the upper Grounds, the Waters abated in seasonable time, but retired not at all from the lower, but covered them all the Seed time, a thing which had never before happened, as Procopius affirms. To some places the water returned again, and

rotted the Seed put into the Ground, during the abatement, so that most of the Cattle perished for want of sustenance. The great Whale was now also taken by The Popposism the Constantinopolitans, called Porphyrion, which, at times, for the space of above fifty years, had inteffed them, drowning Ships and forcing Mariners through fear upon great Inconveniences. Justinian had attempted many ways to take the Monfter, but still unsuccessfully. Now she pursuing a great number of Dolphins, which came up the mouth of the Euxine, as far as the River Sagaris, and following her Prey too near the shore, fell into the Mud, where tumbling and strugling, five farther intangled her felf, and the People of the Countrey coming upon her, hewed her with Axes, but not able to kill her, with great Ropes drew her ashore, where they found her thirty Cubits long, and ten broad, and fome prefently fell of eating her, and others pickled her up. The news of this Whale added to that of the Nile, and the Earthquake, gave great occasion of discourse to the Constantinopolitans, amongst whom was no talk now, but of strange things to come portended by these Prodigies. Whatever they fignified as to the future, for the time past the Overflowing of Nile had caused much Calamity, and the killing of the Fish, according to common apprehension, was the riddance of a great mitchief; though some said it was not the *Porphyrion* it self, but some other Whale. In the mean time, *Toti*las in Italy unconcerned at those Prodigies, and rather Prophesying good to him-Tailar befieges felf, than any harm by them, understanding that the Romans in Rusciana were scarce of Provisions, sate down close by it, hoping to master it e'er it could be relieved.

171. The Emperour now fent two thousand Footinto Sicily, and commanded Valerianus instantly to repair to Belifarius. Passing the Galf, he found him at Otranto with his Wife Antonina, who then Sailed to Constantinople, to obtain from Theodora the Empress, hetter Supplies for her Husband; but she found her dead, having lived in that supreme Dignity the space of one and twenty years, concerning whose Actions and demeanour we shall have enough to say, when we come to the Character of her Husband. Belifarius fent for John to Otranto, and with him and Valeriamus having got a Fleet together, Sailed to the relief of Rusciana. The Garrison had capitulated to yield up the Castle by Midsummer, provided they had no hurt done them, in case they were not succoured in the mean time, but now difcerning the Fleet, they took courage and refused to yield, though the day assigned was at hand. But the Coast having no harbour, a Storm differred all the Ships, and in the Haven of Crotone they all met and made for Rusciana again. The Goths from the shore were ready to oppose their Landing, which seeing they durst not come nearer, but lay at hull off in the Sea, and at length despairing, tacked about to Seaward, and came again to Anchor in the Haven of Crotone; where they resolved in Council that Belifarius should make for Rome and Victual it as he could, and that

And thus ended the Winter, and the thirteenth year of the War, written by

CHAP. II.

Justinian.

118

Takes it.

Sect. 1. John and Valerianus should go into Picenia to hinder the beleaguring of the Towns there, hoping to draw Totilas also toward them, and so by a kind of Revulsion, to raife the Siege of Rusciana. John with a thousand men did accordingly; but Valerianus was afraid, and through the Ionian Gulf Sailed by Ancona, thinking to get that way more securely into Picenia, and joyn with John. But Totilas railed not his Siege, fending two thouland felect Horlemen into Picenia to joyn with other Goths, and beat away the Roman Forces. Provisions failing now the Garrison of Rugciana, he yet pardoned them all, except Chalazar who had formerly broken faith with him, and so received the Castle. Him he put to Death, cutting off his Hands and privy Members. The Souldiers that would, he received to equal Rank with Gaths, and left them their goods, as his cultome was in all places. Such as would not, he difmift, ftript and unarmed, not defiring any should serve him unwillingly. Eighty of them quitted their goods, and went to Crotone. The reftflaid; of whom the Italians had afterwards their goods taken away, but no hurt was done to their Persons.

Belifarius 1e-

172. Antonina finding the Empress dead, when she came to Court, befought the Emperour to recall her Husband, which she easily obtained, the Perstan War forely preffing Justinian. And so he returned to Constantinople without Honour, having in five years space never marcht up into the land parts of Italy, nor made any expedition, but being all the while as in a perpetual flight, Sailing from one sea Town to another, which gave the Enemy opportunity to captivate Rome, and all thereft. And he now abandoned Perufa the chief City of Tufany, which was taken by florm whilft he was on his way homeward. Thus the fame men are not always the force are a controlled another their city to the fame of the controlled and ways the fame as to external circumstances, their own tempers and humours altering, and fortune as it were taking a delight to shew her power, in procuring them diffespect as well as honour, casting them down, as well as raising them, and making them feel themselves subject to her Sovereignty and Jurisdiction. Procopius our Historian in the Books he wrote concerning the Gothick War, modefuly expressen himself in this case of Belisarius, laying the fault rather upon fortune than the man, those Books being published abroad, whilst Belifarius and Justinian yet lived. But in the Anecdota, or fecret History, wherein with freedom enough, (if not more than enough, he (or fome body else,) published the defects and vices of those great men, after their Deaths; he reprehends him for several mistakes and thole great men, airer their Deaths; he terrebended him out of the publick Enter 3 in willfull Errours. He confess he had nothing allowed him out of the publick Enter 3 in with extraordinary of hospitals in Treasury, to the expence of this War, and yet charges him with extraordinary a- hopefuel Treasury, to the expence of this War, and yet charges nim with extraordinary a correct war warren and foraging. He accuse the him of fleecing the Inhabitants of Ravenna, Si- planes, with cily, and all others where he came, pretending to punish them for former faults, decidering and their old Opinions: Lays to his charge, how being to animadvert upon He- and saufting he required money of him and used to accomplish his ends. such continuous and their old Opinions: Lays to his charge, now bong to the reduced moneys of him, and used, to accomplish his ends, such continuous Bankaran nual threats, that the man wearied and afraid, renounced his Oath made to the manufactorial threats, that the man wearied and afraid, renounced his Oath made to the manufactorial forms of the Area fight. nuar turcato, that the man weather airs areas, to Totilas, gave up Spoletum into old Area. Romans, and betaking himfelf with his Troops to Totilas, gave up Spoletum into old Area. the hands of the Goths. To his great uxorious humour, he afcribes the grudges which happened betwixt him and John the Nephew of Vitalianus, and which exceedingly damnified the Emperour's business in Italy. For Theedera the Empress being inraged at John, for contracting a Marriage with Justina, the Daughter of Germanus the Emperour's Nephew, as the Historian concludes, gave private Orders to Antonina the General's Lady, to have him made away, fo that he aware of this, and knowing Belifarius to be so much the slave of his Wife, that he could not deny her any thing, durft not come near him, nor give him any affiftence in carrying on the War.

173. What is farther objected against Belifarius in that Work, we shall observe when we part for altogether with this Great General, and return to Proceptus his Volumes of the Gathick Wars, where we shall find an account given us of some Conspiracies against the Emperour's Person, at such time as Belisarius was upon his Journey. Artahanes, who flew the Tyrant Gontharis in Africk, had a great defire to Marry Projetta the Emperour's Sifters Daughter, having already betrothed her, and she indeed affected the Match very much, but not so much out of love to his Person, as in gratitude to a man that had revenged the Murther of her Husband Areobindus, and rescued her a Captive, and ready to be thrust into the loathed bed of Gontharis. Both confenting, Artabanes fent her to her Uncle, and being made General of Africk, defired leave upon some pretences to return to Constantinople, hoping thereby to effect the Marriage, get many other advantages, and in conclu-fion, to put for the Empire it felf. The Emperour making another General in his stead, granted his request, and he accordingly returned to Constantinople, where being a comely tall Person, and liberal, though of few words, he became loved and admired by the Citizens. The Emperour respected him with the best, made him General of his Forces in Conflantinople, gave him the Command of all the Confederates, and farther graced him with the Title of Conful. But here was the mifchief, he could not enjoy Projecta; for all this while he had a former Wife, his Countreywoman, whom he Married young, and had put off upon some slight pretences. And so long as his fortunes were a-making, she sate quiet at home, but now that he was grown famous for his Actions, and great in his Incomes, the would no longer contain her felf, but made fuit to the Empress to be restored to her Husband, which was effected fore against his will. And Projetta was Married to John the Son of Pompey.

174. Artahanes inraged to have this return for all his good Services, to foon as the Empress was dead, presently put away his Wife. It happened at this time, that the Emperour's Brothers Son was offended at him, for withholding from him and his Sons, an Estate left them by his Brother Boraides, and protecting against them, the Daughter of the Deceased, though her Father had onely left her so much as the Law compelled. There was also in Constantinople, one Arfaces an Armenian, of the race of the Arsacida, and kindred of Artabanes. Whom being Convicted of a Conspiracy with Chosroes King of Persia, Justinian onely punished by some lashes upon his Back, and making him ride through the City upon a Camel taking nothing from him, nor so much as Banishing him the Court. Yet hereat was he discontented, and devising how to be revenged, he took the occasion to break his mind to Artabanes, knowing him to be much also out of humour. He upbraided him with poorness of Spirit, for suffering himself to be abused, and his Countrey burthened with a perpetual Garrison and unusal taxations, having formerly been Valiant, and forward to refcue others, and pull down Tyrants. He told him there would be no difficulty at all in killing Justinian, who was wont to others Conspire fit up till Midnight without his Guards, discoursing with some old Priests, and busie in disquisitions and endless in scanning the Oracles of Christians; besides his Kinfmen would not oppole, but rather joyn with him: Germanus and his Sons being wronged and disobliged by him. Finding him yielding, he imparted the matter to one Chanaranges a Persarmenian, an handsome Youth, but nothing serious, and having brought Artabanes and him together, promifed to draw Germanus and

his Sons into the Plot.

175. Justinus, the Elder of them, who was but young, his Beard newly sprouting, yet Valiant and sharp witted, he defired to meet him in a Church, where having taken from him an Oath of secrecy, he chid him for that, being the Emperour's nearest Kinsman, he suffered Petty-fogging, and mean fellows to hold the greatest Offices, whilst Justinian despised both him and his Father, though a man that had attained to the height of Virtue, and suffered Justinian his Brother still to lead a private Life, having also deprived them of the greatest part of his Uncle's Estate, though left them by Will. Justinus was amazed, and flatly refused to joyn with him, affirming the same also in his Father's behalf, to whom he revealed the matter. Germanus acquainted with it Marcellus the Captain of the Palatine Guards, a man grave, auftere, and of a rigid Life, who advised him not to reveal it as yet to the Emperour, lest the Conspiratours discovering it, Arfaces should run away. and they be left utterly without proof, but he defired that either he himfelf or fome of his friends might hear their Discourse. Accordingly one Leontius a man he could truft, was placed by Germanus in his Dining Room behind the hangings, and he and his Son Justinus staid in the Room, where they all heard Chanaranges plainly declaring the Conspiracy, betwixt himself, Artabanes and Arsaces; and it was agreed that the Emperour should not be killed till Belifarius came to Town, who being now upon his way, in case they should, after the deed done, make Germanus Emperour, would leavy an Army in Thrace and come against them, and they should never be able to keep him off; But being in the Court with the Emperour, they might enter some Evening with their Daggers suddenly, and kill Justinian, Belisarius and Marcellus altogether. Marcellus having this account from Leontius, yet forbare to report it to the Emperour, lest by too much haste he should The Conspiracy Ruine Artabanes. But Germanus fearing that which happened, to be suspected for delay, revealed it to Buzes and Constantianus; and afterward Belisarius being reported to be near at hand, Marcellus acquainted the Emperour with it, who caused Artabanes and his Complices to be committed to the common Prison, and to be strictly examined by some Principal Officers.

176. The

176. The Conspiracy being manifest, and reduced into writing, the Senate was Sect. 1. assembled in the Palace, where, notwithstanding the Confessions of the Prisoners, yet Germanus and Justimus had been involved in the Crime, if the testimonies of Marcellus and Leontius had not cleared them, and Buzes also and Constantianus had not deposed that Germanus had hid nothing from them, but demeaned himself as aforefaid. So the Senate acquitted them as innocent, but the Emperour in his Chamber stormed, and was much inflamed against Germanus, for his slowness in the discovery, being seconded and soothed by two officious Officers, desirous to ingratiate themselves by the miseries of other men; and the rest stood amazed without speaking a word; yielding by not opposing. Onely Marcellus by urging the truth vehemently, by taking all upon himself, and affirming that he discovered it more lately, because he defired more narrowly to search into it, pacified the Emperour, and got great reputation by fo feafonable a virtue. Artabanes onely was removed from his Office, having no other harm, no more than the rest who were restrained, but not dishonourably, nor now in the common Prison, but the Palace. Thus was the Emperour in danger in the East, and his Empire at the same time more than in danger in the West, of which the Barbarians now were clearly Masters; the Romans, who at first carried all before them, having after a vast expence of Bloud and Treasure, lost Italy, and standing looking upon Illyrium and Thrace, shamefully wasted by their Barbarous Neighbours. In the beginning of the Gothick War, the Goths gave to the Franks all that part of Gall subject to them, being not in a condition to fight with both, which gift Justinian confirmed, that he might not be crost and diverted by a War with that People; nor would the Franks have thought their Title fure, if the Emperour had not put his Seal to the Act. Hereupon the Kings of the Franks got Marseilles, (anciently a Colony of the Phecaans,) and became Masters both of the Sea and the Maritime Towns. And now, saith he, they fit in Arles beholding the Horse-Races there, and Coyn Gold Staters out The Franks gain of the Mines in Gall, not with the stamp of the Roman Emperours, (as the custome at this time was, but with their own Images. Yet could not the King of Persia though he Coined filver Money as he pleased, nor any other Barbarian King, put his own stamp upon a Gold Stater, yea though he was now a much greater Master of Gold than the Emperour; For such Coin they could not put away, though they traded with Barbarian Merchants. Moreover the Franks feeing Totilas prevail, seized the greatest part of Venetia; the Romans having no power to relist, nor the Goths to graple with both at once.

177. The Gepidæ also took Syrmium and almost all Dacia, so soon as Justinian Gepair candlai 177. The Gepide also took Syrmium and almost all Dacta, 10 House as Journal of the Provinces, hier interpulsed taken them from the Geths, and proceeded in making fpoil of the Provinces, hier interpulsed taken them from the Geths, and proceeded in the formerly by the Res Journal of the Pension of the Pensi so that the Emperour made a stop of the Pensions paid them formerly by the Ro-The Lambards. mans. To the Longobardi or Lombards, he gave Noricum and the strong places in de Gent 8 Sundinana.

Pannonia, with other Towns and great Sums of money, who thereupon left their own Countrey, and feated themselves by the Danube, near to the Gepidæ, pillaging Dalmatia and Illyrium as far as Epidamnus. The Heruli had also part of Dacia affigned them near the City Singedon, where inhabiting, they thence overran and spoiled both Illyrium and Thrace, notwithstanding they received their full Penfions, without much attendance, and fome of them ferved the Romans in their Wars, and were ranked with the Confederates. But not long after, the Gepida and the Lombards being too near Neighbours fell out, and a Day was appointed for a pitcht Battel between them. Both Thorisin Prince of the Gepidæ, and Audonin of the Lombards, fent their Ambassadours to Justinian for aid against this great and bloudy day. The Ambassadours on each side used many arguments, and Justinian after a long Consultation, refused the Gepide, and swore a League with the Lombards to whom he sent ten thousand Horse, and fifteen hundred Heruli. But The Roman Ar- the Gepidæ, understanding the Roman Army to be near, compounded the difference my in a Noofe with the Lombards, and concluded a Truce without the Romans, who thereupon

178. But Vigilius Bishop of Rome, and the Italians at Court, who were both many and powerfull, folicited the Emperour in behalf of their Countrey. Above all Gothicus pressed him to it being a Patritian, and lately Consul, who was newly come to Constantinople for this purpose. The Emperour gave them good words, and promised to take care of Italy, yet he spent most of his hours in Christian Controversies, and such things as tended to the settlement of Church matters. Certainly at this time, his Affairs in that Countrey more and more went down the

durst neither go backward nor forward, but lay still, and advertised the Emperour

The Gaths prof- wind. For Totilas his Forces increased by an accession of fix thousand men, brought

to him by Ildiges, a Prince of the Lombards. And about the lams time Illauph, one of Belifarius his Life-guard, revolted to him, by whom he was prefently fent with a Navy and Forces into Dalmatia. There being thought as honeft as formerly, and appertaining to Belifarius, he had opportunity enough to doe mischief, putting all the Inhabitants of Monecurus, a Sea-town near Salone; to the Sword, which having fackt, he removed, and did the fame to Laureata a Castle also upon the fea. Certain Forces in Pinaces fent against him by Glaudianus, the Governour of Salona, he worsted, and forced them to quit their Vessels, which he took in the Haven of Laureata, together with other Ships laden with Corn and Previsions, which having done, and killed and spoiled all they found, he returned to Tobilas : when the Winter ended, and the fourteenth year of the War, written by Procepius.

179. Torila all this while had his mind fer upon Rome, whither now he removed, and befreged it with his whole Army. Belifarius had there left, three thoufand of his best men, commanded by Diogenes, one of his Life-guard, a discreer man, and a good Souldier, who so ordered his matters, that the Siege was drawn out in length, for he diligently attended his Guards, valiantly repelled the many Affaults of the Gott, and by fowing Corn within the Walls, prevented want of Victual, which they cut off from the City, now blockt up by their continuing Masters of Portus. Had Justinian upon Belisarius his return sent another General with an Army, as he gave out he would, he might possibly have vanquisht the Goths, Rome being in his obedience, and he having there an Army to join with his Succours from Conftantinople; but though he commanded once Liberius, a Patritian, to be in readiness, afterward he grew remiss, and cooled again. Therefore Diogenes having no relief, after a long time spent in the Siege, some Isaurians that watched at St. Paul's Gate discontented for their pay which had been wanting many years, and feeing the advancement of their Countrymen, who had formerly betrayed Rome to the Goths, came to a fecret conference with Totilas, and agreed at a day affigned, to betray the City to him. He fent some Trumpeters to sound at another. part of the Walls, which amazing the Defendants, when they ran to the fuccour of that part, he at St. Paul's Gate was received in with his whole Army. Much flaughter there was in the City; and fuch as ran out at other Gates in their way to the Centumcellæ, the onely Fortress the Romans had thereabouts, were cut in pieces by Ambushes laid beforehand for that purpose: some few hardly escaped, and Diogenes amongst them; but not without having received an hurt. Yet Paulus a Cilician. formerly Steward of Belifarius his Houshold, afterward a Commander of a Party of Horse, and now joined in Commission with Diogenes in the defence of Rome, with four hundred Horse made for Adrian's Tomb, and possessed himself of the Bridge leading to St. Peter's Church. He and his men valiantly repulfed the conquering. and infulting Enemy, and when they had no Provitions left, and Totilas was re-folved to starve them out, determined by charging the Enemy in a sudden sally to end their lives honourably, and by killing as many Goths as possible, to sell them at as dear a rate as they could.

180. For a confirmation and feal of fuch an agreement, they imbraced and kiffed one another, as being all ready to perish; whereof, when Totilas was advertised. fearing what might be the effects of fuch a desperate Resolution, he sent, and offered them either to quit their Horses and Arms, and swearing never to serve more against the Goths, to return to Constantinople; or retaining their former Estates. Wealth and Privileges, to ferve in his Army, in equal condition with the Garls. Though at first they chose to go to Constantinople, yet afterward fearing Ambushes, ashamed to travell on foot, and angry for wants of pay, they gave their Names to the service of Totilas; onely Paul, and one Minde an Isaurian, desired to be sent into their own Countries; and Totilas commending them for fidelity and plain dealing, gave them Provisions for their Journey and save conduct. The rest of the Army having taken fanctuary in Churches, and being in number about three hundred, upon assurance of Indemnity yielded to Totilas. He now resolved neither to quit Rome, nor demolish any Part of it; but replant it with Goths and Romans together, and that upon this occasion. He had lately asked in marriage the Daughter of the King of the Franks, who rejected his motion for this Reason, That he neither was, nor ever would be King of Italy, having indeed taken Rome, but not being able to keep it, because he had demolished part of it, and quitted the rest to his Enemies. Now therefore he brought in Provisions, and commanded to re-edifie what he had formerly broken down, fent for the Senatours, and other, Romans, confined to Campania; held the folemnity of the Circensian Games, and then prepared for a Voiage into Sicily. Yet he fent and defired Truce of the Emperour, offering that

CHAP. II.

PART III.

Sector the Goths diould serve thin in his Wats against any other Nation. But Fustion fuffered not the Ambaffadour to come to his presence, and unterly rejected the Propofition, Which having understood; he first thought fit to attempt Centumcelle, and then having once mastered it, to prosecute his intended Vpiage into Stelly. But coming to treat with Diogenes the Governour, and finding the Garrifon reasonably firing; he was content, that according to their motion they flould fend to the Emperour for Relief; and if none came, then to furrender the Town by a day prefixed; and thirty Hoftages were given on both fides. Railing then his Sieger he went for Sicily; in his passage attempted Rhegium, which holding out stoutly, he blockt it up with part of his Army, hoping to flarve them out be He fent Rorces also, and took the Castle of Tarentum; And at the same time Animinum was betrayed to some of the Colley lying in Picenia. A set of the College in the Colleg

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire Justinian.

Fustinian ne-

General in the War with absolute Authority, and commanded him to be in readiness; at the report whereof the Goths were troubled, Germanus having a great Name in the World, and the Roman Souldiers were much incouraged. But the Emperour, for what reason is uncertain, changed his mind, and appointed Liberius, a Citizen of Rome, for the service; who accordingly made himself ready, expecting instantly to fail away. But afterward Justinian again changed his Resolution as to fending him with a Land Army, and the Affairs of Italy were neglected, where also about this same time, Verus having headed many of the most valiant Roman Souldiers, was after much loss defeated and flain. Now also a Party of some three thoufand Sclavi paffing the Danube, and the River of Hebrus, parted into two Companies, and did much mischief, defeating several of the Reman Commanders in Thrace

and Illyrium, although they overmatched them in numbers. Asbadus, one of them, Asbadus Hall. they took Prisoner, and burnt alive, having first cut thongs from the Skin of his bade, seler was Back. Though never before they had passed the Danube, nor foraged the Roman Messenger. Provinces, now they pillaged and wasted all without controll, and took in Pro Bade police Thrace and Illyrium many Castles, piercing as far as Topferum, twelve days journey come Mossing from Constantinople, being the first Sea-town of that part of Thrace. Coming before sed of bodin this Town, most of them hid themselves in the Fastnesses adjoining. Some few of visites enim tohthem alarm'd the Romans within, who thinking them no more than they faw, fall-lieus dicinus Em lied out upon them, at which the Barbarians feemed afraid, and ran away e But Bute. the Romans being drawn far from the Walls, the Ambushes rose, those that slednow turned head, and charging them on all fides, cut them in pieces. Notwith standing, the Inhabitants thus deprived of the Souldiers affishence, refused to yield. and reafted the Affailants as they could, powring down upon them boiling Oil and Pitch, and casting down great Stones, by which means they seemed for a while to prevail and relift the danger. But the Barbarians at length with showrs of Arrows forced them from the Battlements, and with their Scaling-ladders took the City by They take 70- affault. Fifteen thousand men they killed in it, and having fackt it, made the Wo-

neither Sex nor Age, but killed all they met with fince their first entring the Roman Territories. Hence came it to pass that all Thrace and Illyrium were scattered with dead Bodies. They used no compendious way to fend them out of this mise-Their Cruelty rable World. They killed them not with Swords of Lances, as was the usual manner; but pitching Stakes into the Ground with sharp ends upward, fer the poor Wretches upon them at their Fundaments; then forced them downwards, and the Stakes up into their Entrails. Having also tied the Hands and Feet of their Prisoners to four Stakes, they knockt them on the Head with Clubs, and killed them like fo many Dogs or Snakes. Others having thut up with fuch Cattle as they could not drive into their own Countrey, they burned together without mercy. At last, drunk with Bloud, they were pleafed to keep alive all they met, and both Parties returned home loaded with Wealth, and inriched with innumerable Captives."

men and Children Slaves, contrary to their former practice; for they had spared

Thills wastes Si- 182. In the mean time Totilas wasted Sycily, having attempted Messind to no purpose. Thurincuth and Himerius having gallantly demeaned themselves in Rhegium, when all their Victual was spent, yielded themselves and the Castle by composition: The Emperour at the news of these Successes, having revoked his Commission to Liberius, who was an extreme old man, and no Souldier, fent Artabanes for Siefly, remitting his Crimes, and making him General of the Forces in Thrace. His New Julinian makes phew Germanus he now constituted General against the Goths, giving him no great his Nephew Ger- Army, but money to raise one of good importance in Thrace and Illyrium; whence he ordered him to march for Italy, accompanied with Philimuth, Captain of the Heruli, and John the Nephew of Vitalianus, his Son-in-law, and General of Illyrium, where

he relided. Germanus had a great ambition to add the glory of recovering Italy to his former Reputation got in Africk, which he thought he might the more easily effect by means of Mattasuntha, the Daughter of Amalasuntha, and Grandaughter of Theodorich, whom after the decease of Passara, his former Wife, he had married, the being alto now a Widow; for Vitigu, ther former Husband, was lately dead. He more than hoped that the Gath; would be alliamed to life up their hands againft this Lady, out of refpect to the memory of her Progenitors. To this Incouragement was added a great confidence he had in the firength and affection of his Souldiers. For being very liberal in disburing, not onely the Emperours Treature, but his own private Money, he levied quickly and unexpectedly a very gallant Army by the best Roman Souldiers left their ordinary Commanders to follow him, though of fundry Nations. Nay, the very Barbarians about the Danube, allured by his Fame, goined with him, and that not empty handed, but bringing with them good foot of the ney. The Prince of the Lowbards, particularly, ingaged to fend him a thousand mea who are there in Italy, the Goths were much afraid and troubled, effecially confidering they were to make war against the Posterity of Theodorich. The Ruman Souldiers there, to his farther content, fent him word they were ready to join with him; and taking

courage, resolved to keep their Towns for the Emperour's service; nave those that were beaten in the defeat of Verus, and now finagled up and down, hearing that Germanus was upon his way, rallied in Ibria, and expected his coming. Diagenes also being summoned by Totilas to surrender Centum cellae according to their Capit tulation, answered, that now that Germanus was declared absolute General, he had no power; but he defired him to fend him back his Hostages, and he would restore thole given him by the Goths. So he carefully guarded the Town, expecting Ger-manus with his Army. And thus ended the Winter, together with the direcenth year of the War, written by Procopius. 183. But more than all this, Germanus had a farther incouragement and Omen as it might well be esteemed, of his future Success, while he was yet drawing his Army together, and exercising his Troops at Sardice, a City of Illyrium: For a number of Sclavi, greater than ever formerly had passed Ister (or the Danube) foraged the Roman Territories as far as Nayjum; but hearing that he was appointed

to oppose their Designs of sacking Thessalonica, and the Towns about it; and having formerly understood what, in the days of Justinus, his Great Uncle, he had done against the Antians their Neighbours (whom he so totally defeated in an Invasion they had made, that he scarcely left one of them alive) and supposing him to have a very great Army, as being fent against the Goths, they relinquished their former Purposes, and departed over the Mountains of Illyrium into Dalmatia, not daring to appear in the Champian; fo that he despising them, ordered his Army to be in readiness within three days to begin the Journey into Italy. But here see the lubricity of humane hopes, prosperity and greatness, with the potent fate of the Roman Empire now in her decrepit Age. He suddenly fell into a sickness and died, both a vertuous and valiant man, an excellent General, and a daring Souldier. In peace and quietness an earnest Observer of Laws and good Government; an upright Judge, and so charitable, that he often lent great sums without so much as talking

His Commenda- of a penny Interest. In the Palace and Forum he was severe and grave; but at home and at his Table pleafant, free and obliging: preventing, as much as in him lay, all diforders at Court, and never ingaging himself in any of the Factions of Constantinople: a thing too much practifed by other great ones. The Emperour much afflicted with this sudden Accident, commanded Justin, one of the Sons, and John, the Son-in-law of Germanus, to lead the Army into Italy; who, for a fmuch as it was not possible in that season to compass the Adriatick Gulf; and wanting Ships wherewith to cross it, marched into Dalmatia, with intention to winter at Salonæ.

184. Liberius, who, as it feems, had heard nothing of the Emperour's change of mind, nor these Alterations, with the Fleet under his command put in at Syracuse, now besieged by the Enemy, and forcing his way into the Haven, got his Army into the City. Artabanes making towards him through the Adriatick Sea. near the Coast of Calabria, met with a great Tempest, which scattered his Fleet, and overfet some of his Ships, that wherein he was imbarked spent also her main Mast; and being abandoned to the Wind and Waves, after much danger, drove to the Island of Malta, by which means he was unexpectedly preserved. Liberius within a small time not able to fight with the Enemy, and starved out of Syracuse, stole thence into Panormus. Totilas in the mean while ransackt all Sicily; and having got much Pillage, departed back into Italy, leaving four strong Garrisons in the

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Sect. I. Island, thereto perswaded by one Sapinius a Roman of Spoletum and his Assessor, who being taken Prisoner by his Countreymen, they relused to dismiss him upon other terms, than that he should perswade the Gothick King to this Retreat , which he easily did, by frighting him with the approach of John and Justinian with a great Army. Those two Commanders intended, by the beginning of the Spring, to march from Salone by Land to Ravenna, When the Sclave, both those who former ly foraged the Empire, and others, Tpoiled again with all liberty the Roman, Provirices, whether hired by Torilas, to divert the Emperour from the Gorbick War, as some suspected, or otherwise led by a defire of booty, and their own inclination to a Ravenous kind of life. They divided themselves into three Parties, and were now grown to that height of Confidence, that they lacked not the Citles, but Wintred in them as in their own, without all fear or suspecion. The Emperour with the latest fent an Army against them, Commanded by Scolafficus an Eunweh of his Palaces which met with one party of them near Advisorble, a City Situate in the heart of Thrace, and five days Journey from Confiantinople. The Sclavi loaded with booty, declined the fight, and incamped upon a Mountain, where the Romans belieged them, till the Souldiers murmured at their Commanders for want of Provisions, and delayed to ingage the Enemy. But being at length forced to ingage, the Battel was hotly fought, and the Romans were beaten; many of their best men slain, and the Commanders themselves escaped narrowly, the Ensign of Constantianus, one of them, being taken in the Field. Now the Barbarians despising the Roman Arms proceeded in their course, and wasted the Countrey called Afficed, which having never formerly been touched, afforded them good store of booty! . They ranged up the Countrey as far as the Long Walls, but one days Journey from Constantinople, but provoked the Romans to to great an height of Indignation thereby, that afterward part of them they routed, after much flaughter, refcued great numbers of Captives, and recovered the Enligh of Constantianus. The rest of the Sclavi, with the remainder of their booty departed home.

2 185. John the Sifters Son of Vitalianus, and Son in Law to the late Germanus. as was before hinted, past that Winter in Salone, with which the sixteenth year of the Gathiek War received its period. The Commanders in Italy expecting daily his coming, forbare all Action, and when in the Spring following, he refolved to Guth lib. 4 lead his Army against Totilas, he was countermanded by the Emperour, who or-Juliaina by of General, with full authority in the War. Thus did Justinian by changing is often

ren changing his Resolutions, much hinder the progress of his own affairs, for Narfes his march much indamages was but flow, being opposed by some Hunnes in his passage, so that John might exhis own Affairs pect long enough, as he was Commanded, and be fufficiently wearied with expectation. Therefore shall we leave him for the present at Salonæ, and giving time to Narses to make his expedition into Italy, return again and visit Chosroes, to see Redeund. at

how he has behaved himfelf all this while, and what use he made of his ignomini-paragraphs ous Retreat into Perfia, beginning where we left at the time of the Plague, and the return of Belifarius to Constantinople. We shall find him marcht Northward to Proup de boll Ardabigara, a Town in Affyria, and there repenting what he had formerly done, Perfice, lib. 2. with purpose thence to invade the Roman Territories again, having incouragement, it seems, from the Oracle of this place; for here was a great Pyræum where the Magi kept a perpetual fire, which the Perfians worshipped above all Gods, offering much

Sacrifice, and confulting it after their manner, in their affairs of greatest Importance. But when he thought of War, he changed his Resolution, hearing of two Ambassadours sent from the Emperour to treat of Peace, of whom Constantianus fell fick by the way, and the Plague at length came into Perfia. This put him upon a necessity of desiring an Accommodation, and he accordingly sent to Valerianus, praying that all hostility might be forborn, and the Ambaliadours dispatched away. But the Romans knowing well enough that his difficulties and straits were

The Romans in their advantage, and hearing moreover that his Son conspired against him, by orvaling Perfar der from the Emperour invaded Perfarmenia, with an Army of thirty thousand men. Coming into Dubis, a territory eight days Journey from Theodofiopolis, there in a Village feated in a narrow passage of a ragged Mountain, Nabades had fortified himself, who, with four thousand men laid in Ambush, first put the Roman

Army into Confusion, and then drawing out his whole power, routed them, and made them all run away. The Perfians could not believe them to egregious Cowards, but suspected some Ambushes, so that driving them out of the Fastnesses, they then turned head, not daring with a few to encounter fo many in a Plain. But the Romans, (and especially the Commanders,) thinking the Enemy still pursuing,

ran without intermission, urging their Horses both with Whip and Voice, and casting away their Arms infear and hafte. In a word, fuch a difaster the Romans had not formerly felt, and such a running away it was, that scarce an Horseoverlived it, but died Hartbroken as foon as the course was ended. Many were flain, more taken Prisoners and made slaves, and so great a quantity of Arms and Baggage was left, that the State of Perfia rich before, appeared much richer by this sage was sert, mar the scare of respiration before, appeared much richer by this victory, But-fuch are the effects of the equal power of; many Generals, and the vigin may commanders, and or full representations of the continuation of the continua ers not concerning themselves, where they found their Officers void of all care and

commission, mingled with those that attended upon the Baggage, and marche as to some great booty ready prepared for them; which in conclusion ended in such an entertainment as they had deferved.

186. Chofrees incouraged by fo unexpected good fortune, when he could leaft' chiper invades hope of any fuccess, the next year invaded the Roman Territories the fourth time, making an Inrode into Mesopotamia. But this Expedition seemed not made against man, but God himfelf, and had an iffue futable to Irreligion and Impiery, though proceeding from a Paganish superstition. For in his sirst Invasion, when he retired from Edeffa without having any thing performed, he and his Magi were much discontented to be overcome by the God of the Christians, whereupon he threatned and resolved, to make the Edessenians Slaves, and to turn their City into a Pasture for Cattel. Being now come before the place, and disappointed of his expectation at the first Onset, being also, as some thought, troubled with a dream, or apprehending the disgrace of missing Edessa twice, he thought presently of selling his Retreat to the Inhabitants for money. Paul his Interpreter, procured a conference, wherein all the money they had in the Town being demanded, they refused to buy their fecurity at so dear a rate, and the Commissioners he commanded to be gone in great Anger. The eighth day then of the Siege, he began to raise a Mount, the Foundation of which was a square work of Trees cut down with the leaves on; over them was spread much Earth, and above lay stones in a rude unwrought manner, (his onely care being to raise the Mount speedily,) putting between the earth and stones, peices of Timber to fasten the Work, and make it stronger. The Defendants at first did the Workmen much damage, but afterwad the Guards were so strengthened, that none durst approach, and the Persians, by hanging upon Poles before the Labourers Clothes made of Goats hair, kept off both the fiery Darts and Arrows. The Romans, now afraid, fent Messengers to the King, and with them one Stephanus a famous Phyfician, who had formerly done a cure upon Cabades, and had got a great Estate by him. He upbraided him, though in civil expressions, of ingratitude towards himself, telling him that Edeffa could least have expected such cruel usage at his hands, it being the place of his Nativity, who had formerly fostered him, and by counselling his Father to appoint him his Successour, had been a principal Authour to him of the Empire of Perfia, and to his County of all those miseries it had undergone. Yet Chosroes slatly refused to rise from thence, till the Romans had delivered into his hands Peter and Peranius his Father's Slaves, who now prefumed to bear Arms against him; or instead of this, paid him five hundred centenaries of Gold, or else would admit his Officers to learch the City, and thence to bring him all the Gold and Silver they could find within it. This he spake at random, not caring what he faid; for he expected with ease to take the Town. The Messengers finding his propositions impossible, returned much troubled. And the City, upon their report of his Demands, was filled with noise and lamen-

187. The Mount in the mean time rose to a great height, and went on apace. The befieged in great perplexity fent other Messengers becoming Sutors for the fame things, but they were not regarded, but driven out of the Persian Camp with form and derifion. Their way then they thought was to raife their Walls higher toward the Mount; but herein they were not able to keep pace with the Perfiant, and so gave it over. Then did they employ Martinus, (who with Peter and Peranius, two other Roman Commanders, lay in the Town,) to treat and conclude as well as he could for them; but the Persians onely amuzed him with fair words, to spend time till they could bring their Mount to perfection. In the mean while, the Romans drew a Mine to the Enemies work, and left not till they came under the middle of the Mount, where being discovered, the Persians cross-mined on both

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CHAR.AL.

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Sect. 1. fides, to catch them in the middle. They perceived it, and there stopped up their Mine with Earth; then hard by made they a little hollow Room, where they laid dry Logs steeped in Cedar Oil and Assyrian Pitch. These Logs, when the Perfians had fent back Martinus, and were falling to work, did they fet on fire, which burnt part of the Mount, and when they were burnt out, and spread not to the whole, they supplied still the little Room with more. The smoak from the Mount appearing at Night, they prevented the discovery, by shooting small Vessels filled with burning Coals and fire Darts all over the Mount, and the Perfians thinking the smoak came from them, ran to quench them. But the fire prevailing at length, they were undeceived, and pittyfully crying, were shot and killed from the Walls. Chofrees in the Morning discovered the matter, and they all cast on, some earth others water, which abated the smoak there; but presently it brake out in another place more vehemently; the water also added force to the Sulphur and the rian Pitch, so that the fire prevailed over it, and about the Evening following, the fmoak was so high, that it was seen at Carra, and other neighbouring parts. Then followed several Skirmishes upon the Mount, wherein the Romans still had the better, till the flame rose so clearly, that it forced the Perstans to abandon the

188. Chafrees thus disappointed of his hopes from the Mount, kept himself quiet for five days, and then resolved to make an assault before it was light, to take the Enemy at advantage and furprize him. And his Defign was not far from taking effect, for the Romans were all fast asleep, and the Persians set to their Ladders and were mounting, when in the nick of time, they were discovered by a Peasant who awakned the belieged. Then they opposed the Assailants with such vigour, that they drove them back to their Camp, and took up their Ladders they had left behind them. About Midnight, Chofroes had the fame fuccess at the Great Gate, from which he was repulfed, and as the Romans were giving the Chafe, Paul the Interpreter put himself amongst them, and told them that Recimer was newly arrived, being fent Ambassadour from Constantinople about a Peace. And he had indeed been four days in the Persian Camp, but they concealed it from the besieged expecting the event of their Attempts, whichif they succeeded well, they resolved to come to no treaty at all; but in case they were beaten, as now they were, they thought they might come to it fafely, the Romans having invited them. Upon demand of some to be sent out to treat with Chosroes, the besieged answered, they would within three days fend Martinus, who at this time was fick; which delay, the King suspecting not to be sincere, prepared for War, and commanded good store of Bricks to be laid on the Mount. Then, after two days, did he with his Ladders and Engins begin another Storm, placing his Squadrons at every Gate, and behind them Saracens, who, when the Town was taken, should lay hold on such as ran away. The Romans not being aware of the Assault, and very few in comparison of the Assailants, at first seemed to have the worst, but what they wanted in numbers, they supplied in diligence, for none were idle, the men resisted Valiantly, the Peafants themselves did bravely, and the very Women and Children, together with Aged Persons, did their part, some bringing stones to the Combatants, and others throwing down scalding Oil upon the Heads of the Enemy.

189. The Persians finding this opposition refused to fight any longer, yet Chofroes in a rage with threats and some violence brought them on again, and with shouts and Engine they began a new Assault, with such seeming alacrity, as if they would presently enter. But the Courage of the besieged again prevailed, who having repulfed Chofroes and his men, now hift at him, and dared him to a fresh Encounter, taking incouragement from fome Sallies which had been made very fuccesfully. The fight having lafted all the day, both fides paffed the Night unquietly, the Perfaus being afraid of their Trenches, and the Romans providing flones and other things necessary against an Assault the next morning. Yet did not the Barbarians then come on, but the day following, a part of their Army animated by Chofroes, fet upon one of the Gates, but were fent back again with difference to Heppels up and their Camp. Then did Paul the Interpreter call to the Walls for Martinus to treat an Accord, which being done, Chofrees received from the Edessenians fifty thoufand Gold Staters, and subscribing the Articles, promifed no more to infest the Romans, but setting his Palissadoes and other Works on fire, went home with his Army. About this time, Justus the Nephew of Justinian, and Peranius dying, the Emperour constituted Marcellus his Sisters Son, as yet but a youth, and Constantianus his Ambassadours to Chofrees, who having Audience in Assyria near Seleucia

and Ctesiphon, they demanded restitution of places in Lazica, and a Ratification of

the Peace. But the Persian alledged, that a Reace would hardly be good without a Truce first concluded, during which by mutual concourte and Communication, they might better understand one another a said nirrly determine the perpetual peace, which he allo affirmed the Roman must purchase with money, and farther fend him one Tribunus, with whom by a certain day he would conclude the Bufinels. | This Tribons, wan who not yet can usy in women or a great Sicknels, he was much his friend and very grantfull. The Employur therefore for him, and with him twenty thouland Staters of the money defining. And to a Truce was concluded for five years, in the macreanty year, of the thin was concluded for five years, in the macreanty year, of the thin was concluded for the years. was the eleventh of the Gothick War, at what time Rome, was beneged by Totila, and Belliagius expected hypplies from Gonfantingle, 4.D. DELV.

190. Shortly after, Alamundarus and Arethan had Wars with each other, with settled hips.

out any afficence from either Perfanier Romans. In an Inrode Alamandarus took of house a Son of Arethas Pfisoness, and Sacrificed hims to Nemass. In an Inrode Alamandarus took of house a Son of Arethas Pfisoness, and Sacrificed hims to Nemass. From himwas discovered & Aretha how Arethas fold the Emperour's Affairs in Chasses. But Chasses now rid of the War with the Romans, had his mind running upon Lazica, of which he had a great defire to make himfell Mafter, and that with good reason, for the Countrey he tra-ly, apprehended would be of manyfold the to the Crown of Perfia. Eirst, it would keep the therians in perfect awe, who, in ease of a Reyolt would then have mone to fly to, as formerly they had upon all occasions. Then would it joyned to the total control of the contr to ny to, as formerly, they, had upon an occasions.

An not onely keep the Provinces thereof, free from the Invoices and devaluations of the Humes bordering upon it; but by this means, the thing, if he had, a mind might oblige them to, invade the Roman Territories, there being no Rampartagainft the Barbarians of Mount Caucajus, but offely Lacica.

In conclution, Lacica was advantage the Perfuns in a matter of no lefs moment than, by illuing from shence, to infest both by Land and Sea, the places upon the Europe, to subdye Cappadoria, Galatia and Bithynia, and to surprize Constantinople it fell, for theren would be no fufficient Obstacle in their way. Upon these important Considerations, he desired to have Lazica, but was at a loss how to compais it, having no reason to have any confidence in the Nation. For the Lazians were not formerly to diffatisfied with the Romans, but they were much more discontented at the demeanour of their new Freinds the Persians, who of all men had least variety in their humouss, sheir manner of Life being extremely strict, their Laws hard of digettion, and their commands intolerable. In reference to the Lazians, the difference appeared infinite. not onely in respect of humour and disposition, but Religion also, The Lagignt were Christians, none more, but the Persians quite contrary. And another thing yet difordered them above measure. For no Salt being made in dazica, nor Wines nor other Native Commodities, all was Imported to them from the Roman Sea Coasts, not for money, but in exchange for Skins, and Slaves, or other things wherewith they abounded. From which being now barred, they were highly discontented. Chofis to be writter roes being so quick as to perceive it, consulted upon some safe course for prevention, before they should stir for an alteration; and all considered, thought it most expedient to rid away Gubazes their King, to transport the Nation, and to plant their Countrey with Persians and others.

191. But that he might not be absolutely idle and wanting to his Interest on the Roman fide, but strengthen himself in those parts as much as possible; he sent Is tendance of his Wife and two Daughters, with hive hundred men to get into Daras; to set some Houses thereof on fire, which whilst the Inhabitants should be busic to quench, they should open the Gates, and receive in the Governour of Nisten, who Johnson brigh quench, they should open the Gates, and receive in the Governour of Nithin, who is in amount was ordered to be in readings with Forces concealed thereabout. But the matter was revealed by a Roman fugitive, and Ifdigunas failing in his Plot, proceeded onto Conflantinople, where having access to the Emperour, he had little to say, but delivering Presents and Letters of Compliment, he was entertain'd with more grace, favour and charge, than ever Ambassadour had been known to be. For both him and his Interpreter Justinian admitted to his own Couch at Meat, whereas no man ever before, law an Interpreter fit at table with the meanest Governour; And though he had no business, he was dismissed with more respect than ever any Ambaffadour, his Charges and Prefents coming to more than ten Centenaries of Gold. In the mean time, Chofrees driving on his Delign for Lazica, fent thither much Ship Timber, giving out it was for Engins, to stand upon the Walls of Petra. Then fent he one Fabricus with three hundred chosen Men, and privatel instructed

to kill Gabazes, but he discovering his Errand to Pharsanses, then in some disgrace whom he expected to have an Affiltant in the Work, he was so honest as to reveal

Sect. 1. the Treason to Gubazes, who stood upon his Guard, and reporting to Justinian the prefent State of his Affairs, begged his pardon for what was past, and his prefent affishence to shake the Persian Yoke from off his Shoulders. The Emperour was glad of the News, and fent him eight thousand men under Command of Da-

192. These Forces joyned with the Lazians, and besieged Petra, which being Victualled held out a long time, against all their Assaults and Strategems. Chofrees much difordered at the News, sent to its reliefa great Army of Horse and Foot, under the Conduct of Mermerees, whereof Gubazes having notice, wrote to Dagiftheur to fend Forces to ftop the Passage beyond the Phass, and not to raise the Siege till Petra was taken. He himself with his own Army marcht to the utmost borders of Lazica, to fortify the Passage there; and having hired some Alans and Sabirians, to help to Guard his Countrey, he wrote to the Emperour for money, alledging that he was also in arrear to himselffor ten years, being inrolled a Silentiary of the Imperial Palace. Justinian at first purposed to gratify him, but the matter was put off, and the money delayed to be fent. And Dagifthaus being a young man, and unable to manage a Persian War, made no advantage of the opportunities which were offered him. For whereas he should have sent to the Passage most of his Army, and been himself present at the Action, he sent, as if the business had been flight, but two hundred men, and did nothing upon Petra withall his Forces. where the Enemy within being at first not fifteen hundred men, and continually shot and slain at the Assaults, after as much Valour as ever men shewed, were reduced to a very few, and those despairing and unable now lay still. Had he made right use of his Mine, and put in due time fire to the Supporters, the Town had been taken, but he dallied with hopes from the Emperour to whom he wrote, urging him for rewards of Victory, and appointing what he and his Brother should have after the taking of Petra. Nay, when part of the Wall was ruined, he neglected to enter the Town, but suffered himself to be amazed and sooled by Mirranes the Governour, who gave him fair words, and told him he would shortly surrender the Place. In the mean time, Mermeroes with loss of a thousand men, when the The base flight two hundred Romans weary of killing, had retired to the Mountains, entred the Passage; which Dagisthaus understanding, without giving any direction to the Army, gallopt away toward the River Phasis, (which first having the name of Boas, runs through the Countrey,) with all the Romans at his Heels. Leaving their Baggage for haste, the Garrison issued out and risled it; but a thousand Tzanians who had followed Dagisthaus in the expedition but not in his flight, came in to the rescue, and having beaten them back, they themselves ransackt the Roman Camp. Which done, they went to Rhizaum, and thence returned home by Athens, (a populous Town Situate in the Roman borders,) and fo by Trapezond.

193. The ninth day after the flight of Dazistheus, Mermèroes with his Army came to Petra, where he found remaining of the Persian Garrison but three hundred and fifty men, whereof one hundred and fifty were onely found, the reft were wounded and unferviceable. Having hence occasion enough to scoff, as he did, at the demeanour of the Romans, he had also much cause to rejoyce and triumph at the Valour of his Countrey-men, whom he found to felf-denying, and carefull of the interest of their Prince, that the survivours had not cast the Dead bodies from the Wall, but endured almost stifling with the slench, that the Enemy by seeing so many loft, might not be the more incouraged to fresh Assaults. The Walls he carefully repaired as well as he could, and wanting Lime and other Materials, he filled with Sand the linen Bags, wherein his men had brought their Provisions, and laying them inftead of stones, made this ferce for Walling. Then leaving three thousand men for a Garrison, not Victualled for any long time, with directions to proceed in the Repair of the Walls, he himself with the rest of the Army, returned homeward. For though he had forced the Passage beyond the Phasis, yet could he not incommode Lazica, being not able to cross the River without Ships, which is so deep and broad, and so swift, that it enters the Sea a good way, (at least it did in the days of Procopius,) unmingled with Salt water, Passengers taking up fresh there to their great convenience; besides the Ships and many Fortresses on this side made landing very difficult. Moreover Justinian had at last sent away the money promifed to Gubazes, befides a good Army, under Conduct of Recithangus a Thracian, very wise and an excellent Souldier, though it was not yet

194. Mermeroes quitting Lazica, went into Persarmenia, and lay quiet in the Towns about Dubis. But having an eye still to Petra, which he knew was very

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. CHAP. II. lustinian.

meanly victualled, he left five thousand men with Fabrozas and other Commanders. Sect. who of the Provisions they could get were to transport the greatest part to Petra, and live upon the rest. These men incamped by the River Phases, on the farthest Confines of Lazica, stragling about for booty; Gubazes, who was aware of it, sent for Dagistheus to come up to him. He endeavoured it, marching with the Phasis on his left hand, till the Lazians understanding the River to be fordable, passed over and joined with him, neither the Persians nor Romans themselves knowing the Ford. Then did they jointly fet upon a thouland men, whom the Persians had fent out as a flying Guard to prevent any infefting of their Camp, of whom none efcaped, but most were slain, and the rest taken. Incouraged by this success, they proceeded farther; and learning the estate and condition of the main Body, unexpectedly fell upon them after midnight; and finding some asleep, some hardly awake and naked upon their Pallets, but all furprized and without a thought of fighting, killed most of them. Some they took, and some few cscaped in the dark. But of A great victory their Camp they eafily made themselves Masters, with all their Ensigns, much Arms and Baggage, besides a great number of Mules and Horses. Following the execution far into Iberia, they cut off feveral other Persian Troops they mer with, and burnt a quantity of Meal and other Provisions which was on its way for relief of Petra. So leaving at the Passage some numbers of Lazians to block up all access with Provisions to Petra, they returned with all their Booty and Captives. And thus ended the fourth year after the Quinquennial Cessation, being the fisteenth of the Gothick War, wherein Totilas took Rome the fecond time, the twenty third of

Justinian's Reign. A. D. DXLIX.

195. The year following another Persian Army invaded Lazica, commanded by Process Corianes a Persian, and an experienced Commander, with whom joined also a number of Alans. They incamped in a Province called Muchirifis, lying upon the River Phases, not navigable there, but passable by Men and Horses, and they intrencht to the right hand of it at some distance. Full often had the Persians invaded the Roman Territories under Chofroes, and done mischiefs not by any Pen to be expressed, yet they got little by it, but returned still with much loss, so that they murmured against their King, and stuck not to call him the Rainer of their Nation, Once particularly coming home out of Lazica, and being fallen into fome great extremities, they were ready to mutiny, and had flain him, if he had not forefeen and prevented it by gaining the Principal of them with fair words. Being therefore defirous to find some real Apology and a serious excuse, he had long beat his Head how he might notably advance the Interest of the Persian Empire. He attempted Daras, and failing in this Enterprise, as we shewed before, thought of taking some other Roman Town; but to doe any thing of moment within the Countrey, he judged it impossible, leaving so many strong Places at his back. For this reason he laid Antioch flat with the ground; and quitting the Roman Territories, his thoughts mounted after hopes farther off and full of difficulty. For hearing how the Barbarians, seated on the left hand of the Euxine Sea, about the Lake of Meetis, did without controll waste and overrun the Roman Provinces, he thought why might not he, having Lazica in his hands, without croffing any Sea, make his Inroads as far as Constantinople ? This made him so restless to become Master of Lazica, as we hinted before.

Coninus Rus by 196. Corianes with his Army removed to the River Hippis, whence it was refolved by Gubazes and Dagisthæus to fall upon him, to give a demonstration of their courage, and abate the spirit of the Enemy. The Lazians were frollick and confident out of measure, disdaining that the Romans should shew themselves equally valiant, the stake being theirs for which they were to strive, their Lives, Fortunes, Wives and Children being all ingaged. Yet when they, marching before, came to charge the Avant Courriers of the Enemy, they fairly gave back and retired to the Roman Horse, who renewed the charge, and forced the Perfians to retire and expect the coming of the rest of the Army. Then came up the Infantry both of Gubazes and Dagisthaus, and joining with the Horse came to handy-blows. But the Roman Horse proving too weak for the Persian Cavalry, order was given for both Lazians and Romans to alight, and with the Foot they stood in a deep battalion opposite to the Enemy, and charged with their Lances. This pussed the Persians, who could not graple with their Enemies now on foot, nor break their battalion, their Horses slying back, difordered by the heads of the Lances and noise of the Targets. They resolved therefore to try if they could break them by showres of Arrows, whereupon the Romans and Lazians let fly thick again upon them, and many were flain on both fides; the Persians and Alans discharging oftner, but their Arrows for the most part re-

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Sect. 1. Bounding from the Roman Shields. At length Corianes the Perstan General was slain by a fhor in the Neck, and his death swayed the Victory to the opposite Parry; for Is sain, and his he falling from his Horse, his men presently ran away to their Camp with the Army over-thorows.

Enemy at their heels, who thought to take it at the first Assault. But an Alan, a ftrong and lufty Fellow, and very dextrous in shooting, put himself into the narrowell entrance into the Trenches, and stopt the Invaders a long time, untill John Guzes, a valiant Roman Officer, killed him with his Lance, and then was the Camp speedily taken. Many Persians were cut off as well here as in the Fight, and the rest returned home as they could: such being the success of this Persian Invasion of Lazica. After which another Army came, and victualling the Garrison in Petra, retired without more adoe. 197. In the mean time, whilst Dagisthæus was thus employed against the Persians,

the Lazians at Conflantinople accused him of Treachery, and savouring their Enemies in the management of the Affair at Petra; the business of the Mines, and the Beffin ordered Fortification by Sacksfull of Sand, being all ript up. Hereupon he was by the to command in Emperour's Order confined to his House, and Bessas, lately come out of Italy, was made General of Armenia, with instructions to command the Army in Lazica, sent thither before under conduct of Venilus and others. Nabbdes the Perfian coming again into Lazica, drew the Abasgians to revolt from the Lazians and Romans. For being tired out with the incroachments and oppressions of the Roman Garrisons, after they had deposed their Kings, they grew desperate, and chose rather to resume their former condition, though bad, than fall into absolute slavery; and fearing still worse and worse, set up Kings again, and revolted secretly to the Persian. Justinian smelling it out, commanded Bessa's to march against them, who sent a choice Party of The Abagians his Army under Viligangus and John Guzes, by which their chiefest Fort was taken, and Appliant re and after much flaughter they were reduced to obedience; as also were the Applilians, who having been anciently subject to the Lazians, had also of late revolted. Whilst the Affairs of Chofroes succeeded not very well in Lazica, they were in a worse condition at home, by means of his eldest Son Anasocadus (Which in the Persian Language signified Immortal) who made no scruple to lie with his Father's Wives; and afterwards, being confined to Lapato, a City seven days journey from Ctelifibon, upon report of his Father's death, usurped; and though his Father reco-The Son of Chiff vered, put the City into a Revolt, and eagerly pursued the War. Indeed Chosens was dangerously fick, being ever of a fickle constitution, which made him keep Physicians by him of all Countries, and amongst others, one Tribunus of Palestine, a man inferiour to none of his time, and befide that, both a wife, and a very good and conscientious man. Ne had cured the King formerly, and came loaded home with Presents; again at the Quinquennial Cossation, the Persian begged of Justinian that he might have him with him for one year, which being ended, Chofroes bad him ask whatfoever he would, whereupon inflead of Wealth he asked the liberty of some Roman Captives. 'He got free'd three thousand men, besides some of quality, whom he demanded by name; and by this Act of Generolity obtained a great Reputation amongst all forts of People. But Chofroes sent those who overthrew his Son in battel, and taking him Prisoner, brought him to his Presence. He to pre-

whom by ble- vent any farther effects of his Ambition, blemished the young Man's Eyes, not by

Irons applied to their outfides, being flut. Hereby he cut off his hopes to the Kingdom, the Law not permitting any blemished man to be King of *Person*. 198. Now was the fifth year of the Quinquennial Cessation expired, of which Justinian being aware, sent to Chosroes to conclude an absolute and lasting Peace for the East. Chofrees put him off, saying he would send some of his own to Constantinople to doe it; and he sent indeed Isdigunas, that insolent and impudent Persian, concerning whom it's hard to fay, whether he was more ridiculous for his pride and humour, or the Emperour for the unfitting and extravagant honours he heaped upon him. As for Badicius his Interpreter he came not now with him, and some said his King had put him to death for prefuming to fit at Table with Justinian, who, he concluded, would not have admitted an Interpreter to fuch an honour upon any account below the betraying of his Master's business. But Isdigunas coming to his Audience, faid not one word of Peace, but complained that Arethas, and other Saracen Confederates of the Empire, had, during the Cessation, committed spoils upon Alamundarus, with other frivolous things, and of small importance. In the mean time Bessa's fits down before Petra with his whole Army, where the Garrison had so plied their business, that after the Retreat of Dagisthaus, by stones and beams of wood, they had made a pretty good foundation where the Wall was formerly

million his Eyes taking away the fight, but by difforting the Eye-lids into much ugliness, with hot

ruined, so that the Assailants found great difficulty to assault the Town, because Scotics they could no more Mines neither could they bring the Ram to the Wall, the Place being steep, and the Ram not to be drawn but on even ground. In this strait, when they faw the Romans despairing, three Princes of the Sabirsan Hunnes, who being fent to receive the Pension paid them by the Emperour, were now at the Siege, dewifed fuch an Engine, as never formerly had been thought of by either Perfians or Assument, though they had excellent Artiffs. Time even proceeding with the wir of Man to new Inventions.

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. Justinian.

CHAPE III

Man to new Inventions. A many a substitution of the substitution o across, but instead of them small Poles tied and fitted togethers. Yet had it the perfect form of an ordinary Ram; and in the midft was placed the would Beam; with a top headed with Iron to batter the Walls. The whole Engine was covered with Hides, and was fo light, that it needed neither Men nor Cattle to drawitt binely forty Souldiers within it, and covered with the Hides, carried it with eafeupon their Shoulders, wound up the Ram, and let it fall against the Walls. On either fide flood men well armed with long Poles, in their hands, ltopt with great Iron hooks to pull off the stones which were loofened and unjointed by the strokes of the Engine. The Romans, in making trial of this new device, Idid great execution, and the Town was at the point of being taken, when the Renfans from a wooden Tower, provided beforehand, cast down Vessels upon their heads full of Sulphur, Babylonian Pitch and Naptha, a Drug used by the Pensians in which the Greeks called Medean Oil. These Vessels failed little of burning the Rams, which were onely preserved by the men with the long Poles who cleared still the fire away, but long they could not be able to doe it, the flame raging to vehemently, that where it toucht, it instantly took, if not as speedily put off. Beffas therefore caused Scalingladders to be fet to a certain part of the Wall, which by Mining was funk, but flood upright as if it had been fet with an Engine; and using the bell-fort of exhortation, which was the example of his own valour, being an old man past seventy years of age, first mounted the Ladder. Never was a Fight more valiantly fought on both sides, the Persians being two thousand three hundred men, and the Roman Army about fix thousand. Bessa himself sell from the Ladder, whereat was made a great shout by the Persons, who from all parts shot at him; but he was protected by the Targets of his Lanciers, that by his order dragged him away by the weels (that so they might best cover him) till coming out of shot into a safe place, up he rose, encouraged his men, and gave on again, mounting the Ladder the second time. The Romans following him, and doing very valiantly, the Persians demanded time to quit the place; but he suspecting it was crastily propounded to fortify the Wall; refused to flop the Fight, but offered to treat at another part of the Wall, while the Armies fought. The motion being not entertained, the Fight was hotly purfued with equal fuccefs, untill the arrival of feveral ill Accidents on the Perfian Part. 200. First another part of the Wall, where the Romans had formerly Mined, sud-

denly fell down. This necessarily divided the Perstans, and their fewness so much appeared by the division, that they did not equally endure the charge. Then did John Guzes with some Armenians his Countreymen, while the Armies were here ingaged, mount the Rock where the City was thought impregnable, and by killing one of the noblest Persians, made the Place accessible. And in the mean time, those that from the wooden Tower cast the fire upon the Roman Rams, were themselves ruined by the force of a strong Southern wind which kindled one of the Boards of the Tower, and they within being overtoiled and full of tumult and diforder, perceived not the Accident, till the flame kindling by degrees with the Naptha and other ingredjents burnt all the Tower and the miterable Persians in it, who consumed to coals fell down, some within the Town, some among the Roman Engines. At the ruined Persateraken by Wall by this time the Persians gave back, and now Petra was absolutely taken; onely five hundred Persians retired to the Cittadel, the rest were taken alive, being seven hundred and thirty men, of whom eighteen onely were unhurt. To the Romans it proved a bloudy Victory, many gallant men having loft their lives, amongst whom Jehn Guzes was killed with a stone whilst he was valiantly entring. The next day those in the Cittadel would neither with all the Rhetorick Bessas could use, nor the terrour of burning be perfuaded to yield, but all perified in names together with the Fort. By this placing of his best men in the Town, Chofrees tufficiently declared how much a value he had for Petra . As also by the provisions he made of Arms and Victuals. For the Romans found five mens furniture for every Souldier, besides what was burnt; and so much, Corn and other salted Meats as would serve for a Siege of five years. The Prisoners Bessa sent to the Emperour, and cast down the

Justinian.

Sect. 1 bounding from the Roman Shields. At length Corianes the Perstan General was slain by a thor in the Neck, and his death fwayed the Victory to the opposite Party; fer Is the falling from his Horfe, his men prefently ran away to their Camp with the Enemy at their heels, who thought to take it at the first Assault. But an Alan, a strong and lusty Fellow, and very dextrous in shooting, put himself into the narrowell entrance into the Trenches, and flopt the Invaders a long time, untill John Guzes, a valiant Roman Officer, killed him with his Lance, and then was the Camp speedily taken. Many Persuns were cut off as well here as in the Fight, and the reft returned home as they could: such being the success of this Persian Invasion of Lazica. After which another Army came, and victualling the Garrison in Petra, retired without more adoe. 197. In the mean time, whilst Dagiftheus was thus employed against the Persians,

the Lazians at Constantinople accused him of Treachery, and favouring their Enemies in the management of the Affair at Petra; the business of the Mines, and the Befin ordered Fortification by Sacksfull of Sand, being all ript up. Hereupon he was by the to command in Emperour's Order confined to his House, and Bessas, lately come out of Italy, was made General of Armenia, with instructions to command the Army in Lazica, sent thither before under conduct of Venilus and others. Nabodes the Persian coming again into Lazica, drew the Abasgians to revolt from the Lazians and Romans. For being tired out with the incroachments and oppressions of the Roman Garrisons, after they had deposed their Kings, they grew desperate, and chose rather to resume their former condition, though bad, than iall into absolute slavery; and fearing still worse and worse, fet up Kings again, and revolted secretly to the Persian. Julinian smeland worse, set up Kings again, and revolted secretly to the Persian. ling it out, commanded Bess to march against them, who sent a choice Party of the Abassian his Army under Vligangus and John Guzes, by which their chiefest Fort was taken, and Abassian transfer of the Abassian transfer of and Applianter and after much flaughter they were reduced to obedience; as also were the Applicated. lians, who having been anciently subject to the Lazians, had also of late revolted. Whilst the Affairs of Chofrees succeeded not very well in Lazica, they were in a

worse condition at home, by means of his eldest Son Anasozadus (which in the Perfian Language fignified Immortal) who made no feruple to lie with his Father's Wives; and afterwards, being confined to Lapato; a City feven days journey from Ctefiphon, upon report of his Father's death, usurped; and though his Father reco-The Son of Chif vered, put the City into a Revolt, and eagerly pursued the War. Indeed Chosroes was dangerously fick, being ever of a fickle constitution, which made him keep Physicians by him of all Countries, and amongst others, one Tribunus of Palestine, a man inferiour to none of his time, and befide that, both a wife, and a very good and confcientious man. Ne had cured the King formerly, and came loaded home with Presents; again at the Quinquennial Cessation, the Persian begged of Justinian that he might have him with him for one year, which being ended, Chofroes bad him ask whatfoever he would, whereupon instead of Wealth he asked the liberty of some Roman Captives. He got free'd three thousand men, besides some of quality, whom he demanded by name; and by this Act of Generosity obtained a great Reputation amongst all sorts of People. But Chosroes sent those who overthrew his Son in battel, and taking him Priloner, brought him to his Prefence. He to prewhom by ble-vent any farther effects of his Ambition, blemilhed the young Man's Eyes, not by minimal his Eyes taking away the fight, but by difforting the Eye-lids into much ugliness, with hor he was incu-Irons applied to their outfides, being flut. Hereby he cut off his hopes to the King-

dom, the Law not permitting any blemished man to be King of Perssa.

198. Now was the fifth year of the Quinquennial Cessation expired, of which Justinian being aware, sent to Chofrees to conclude an absolute and lasting Peace for the East. Chofrees put him off, faying he would fend some of his own to Conflantinople to doe it; and he fent indeed Isdigunas, that infolent and impudent Persian, concerning whom it's hard to fay, whether he was more ridiculous for his pride and humour, or the Emperour for the unfitting and extravagant honours he heaped upon him. As for Badicius his Interpreter he came not now with him, and some said his King had put him to death for prefuming to fit at Table with Justinian, who, he concluded, would not have admitted an Interpreter to such an honour upon any account below the betraying of his Master's business. But Isdigunas coming to his Audience, faid not one word of Peace, but complained that Arethas, and other Saracen Confederates of the Empire, had, during the Cessation, committed spoils upon Alamundarus, with other frivolous things, and of small importance. In the mean time Bessas fits down before Petra with his whole Army, where the Garrison had so plied their business, that after the Retreat of Dagisthaus, by stones and beams of wood, they had made a pretty good foundation where the Wall was formerly

ruined, so that the Assailants found great difficulty to assault the Town, because Sect. 1 they could no more Mine, neither could they bring the Ram to the Wall, the Place of being steep, and the Ram not to be drawn but on even ground. In this strait, when they faw the Romans despairing, three Princes of the Sabirian Hunnes, who being fent to receive the Penfion paid them by the Emperour, were now at the Siege, devised such an Engine, as never formerly had been thought of by either Persians or Romans, though they had excellent Artifts. Time ever proceeding with the wit of Man to new Inventions.

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

A new fort of

CHAP. II.

199. In forming this new fort of Ram they used no Timbers upright, nor lying across, but inflead of them small Poles tied and sitted together. Yet had it the perfect form of an ordinary Ram; and in the midst was placed the usual Beam, with a top headed with Iron to batter the Walls. The whole Engine was covered with Hides, and was so light, that it needed neither Men nor Cattle to draw it, onely forty Souldiers within it, and covered with the Hides, carried it with ease upon their Shoulders, wound up the Ram, and let it fall against the Walls. On either fide flood men well armed with long Poles in their hands, topt with great Iron hooks to pull off the stones which were loosened and unjointed by the strokes of the Engine. The Romans, in making trial of this new device, did great execution, and the Town was at the point of being taken, when the Persians from a wooden Tower, provided beforehand, cast down Vessels upon their heads full of Sulphur, Babylonian Pitch and Naptha, a Drug ufed by the Perssans, which the Greeks called Medean Oil. These Vessels failed little of burning the Rams, which were onely preserved by the men with the long Poles, who cleared still the fire away, but long they could not be able to doe it, the flame raging so vehemently, that where it toucht, it instantly took, if not as speedily put off. Besset sterefore caused Scaling-ladders to be set to a certain part of the Wall, which by Mining was funk, but stood upright as if it had been fet with an Engine; and uting the best fort of exhortation. which was the example of his own valour, being an old man path eventy years of age, first mounted the Ladder. Never was a Fight more valiantly fought on both sides, the Persians being two thousand three hundred men, and the Roman Army about fix thousand. Bessa himself sell from the Ladder, whereat was made a great shout by the Persians, who from all parts shot at him; but he was protected by the Targets of his Lanciers, that by his order dragged him away by the heels (that fo they might best cover him) till coming out of shot into a safe place, up he rose, encouraged his men, and gave on again, mounting the Ladder the fecond time. The Romans following him, and doing very valiantly, the Persians demanded time to quit the place; but he suspecting it was craftily propounded to fortify the Wall, refused to flop the Fight, but offered to treat at another part of the Wall, while the Armies fought. The motion being not entertained, the Fight was hotly purfued with equal fuccess, untill the arrival of several ill Accidents on the Persian Part. 200. First another part of the Wall, where the Romans had formerly Mined, suddenly fell down. This necessarily divided the Persians, and their fewness so much

appeared by the division, that they did not equally endure the charge. Then did John Guzes with some Armenians his Countreymen, while the Armies were here ingaged, mount the Rock where the City was thought impregnable, and by killing one of the noblest Perstans, made the Place accessible. And in the mean time, those that from the wooden Tower cast the fire upon the Roman Rams, were themselves ruined by the force of a ftrong Southern wind which kindled one of the Boards of the Tower, and they within being overtoiled and full of tumult and disorder, perceived not the Accident, till the flame kindling by degrees with the Naptha and other ingredients burnt all the Tower and the miletable Perfans in it, who confumed to coals fell down, some within the Town, some among the Roman Engines. At the ruined Parateaken by Wall by this time the Perfians gave back, and now Petra was abiolutely taken; onely five hundred Persians retired to the Cittadel, the rest were taken alive, being seven hundred and thirty men, of whom eighteen onely were unhurt. To the Romans it proved a bloudy Victory, many gallant men having lost their lives, amongst whom John Guzes was killed with a stone whilst he was valiantly entring. The next day those in the Cittadel would neither with all the Rhetorick Beffas could use, nor the terrour of burning be perfuaded to yield, but all perished in stames together with the Fort. By this placing of his best men in the Town, Chalroes sufficiently declared how much a value he had for Petra: As also by the provisions he made of Arms and Victuals. For the Romans found five mens furniture for every Souldier, besides what was burnt; and so much Corn and other salted Meats as would serve for a Siege of five years. The Prisoners Bessas sent to the Emperour, and cast down the

CHAP! II.

Justinian.

His Avarice

Sect. 1. Walls of Petra, that no more trouble might arife from it, which Justinian much proved, and commended him both for his Valour, and good Conduct. After his ill fortune, or rather, his ill administration at Rome, and an apparent ruine of the Roman Interest, yet at his return to Constantinople, the Emperour made him General against the Persians, to the wonder and derision of the World, which slouted Justinian's Resolution herein, in committing the Persian War to an old man who had had one foot long in the grave, and been lately to grofly beaten by the Goths in Italy. Yet notwithstanding did Beffas shew that valour, and found the good fortune we have now mentioned. So are humane Affairs determined, (faith Procopil us) not as men imagine, but as God himself swayeth the Balance. And this they call Fortune, finding matters fucceed in a way and Method by them not differned and so attributing a Name of Fortune to things which are above their own reach and Reason.

201. Bessas, as appears from this Action at Petra, wanted not Courage nor Conduct; neither yet was he void of a fault familiar to old Men, and that vice which the continual prospect of the Grave can hardly mortifie. This was his Avarice, by which formerly he had loft Rome, and whereby he again ruined that Interest, which of late he had so notably advanced. For if after his victory he had made haste to fortifie the Passages from Iberia to Lazica, the Persians had not entred this Countrey, but he retired into Pontus and Armenia his Government, intending to toil himself no more, but get what he could by his place, and so as good as delivered Lazica to the Enemy by his neglect and careleness of the Emperour's Indignation, who indeed was wont to connive much at the errours of his chief Ministers, whence followed many great faults, both in the courses of their Lives, and of their Governments. Mermeroes in the mean time, afraid of Petra; as foon as the season of the year would permit, was on his way with an Army thither, but hearing what had happened, he staid his Journey, and passing over, the Phasis, because the Lazians had no Towns but Petra on that side the River, he led on toward Archæopolis, the chief City of the Countrey. Bessa had left in Lazica Twelve thousand men, whereof Three thousand lay in Archaepelis, with Odonas chus and Babas, two expert Commanders; the rest incamped near the Phasis, with intention to fuccour any place where the Enemy should fall, and were commanded by Bonilus and Uligangus; beside, Eight hundred Tzanians were brought hither out of Italy by Varazes the Perfarmenian. Mermeroes therefore for fear the Roman Army at his back, which quartered upon the Phasis, would not sit down before Archæopolis, went toward them first; which the Commanders hearing, and finding themselves/too weak, got them aboard their Barks, and having carried with them what Baggage they could, cast the rest into the River. Mermeroes arriving shortly after, was much out of humour, to find never a man in the Roman Camp, which having burnt in much wrath, he returned to Archaepolis, and fet all his wits on work how to affault the City.

202. He made use of the same Ram which the Sabirian Hunnes had invented for Bessas at Petra, having many of this mercenary Nation now in his Army. This was for the plain ground; and against the rocky part of the City he set the Dolemites; a People dwelling in the midst of Persia, among unaccessible Mountains, and therefore not subject to the Persian, but free; onely in his Wars they were wont to serve him for Wages, being all Foot-men, with Sword and Buckler, and two Javelins, and as nimble to climb Rocks, and run along by the fides of Mountains as on the plain ground it felf. By the Rams on one fide to which Mermeroes joined his Elephants, (which he used as Towers to shoot on) and these Dolomites on the other, the besieged were sore distressed in making good the Walls. Odonachus and Babas in their extremity advised them to make a Sally, as the onely possible means of freeing themselves, for though they might one day have the better from the Battlements, they should gain nothing, the danger being renewed as fresh as ever the day following, and so they must perish by little and little, and loose at last what they had defended to small purpose. Mermeroes before this had hired a certain Townsman to set the City Stores on fire, of which they had an inckling i and therefore left a sufficient number in the Town, to prevent this mischief, in cases it should be attempted. And the man did indeed set fire to the Stores, but it was timely quenched, without much damage; and those who fallied terrified the Enemy by the suddenness of the Enterprise, who suspected no such matter from so few Defendants, but were all in disorder, and scattered about as upon an Assault, some having the Rams upon their shoulders, and without their Arms.

203. Here

203: Here Procopius makes it a matter of wonder, that the Romans knowing Sect. 1. 2.03: Here *Frecopius* makes it a matter of wonder, that the *Komans* knowing fo well the means of refifting; and rendring Elephants ufelefs, did not at all a pply themfelves to that courfe, being confounded it feems by their urigent bullents. When *Chofrees* befreged *Edeffa*, an Elephant was brought close to the Walls, with many of the most gallant *Perfuss* burn him, when the state that the basic mode disable from him when the where standing like a Tower, and the shot being made directly from him upon the Defendants heads, the taking of the Town was certainly expected. But the Romans avoided the danger, onely by hanging out an Hog from the Bulwark, which with his fqueaking noife to feared the Elephant, that he turned about, and would not be kept to his Station, by all the skill his Governours could use. This was now omitted by them that he had to have a bour and but had been been about the station. ted by them, but the best of it was, their good fortune supplied their forgetfulness or negligence, for one of those Elephants now employed, either wounded or other wife starting, slew back, cast his Riders, brake the Ranks, and drove the Persians backward, while the Romans securely cut down all in their way. The Perssans were by those means so disordered, that they in the Rere, seeing the confusion of those in the Van, ran away for fear. Nay the Dolomites, who being upon high ground saw all, ran away as shamefully as the rest, and the Overthrow was now clear, four thousand of Mermeroes his men being killed, with three principal Officers, and four Enfigns taken which were fent to Constant imple. And two thousand Horses they loft, either slain in the Battel, slarved or heart-broken. Mermeroes being thus Defeated at Archaepplu, however continued Master of the Field, and ked his Army a days Journey off into the Province Muchirifis a plentifull Countrey, with intention to re-edify an old City 'or Castle called Cotafis, or Cotassum, moreover to cut off Provisions from Othimerium, a strong Fort guarded by Lazians, with fome Roman Souldiers intermingled, and to hinder their march into the Countries of Suania and Scymnia, subject to the Persians; an Army in Muchiriss stopping eafily the passage into these Countries. Such were the Successes of the Ar-

204. In the mean time Isdigunas the Persian Ambassadour, had many Conferences with the Emperour at Constantinople, concerning a Peace. After a long time fepent in disputes, at last they came to this Agreement. That in the Empire, and proper Dominions of *Perfia*; there should be a Cessation of Arms for sive years, during which, endeavours on both sides should be used to compose the Differences; concerning Lazica and the Saracens. That for this Cellation, the Romans should pay to the Persians twenty Centenaries of Gold, besides six Centenaries more for the eighteen Months, passed betwixt the end of the Quinquennial Cessation, and their sending Ambassadours to each other; the Perssan pleading that upon that Condition, they yielded to a conference about a Truce. The Emperour would have paid them by four Centenaries every year, and given caution for 10 doing; but Ifdigunas infifted upon present payment, and in the end, he prevailed to have the whole Sum paid down, the Romans yeilding to it, that they might not feem to pay a yearly Tribute to the Crown of Perfia. Thus are men more sensible of the difhonour of Names than Things. But at the desire of Isdigunas also, who promised to perswade his Master to remove his Army out of Lazica, one Barsabes, a Perfian of great Quality, and as great a favorite of Chofroes, who had offered for him a great Ransome, having been taken Prisoner in Armenia, was sent to Constantinople. Thus was the Cessation concluded, to the great discontent of the understanding Romans, who complained that the Persians being now strong in Lazica, might fecurely and without interruption for five years to come, hold the fairest places of the Countrey, and that they were never after to be driven out, but might have easie access to Constantinople it self. Most men indeed were troubled to fee that which the Perhans ever aimed at, but which by War they could never effect, viz. to make the Romans tributary, now fully Established under colour of a Ceffation of Arms; for upon this specious pretence, Chofroes did really impose a Tribute of four annual Centenaries, untill his forty fix Centenaries were paid, calling his Tax a Truce, and shewing most manifestly, that he plotted it from the beginning of the War. And the worst of it was, from this Taxation they could never hope to be freed, but faw themselves constrained to remain in quality of Tri-

205. So well succeeded the Embassy of Isdigunas in his Master's behalf, who having received high honours from the Emperour, together with valter Presents, than ever Ambassadour before him, returned home probably the richest man in Perfia. This was the onely Ambassadour that had no Guard put upon him, he himself and his followers freely conferring and keeping company with whom they

PART III

Sect. 1. pleafed; and in the City buying, felling, and making contracts in their own Performs with all liberty, no Roman attending them to observe their doings, as in those Ayerrof wonter times was wont to be. But this was a year of strange Accidents, there being such distributions. Heats at this time, as none ever could remember the like; Roses towards the Wintreats at this time, as none ever could remember the fixes towards the Whiter growing in abundance as in the Spring, with no manner of difference, and the weather as hot as at Midfummer; befides the Vintage being long paft, new Grapes came as they had done before. Much talk hence there arofe, as is wont in fuch cafes, of ftrange things betokened, and likely to fucceed; but the natural cause of this temper of the Air, was the continuance of the Southerly winds longer than ordinary. This Cellation was concluded, and these Heats happened in the twenty fifth year of Justinian's Reign, the seventeenth year of the Gothick War. A.D.

206. Now we must behold the fruit of the Cessation, and consider the veracity of Chofrees, as also how true Prophets the understanding fort of Romans were in their predictions concerning the Islue. During the Negotiation then at Constanting nople, King Gubazes in Lazica affected the Romans, because he found Chofroes to plot his Death; but the generality of his People now again inclined toward the Perfeans, offended with the oppressions of the other, and the insolency of the Roman Officers, of two ills chusing that which they did not at present feel, not for any love to the Perstan Government. The Romans lay concealed, some near the Phasis, others in Archaeopolis, and others in Fortresses, and Gubaces lay quiet upon the tops of the Mountains, so that the Perstans visited all the Towns at their pleasure, and the Garrison of Othimerium frighted with false tales, concerning a total Defeat both of Gubazes and the Roman Army, yeilded the Castle on condition to have their Lives and Goods fecured. By this means the Perstans became Masters of the Countrey, and held Scymnia and Suania, so that all places from Muchirists to Iberia, were inaccellible to their Enemies, who durst not appear abroad nor flir, the Romans from their Fortresses, nor Gubazes with his Lazians from off the Mountains. Mermeroes The Profun Ma. plied his bufiness, reinforcing several Garrisons, and he marcht toward the Phasis, where he understood that the Romans and Lazians had incamped and newly made head; but at the first news of his coming, they all separated and fled; Gubazes betaking himfelf to the Mountains with his Wife and Children, whence notwithflanding the extremity of Poverty and hard weather, he would not be drawn down by, all the good words and fair promifes Mermeroes could give and make him. For fo flrong was his hatred and aversion to Chosroes, that it suffered him not to despair of fuccours from constantinople, the Judgments of men being generally biasted by

their wills and afforms. The Winter being now ended, Idiguna arrived at the Persian Court, where Choses signed the Treaty, and received the money, but with intentions so cordial to the drift of Justinian, that with the same Treasure he levied a great Army of Hunnes, and fent them to Mermeroes, refolving what ever he did, not to quit Lazica. With these Forces Mermeroes coasted about the Countrey, and the Romans opposed him not, lying quiet in their Fortifications, about the mouth of Phasts in Company of Gabazes. Having without success attempted feveral Garrisons, he retired with his Army, which then the Romans followed in the fast Countryy, intercepted many, and killed the chief Commander of the Sabirian Hunnes. But fighting about the dead body, the Persians forced away the Enemy,

and retired to Cotafis the Fort of Muchirifis formerly mentioned.

207. So went the Emperour's affairs in the East, rather backward than otherwife. In the South all things were in a fair Condition, by the incredible fucceffes, of John the General in Africk, who first drew to his Party Cutzinas a Prince of Numidia, then overthrew all the other Numidians in Battel, and soon after brought Antalas and Jabdas Princes of the Moors, inhabiting Byzacium and Numidia, to follow him in no better Quality than that of Slaves. Thus in this Province Julinian had no Enemies, and indeed not many Subjects, whom the former Wars and diforders had miferably wasted. And that Fortune might seem now and then, to cast a gratious aspect upon the Empire in her extreme and decrepit old Age, amid all her frowns, another thing happened about this time, which tended much to the inrichment of the Provinces. Certain Monks coming out of India, and getting Access to the Emperour, promised him to effect what he had long desired, that the Romans should not need to buy any more Raw Silk of the Persians, or any other Nation. For having lived long in a Countrey called Serinda, which contained many forts of Indians, they had learnt the way how the fame might be had in his own, Dominions. Juftinian being very curious and inquifitive to know how, they told him, that certain Worms taught by Nature, did Spin this Silk, which Worms, to

bring alive was not possible, but easie to get their Bags, wherein were innumerable Sect. 1. Eggs, which being covered in Dung, and thereby heated, produced the Worms. The Emperour promifed them great Rewards, to bring their undertaking to effect, and they returning to Serinda, brought those Eggs to Constantinople, where being by the means aforesaid grown to Worms, they fed them with Mulbery-leaves, and Some worms bought into the fo brought the making of Raw Silk into the Roman Territories. Empire.

208. In Europe in the mean time, the Gepidæ, who, as we formerly faid, made a Truce with the Lombards, not composing thereby their differences, resolved to renew the War, which grew as hot as ever, the Gepidae being led by Thorifin, and Audoin & Asset the Lombards headed by Auduin. Their Armies coming near each other, were dwinging that A flrange pan- both feized with fuch a pannick fear, that as well the one as the other ran away, in inco. All.

leaving their Commanders with some sew behind, who neither with fair words, sin, as-ain, nor threats could stop their running.

Auduin not knowing the Enemy was in the India, Tanifada, T truly with them, freely also told him how the Lombards were run away, and per souling fwaded him, fince God, as they faid, had cast upon both Nations that faving fear, cathe again to concur with that gratious dispensation, and make an end of the War. A Cessa-pro shide some to concur with that gratious dispensation, and make an end of the War. tion was accordingly concluded for two years, during which term, they were to

fend their Ambassadours mutually to compose all differences; yet not being able to end their Debates, they fell again to their old course of Hostility. Now the Gepidæ fearing the Romans would joyn with the Lombards, procured twelve thoufand men from the Vturgurian Hunnes, inhabiting on this fide the Lake of Maotis; whom, for that one year of the Cessation was yet to come, and having no occasion for fuch a Multitude, they perswaded in the interim to invade the Romans, who kept no exact Guards upon the Danube, either on the Coasts of Illyrium or Thrace.

Hereupon the Emperour fent to the Viurgurian Hunnes, planted beyond the Lake of Mæotis, and by money won them to invade the Countrey of the Viurgurians, whom, having passed the Tanais, assisted by two thousand Tetraxite Goths dwel- Tetraxite, Tewhom, naving paties the Lamine, sinited by the thought of the lamine to the ling near them, they routed in a Battel long fought, and having killed many, took trues, sine, the ling near them, they routed in a Battel long fought and between them. ing near them, they routed in a parter long rough, and buring the Connest be dead in the long the Connest be dead in the long rough their Wives and Children Captives, and returned home.

twixt them, fome thousands of Romans took the opportunity, and flipping away, see the street recovered their Native Seats. And such Uturgurians as had before invaded the constitution of Emperour's Territories, were perswaded for money to retire, and if they could multa alia. continue in their Countrey, to remain faithfull to the Roman interest, otherwise to Essential accordance one back, and have Towns assigned them in Thrace, where living as Confedering and the accordance in some back.

rates, they should protect the Roman Provinces from all Barbarians whatsoever. Ponium Euxi-Of them already two thousand, after the Overthrow received from the Uturguri- num. Sicalitia ab ans, came into the Roman Dominions, and becoming Servants to the Emperour, tins. were feated in Thrace, which Sandik King of the Trurgurians understanding, grew very angry, and fent a Message to the Emperour by word of mouth, (for the Hunnes knew no Letters nor Grammar, nor bred their Children to Learning,

wherein he compared the Viurgurian Hunnes to Wolves, which would never be tamed, and upbraided him both with folly, for nourishing them amongst his Sheep, and with ingratitude toward his Subjects the Vturgurians, whom he likened to Shepherds Dogs, for their Service and fidelity. But Justinian foothed the Ambassadours with good words, presented them richly and sent them home.

209. From these Hunnes, its time now to return to the other fort, which we faid put a stop to the Voyage of Narses into Italy, and forced him to stay at Philippopolis. They having driven and carried all away without opposition, and being gone some towards Thessalonica, and some toward Constantinople; he marcht on, having hardly difingaged himself from them. Totilas in the mean time had burnt most part of Rome, especially beyond the Tiber; but now expecting the coming of Narses, placed some of those Senatours in the City, who had been formerly confined to Campania, with other Romans, Commanding them to Guard it, and professing to repent for what he had lately done unto it. Yet were those men in a condition, little better than that of Slaves, being stript of all they had, and so unable to vindicate the publick Interest, that they could not recover every man his peculiar right, although the Romans, in the judgment of Procopius, were the best Patriots in the World, studying to regain from all parts, what belonged to their City, and to fave all the ancient Ornaments of Rome from perishing. During fo long a fubjection to Barbarians, (6 he writes,) how did they preferve their publick Buildings and Ornaments! Even the Original Ornaments of their Race do yet continue, the fufficiency of those ancient Workmen holding out against the Ruines

of time, and the negligence of men; and then he instanceth in the Ship of Aneas,

lustinian.

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Sect. 1. which to his time remained so uncorrupted, (for he saw it himself) as if it had been but very lately built. But (not to follow our Authour in his Digressions out His Hee as Set of the Road, Totilas also manned three hundred Gallies with Goths, Commanding doth harme to them to pillage and spoil the Coasts of Greece. Yet they hurt nothing till they came to Corcyra, the onely inhabited Island in the passage from the Straits to Scylla, which they foraged together with the Islands adjacent called Sybotæ. They landed also in Epirus, and pillaged the Towns about Dodona, especially Nicopolis, and Anchialus, where Anchises Father to Eneas Died, and gave Name to the Town. They took also upon the Coast many Greek Ships, and amongst them some Tranfporting Provisions to Narses his Army.

210. In Italy Totilas caused Ancona to be blocked up both by Sea and Land. Valerianus was then at Ravenna, but being unable to releive it, he wrote to John as yet lying in Salonæ, acquainting him how this Town which onely remained to them of all that part of Italy, lying upon the Ionian Gulf, was straitly besieged, and likely to be loft, if he would not come speedily, and joyn the Forces with him for its Assistance. The Emperour had sorbidden fohn to stir, yet conceiving that Neceffity must dispense with his Instructions, he adventured to go, and with his best men Shipt in forty Vessels, appeared before Ancona, whither Valerianus came short-

ly up to him with twelve Ships. The Commanders of the Goths Manned out forty feven of their choicest they had against them, leaving the rest to block up the Cassle, and to a Sea Fight they came, which was stoutly Fought, and much like to a Land Battel; they flanding with all their Ships in Front against one another, and plying their Bows. But the unexperience of the Goths in Sea Fights, and their diforder undid them, their Ships jumbling like fo many Baskets together, so that they could neither shoot at the Enemy, nor manage any Weapon, being perpetually employed in getting clear of one another, and spending all their Shouts and Cries not upon the Romans, but their own men, to keep off. The Romans on the other fide behaved themselves both Valiantly and Skilfully, making use of the advantage which the folly of their Enemies prefented; fo that they took and funk all with the men in them, except eleven Ships which got away, and were fet on Fire after the men were Landed, left they should come into their Hands. Such as escaped in them going on foot to Ancona, and relating there the Accident, the Siege was raifed, and the Camp left to the Romans, who having put Provisions into the Castle, failed away; Valerianus to Ravenna, and John to Salonæ. This Defeat much abated the power and interest of Totilas, whose affairs went to wrack in Sicily, where Artabanes having fucceeded Liberius, took all the Cattles from the few The Guths de Goths lying in the Island. The Hearts of the Goths were so dejected with these inded. Losses, that should any Succours come to the Romans, they had no thought of subfifting, or keeping one foot in Italy. And from the Emperour they had no hope

to obtain any thing, for Totilas had fent to him many Ambassadours, shewing how the Franks had seized on a great part of Italy, and the rest was become waste and void. He offered that the Goths should quit to him Sicily and Dalmatia, which one-ly remained unspoiled, and should pay Tribute for the wasted Lands in Italy, and ferving his Majesty against all the World, in all other things also be obedient to him. But Justinian would take no notice of these Overtures, but still sent away the Ambassadours being distasted at the very name of a Goth, and purposing to hur-

ry them all out of the Roman Empire.

211. In reference to what Totilas said concerning the Franks, the Reader must understand that Theodebert their King who lately Died, had unjustly made Tributary fome Towns in Liguria and the Cottian Alpes, together with a great part of Venetia; he thus getting without blows, what the two angry Antagonists were bufily Fighting for. Indeed in Venetia the Goths had little, the Sea Towns were in the hands of the Romans, and the Franks feized on the rest, while neither Goths nor Romans had leisure to look behind them. The Goths thought it sufficient to agree with them, that during the War with the Emperour, both should hold what they had, and forbear Hostility, and in case Totilas should become Conquerour, then the Acquisitions of the Franks were to be disposed, as should be agreed on among the Parties. But to Theodebert had fucceeded Theudibald his Son, to whom Justinian sent an Ambassadour, to demand the Towns unjustly seized in Italy during a Truce, and to perswade him to a League against Totilas. As to the latter he put him off, with a modest refusal, telling him, that should he prove salse to the Goths, no Friend should ever have reason to trust him; and as to the former, he denied that his Father had been an Oppressour of his Neighbours, or an Intruder, but in case it should appear he had taken them unjustly from the Romans, and not ra-

ther outed Totilas of his unjust possession, he would refer the matter to Arbitration, Sect. 1. and fend himself Ambassadours to Constantinople, which he did, and they effected what they went about. Totilas in the mean time, being ambitious to get the Islands belonging to Africk, into his hands, fent an Army to Corfica and Sardinia, The Solavi in and made them tributary to him. A mighty Company of Sclavi at the fame time fell upon Illyricum, and doing mischeifs not to be exprest, went home with innumerable Pritoners, and all their Booty, none incountring them. The Gepidæ transported them over the Danube, having for every head a Golden Stater, as their fare. This troubling the Emperour, who hereby had no means to hinder their passage over that River, he made a League with the Gepidæ; but they notwithflanding ftill transporting the Sclavi over the Danube, he fent an Army to the Affishence of the Lombard; their Enemies, who invading them with 6 great a Force,

overthrew them in Battel, and made great flaughter of them.

212. Great Earthquakes happened in those days, in several parts of Greece, about

Goths, and wanting Necessaries, sent to Artabanes in Sicily for releif, protesting that if none speedily came, they must be forced to Surrender the Town; yet none came, and so ended the Winter, together with the seventeenth year of the War. But in Spring, the Emperour Commanded Crotone to be releived by the Garrison of Thermopyle in Greece, which Sailing for Italy, the Golds upon fight of the Ships, ran away from the Siege and were dejected; infomuch that two of their principal Commanders began to capitulate for the rendition of the Towns under their Government. And now at length, Narses began to draw near Italy, with a very Gozal Nasife, gullant Army, as well he might, having received very much Treature from the dessuer half, Emperour, to leavy and furnish the fame. And what was of more Confequence, he

the Gulf of Crifaum, overthrowing many Cities, as Charonca, Corone, Patra and Naupačius, and many men perished. In Italy, Crotone was straitly besieged by the

galanty provi- brought wherewith to pay the Souldiers in Italy their Arrears, which were very great, and had been due for many years together: Nay he was furnished with money to invite the Revolted, to return again from the Goths to their ancient Obedience. The great and effectual Engin which moved all, was the Emperour's Refolution, who in the beginning managed the War very coldly and carelefly, but now fet himself with all earnestness and sincerity to the Work. And Narses was to be commended for making use of his present temper, who seeing him very eager, that he should lead the Army into Italy, protested plainly he would not therein obey his Commands, unless he might have competent Forces; by which stoutness he procured men and money, with Provisions of Arms and other Necessaries, all befitting the Roman Empire. Now might he chearfully fet about his business, and had credit enough to raife Forces, and obtain Auxiliaries out of all Places. And many gallant and eminent Persons, willingly accompanied him in the expedition. John waited on him, both with his own Troops, and those left him by Germanus his Father-in-Law. Dagisthaus also accompanied him with his Troops, being difcharged of his Imprisonment for this purpose. Cabades the Son of Zames, and

Grandchild of King Cabades, (who having by the practice of Chanaranges, escaped his Uncle Chofroes his cruelty, long agoe came into the Emperour's Dominions,) followed him in the expedition with many Persian Fugitives. Besides these Asbades a young Gepida and very Valiant, with four hundred of his Nation all good Souldiers; Aruth an Herulian, accompanied him with many old Souldiers of the Herulians; and John Phagas commanding many Roman Volunteers, well practifed in War. Moreover Auduin Prince of the Lombards, by virtue of the League, and for a good Sum of money given him by the Emperour, fent him five and twenty hundred felect men, accompanied with a retinue of above three thousand others. He had three thousand Herulians, commanded by Philimuth and others, besides many Hunnes; but his cheifest levies were out of the Constantinopolitan Guards, the Garrisons of Thrace, and the Countrey of Illyrium. The truth was, Narses was very obliging, especially to the Barbarians, and to this his great Power with the Emperour being added, as well Commanders, as common Souldiers, were eager to serve under him; both in acknowledgment of former favours, and in expectation of great advancements in time to come.

213. Being arrived at the Confines of Venetia, he sent to those that commanded the Franks, demanding passage for himself and followers, as for Friends, to which they returned a denial, protesting they would hinder him, both in respect to the The Frank de interest of Franks and Goths, and farther pretending a frivolous excuse, as that he with puling interest of the many him puling interest of the puling in the puling interest. The franks and Goths, and farther pretending a frivolous excuse, as that he was told by some tralians, that had the Franks given him passage, he could not possibly have gone far-

Sect. 1. ther than Verona. For in this City Totilas had placed Teias a most Valiant man, with a choice number of Goths, who by his order had stopt up all the Passages with Works, and with much art and labour, had made in some places Thickets, in others Ditches, deep holes and bogs, and drowned the Grounds, being ready to fight the Romans, in case they should force their way. Totilas did this, upon confideration that Narfes could hardly be able to pass along the Sea Coast, by so many great mouths of Rivers, having not Ships enough to transport his Army over the Gulf at once, and he imagined that coming but in small parties, he might easily hinder their Landing. But John who knew those Parts exactly, advised him notwithstanding to march by the Sea shore, the People there being the Emperour's Subjects, and to be attended with some Ships and many Boats, with which Boats, they might make Bridges over the Currents of the Rivers. He followed his advice, Yet he gess to and got to Ravenna with his whole Army, where Valerianus and Justinus the Generals, with the remainder of the Roman Forces joyned with them.

Goth flain.

214. After nine or ten days flay, he left Justinus Governour of Ravenna, and began his march. At Ariminum being to pass the River, and searching diligently for a passage, Vidrilas the Governour of the Gothick Garrison there, Sallied with constitutions. for a patiage, Ofaritas the Government of the original data in that posture. But some Waste data from the form of his best men, thinking to surprize and kill him in that posture. But some Waste data from the original data from th Heruli by mere accident encountred and killed him, and a Roman knowing him, jieiur ad mitbrought his Head to Narfes, which filled the Romans with much Courage, taking gandum in Waldrada

it as a fign of God's favour and a good Omen, that the Enemy having a defign upon their General, should so suddenly loose their own Commander without any humane Plot or forecast. Though he might have had incouragement upon the Death of Usdrilas, yet he medled not with Ariminum, nor with any other Town, that he might not retard his main delign, nor divert it by any other business. And the Enemy discouraged at the loss of their Governour, gave him no impediment in making a Bridge and passing the River, which having done, he left the Via Flaminia, and took the left hand, that huge Street being unpassable, by reason that the Goths had seized on the Rock called Petra Pertusa, and all other places lying upon it. Totilas in the mean time, hearing what had passed in Venetia, expected Teias and the Army about Rome, which being all come up, except two thousand Horse, he marcht away with the rest, intending to fight the Romans at his best conveniency. Understanding how matters stood at Ariminum, he went through Tuscany toward the Appennine, where he incamped in a Village called Tagiria; And afterward came Narses and sate down upon the Appennine also, at twelve miles and an half distance near the little round Hills, wherein the Galls slain by Camillus were buried, and at that day called Busta Gallorum.

Narfes fends to Totilas

215. Narses presently sent to Totilas, to advise him to entertain peaceable Councils, and not contend, because he was backed by a few lawless men, with the strength of the whole Roman Empire; And in case he was resolved for War, he in-Tailtas will have structed the Messengers to bid him appoint a day for a pitcht Battel. He with a resolute and daring Countenance, told them they should have War, and that eight days after he would not fail to meet them. But Narfes suspecting some cunning in the answer, prepared to fight as the next day, and he was in the right; for the day following, Totilas came with his whole Army. Both had a mind to gain a little Hill for an advantage of upper ground, and Narfes by Night fent fifty men, who feized it without opposition. Against them Totilas sent a Troop of Horse, but standing thick and firm, they frighted the Horses with the noise of their Sheilds and with their Lances; the men who failed often in the attempt, at length gave it over, and Totilas sent several Troops afterward, who came off with the same disgrace, fo that he gave over the enterprize, and those fifty men deservedly got great reputation, especially one Paul who indeed did wonders, and for this Service was made one of Narses his Targetiers. In the mean time both Armies prepared for Battel, and the Generals bespake the courage and fidelity of their Souldiers, using arguments fitted to the occasion. The Lombards, Heruli and other Barbarians, Narses caused to alight and serve as Footmen, that in case they should turn Cowards, they might flye but flowly. And his left wing he cast into the form of a Wedge, setting there fifteen hundred Horsemen, whereof five hundred were to releive their Friends, in case they were put to the worst, and the other thousand get the backs of the Enemies Foot, and gall them in the fight. In like manner Totilas placed his Army, and rode about with Countenance and words animating his Souldiers. Narfes did the like, holding out to them gilt Chains and Bridles, as the Prizes of their CHAP. II. The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. lustinian.

216. Both Armies stood still a while, expecting the Assault of their Enemies, till Sect. 1. one Cocas a Goth of good repute for Valour, rode up to the Roman Army, and challenged any to fight with him, having formerly served the Emperour, but since re- Caco (& Cocus volted to Totilas. But Anzalas an Armenian, and Lancier to Narfes, encountred bus) contrallum and flew him, at which the Romans made a great shout. Now by this time Totilas ex Cagan-bart, ut understood that his two thousand Horse were at hand, and therefore laboured all Caban-bart, Libo ways possible to defer the Fight. He came in his bright Armour, and very goodly simile cor. i.e. to behold, on a prancing Horse, betwirt the two Armies, not to challenge any to dules. Sie Interpret. a Duel, but by several postures and seats of Activity, to attract the eyes of Gazers, and behaved himself like a cunning and skilfull Rider of a managed Horse. In these Exercises he spent a great part of the Asternoon, then to gain more time, sent to Narfes and offered a Parley. Narfes faid he jugled; and before the meeting was agreed on, came the two thousand Horse, which when Totilas understood. and it being now Dinner time, he caused the Army to draw off, and going to his Tent commanded his men to Dine, then he put on other Armour, and juddenly led out against the Enemy, thinking by so unexpected an Onset to surprize them. But Narses was aware of his design, and forbad his Troops to retire to Dinner, to repose themselves, or so much as to put off their Corselets, or unbridle their

Horses, Commanding them to take a bit as they stood in their Ranks, and have a watchfull eye upon the Enemy. They accordingly stood still in the same order, onely the General with an addition of four thousand Foot, put both his Wings into the form of an half Moon. The Infantry of the Goths flood behind their Horse, to receive them if routed within their Ranks, and joyntly to renew the

217. But Totilas commanded his men to use onely their Lances, and not their Arrows, which fenseless Strategem ruined him; making hereby his Army inferiour in their offensive Weapons, as in all things else. For the Romans as they had occasion, used both their Arrows and Lances, and came up to the Sword, and did all which convenience required, either on Horse back or on Foot, sometimes surrounding the Enemy, and sometimes receiving his Charges. The Gothick Horse without their Infantry, rushed on with unadvised fury, trusting onely to their Lances, and presently found their Errour, being ingaged amongst eight thousand Foot, so that before they could reach the Roman Cavalry, they had lost both many Men and Horses, and coming up to it very late, they found both Romans and Auxiliaries, striving who should most warmly first receive, and then repell them. Not able to stand after their first furious Charge, they began to retire, and the Romans to pursue, the Evening coming on; for the Goths thought that some Spirits fell upon them, and that Heaven it felf fought against them. And when they came to their Foot, then their mischeif increased, for they made not any orderly retreat, as to take breath for a new Charge, or for any other point of War, but ran in among them so confusedly, that they spoiled many, and the Foot opened not their Ranks to receive them, but ran away with them for Company; and it growing dark, they destroyed one another. Already Mastered by Terrour and Cowar-

dife, the Romans killed them sparing none. And now the darkness put an end to have the better. the Fight, fix thousand being slain, and many taken, who were not long after put to the Sword; amongst them many Roman Souldiers perishing, that had revolted to Totilas. 218. The King himself with five men fled in the dark, but was pursued by some

Romans who knew him not, and by one Asbades a Gepidæ, was mortally wounded with a Lance, but was drawn on by them that accompanied him, who rode amain, and having run about ten miles, they came to a Town called Capra, where they Tailar dies of rested and dressed his wounds, but he soon after expired in the place, and there they buried him and went their way. Such a conclusion had the Life and Reign of Totilas, after he had been King of the Goths eleven years, not fuitable to his former Actions and Successes. For in him Fortune insulted upon the frail condition of Mankind, and shewed the absoluteness of her Dominion, having without apparent merit bestowed on him a long time of happiness, and now hurrying him at her

own pleasure, into Cowardise and an ignoble Death. The Romans knew nothing of it, till a Gothick Woman shewed where he was Buried, and then some distrusting the Report, opened the Grave, digged up the Coffin, and upon fearch finding it to be Totilas, put him in the ground again, and reported all to Narses. Yet there were who gave out a quite different relation of these matters, as that the Goths made not this unadvised Retreat, but in the first Encounter, an Arrow by chance light on Totilas, who being Armed like a common Souldier, and ranked among them to

Iustinian.

Sect. 1. conceal himself, could not be known nor purposely shot at. But that being mortally wounded, he gallopt away in great pain to Capræ with some few, and after much Mifery and Languishing died under the Cure. That the Goths amazed at what had happened to their King, being otherwise too weak, were wholly out of Heart, and fhamefully ran away. But however it fell out, Narfes rejoycing at Many affeither the fuccess, took the right course, as Procopius well observes, to attribute all to Al-

Narses takes

219. That he might order his affairs, as was futable to fuch an acknowledgment, and take order for present occasions; he sent away his Lombards, who were infinitely unruly, burning Houses, and ravishing Women that fled into Churches. Presently after, Valerianus besieged Verona, but the Franks who sought to get the whole Countrey into their own hands, hindred the Defign when the Garrison was coming to Capitulations, fo that he retired without effecting any thing. The Goths that escaped the Overthrow, went over the River Poe, to the City of Pice-

num, and the Towns thereabout, where they advanced Teias the Son of Frediger-Teia, Thias, Tei, Triss made King 1101, into the place of Totilas. He ordered his matters as well as he could in the Lenter. Pair low Condition, to which they were reduced, and having the Treasures laid up by amazi in va. Totilas in Picenum, endeavoured to draw the Franks to his Assistance. Narses understanding that he intended to assemble his Goths together, commanded Valerianus to keep with his Troops about the Poe, and if poslible to prevent their Uniting. He himself with the rest of the Army, marcht toward Rome, taking in several Towns in Tuscany, as Narnia, Spoletum and Perusia. Totilas having burnt most of Rome, and considering he had not men enough left, to Guard the whole Circuit of it, had taken in with a Wall a lesser part of it about Adrian's Tomb, joyning to the City Walls, which making a fort of Castle, the Goths therein put their best things, and lookt to it carefully, neglecting the other Parts. Yet now to try Narfes, who was come to the Siege, they left a few to Guard the Castle, and put themfelves upon the Battlements. But the circuit of the Walls being fo vast, that they could neither man them, nor the Romans attacque them all, while several Parties assaulted in several places, Dagistheus set Ladders to a part quite destitute of Guards, and mounting without any refulence, fer open the Gates, which the Goths beholding, quitted all their Posts and ran away, some to the Castle, and some to Portus. Here our Authour makes more Reflexions upon Fortune, how she plays with poor and helpless Men, changing her looks with times and places, and varying suddenly, not onely her own humour, but even the value and worth of Persons. Bessas formerly lost Rome very unworthily, and afterward recovered Petra in Lazica very bravely. On the contrary Dagisthaus poorly ran away from Petra, and now foon after recovers Rome to the Emperour.

220. Then marcht Narses to the Castle, and the Goths quickly yielded it, on condition of security for their Persons, Justinian passing the twenty sixth year of his Reign, in which it had now been taken five times, and Narfes fent the Keys of The Roman Se- the City to him. But to the Roman Senate and People this Victory proved extreme Ruine; for the Goths now despairing of the Dominion of Italy, killed them where ever they could find them in their flight. The Barbarians of the Roman Army at their entrance, used them no better than Enemies. And such Senatours as Totilas had confined to Campania, and were returning to the City, upon report that it was in the Emperour's hands, the Goths Quartered in the Towns of those Parts killed, leaving not so much as one Patritian alive. Totilas also going against Narses, called for all the Sons of the Principal Romans, and chusing out three hundred of the goodliest amongst them, sent them beyond the River Poe, under pretence of breeding them, but indeed to keep them as Hostages; and now Teias finding them there, killed them all. Moreover Ragnaris a Goth, who commanded in Tarentum, put to the Sword fifty Souldiers, whom he kept as Hostages. Soon after, the Roman Army had Portus delivered up by composition, Nepa in Tuscany, and Petra Pertusa. Teias finding himself too weak, importuned Theudebald by offers of great Sums of money to joyn with him in the War; but the Franks took that resolution which was best for their own advantage, not to bestow their Lives either upon Goths or Romans, but to reserve them to the conquest of Italy for themselves. Narfes now hearing how Teias had bestowed the most part of his Treafures, in the Castle of Cumæ in Campania, with a strong Garrison, staid himself at Rome to repair the Ruines, but fent to beliege the Castle, as also another Party to attempt Centumcellæ. Teias fearing the loss of it, and having no hopes to receive any succours from the Franks, prepared for Battel, which Narfes understanding, appointed some Forces to intercept his passage through Tuscany; but he left the nearer way on his right Hand, and fetching a great compass by the Sea Coast, so Sect. 1. came into Campania. Narses thereof advertised remanded the Forces, and with his whole Army marcht thither in order to fight.

221. Both Armies incamped on either fide the River Draco, which issueth from certain wholesome Springs at the foot of the Mountain Vesuvius, and close to the City of Nuceria. The Bridge upon it the Goths had feized, and had fet upon it wooden Towers, many Engines, and Baliftæ to Shoot down upon the Enemy. The River running betwixt them, there was no possibility for a close standing Battel, onely getting as near as they durst to the Banks; both fides plied it with Arrows, some Challenges and Duels also now and then happened; and so two Months were wholly confumed. The Goths did well enough fo long as they continued Masters at Sea, being that way supplied with Provisions. But afterward their Ships were betrayed to the Romans, who being also reinforced with many other Vessels out of Sicily, and other Parts, Narfes also setting up his wooden Turrets on the Rivers Bank, they were mightily dejected, and for fear and Famine sled up to a Mountain near at hand called Mons Lattis, where the Romans for the Fastnesses could not come at them. But finding there no Provisions at all, either for themselves or their Horses, they foon repented their coming up, and chusing rather to die by fight than Famine, came fuddenly upon the Romans and took them at advantage, neither being imbat-Horses, stood in a deep Battalion: the Romans also forsook theirs, and stood together in a Front. Here Procopius tells us, that this Battel and the Valour of Teias in it, deserves a long Discourse, being equal to that of the ancient Heroes. Des-AMORADY fight. pair made the Goth's venture all, and shame caused the Romans not to yeild to beaten men, though they faw them mad and desperate, and so the one weary of their

Lives, and the other to shew their Valour, fought with much fury, the fight beginning in the Morning betimes.

222. Teias accompanied not with many Souldiers, stood in the first Rank in open Triandocth won. View, holding out his Sheild, and thaking his Lance. Many Romans knowing that by his Fall, the Controversie would be decided for this time, combined against him, fome falling on him with their Spears, and others plying him hard with Darts. which he received on his Sheild, and then flying out killed many. When his Sheild was fluck thick, he gave it to one of his Targetiers and took another, continuing in this manner a third part of the day. Having at length got twelve Darts sticking on his Sheild, so that he could not weild it as he would, nor beat off the Assaults, yet for all this he quitted not his Rank, nor loft one inch of ground; nay he did not fo much as turn his body, nor rest his back upon his Target, but stood upright, as if he had been fastned in the Earth, killing with his right hand, warding with his Sheild, and calling upon his Targetier to give him a new one, for his old one was loaded with Darts. In this instant as he made the change, his breast lying open was hit with a Javelin, and he instantly died. The Roman Souldiers put his head upon a Pole, to incourage their men, and dishearten the Goths, who though they faw their King flain, yet gave not over the Fight till Night came on, and then both

The fight confides retired and lay in their Armour. Early the next day, they began again, and the fiction in the continued also till Night, their Savage hatred carrying them through all difficulties; for the Goths made account it would be their last Fight, and the Romans scorned to be overmatcht. 223. At last the Goths sent to tell Narses, that they perceived their Contest to

be with God himself; that they saw the Power which stood against them, and now confidered their true Estate and Condition by their former Success: in conclusion, they promifed to lay afide their desperate Resolutions, upon condition not to be put under the subjection of the Emperour, but to enjoy their own liberty, with The Gulin offer forme other Barbarian Nation. The Romans they intreated to afford them a peaceto depart Italy, able Retreat, and in a moderate confideration of their wretched Condition, to beflow their own Goods upon them for their Journey, such as they had left in any Forts of Italy. Narfes holding a confultation hereupon, John advised him by all means to grant their Petition, and not to contend any more with men weary of their Lives, nor to provoke a Courage growing from Desperation, which commonly proves fatal, not onely to those that are possessed with it, but also to such as venture to encounter them. He affirmed that to moderate men, it was enough Meric confents, to be Victorious, whereas the defire of too much might end in Inconvenience. Nar-

fes could not but allow of the advice, and they agreed on these Conditions, That the Goths should have their Goods, and immediately depart out of Italy, never any more to bear Arms against the Romans. About a thousand of his Company went

and employ his whole Force against this one place, inconsiderable in respect of what was farther to be done, but fent the greatest part of his Army to the Poe,

Sect. 1. away to Picenum, and the parts beyond the River Poe, under Conduct of Ildulph, and some others. The rest staid and ratified the agreement by their Oaths; And the Romans took in Cume and all the rest. So ended the eighteenth year of the Here the Books Gothick War, and together with it the fourth and last Book, written by Procoof Prespinend. pins concerning the Subject, of whom yet we must not here take our leave, having occasion hereaster to make farther use of a certain secret History going un-

224. Here being arrived at the end of his Travels in the Gothick matters, we must take Agathias for our Guide in our way forward, who profesles to begin Agathia begins mult take Agathias for our Guide in our way forward, who proteffes to begin as he profess, where the other ends his History; yet the conclusion of the one, and the begunning of the other, do not well agree. Procopius writes, that the Goths defired to depart out of the Emperour's Dominions, and that all of them except about one thousand, sealed the Agreement with their Oaths. But in Agathias not a word of this; for he tells us, that fuch as furvived the Overthrow, (not mentioning a Par- of the reconstitution) ty,) being profecuted by the Romans without intermillion, and pressed by frequent 75 # 16720 Affaults and drought of the places whither they betook themselves, made an agreement with Narfes, that they should without molestation possess the Lands they are suffered on the ment with Narjes, that they inouted without modification potential by the Emperour. April 7 m can formerly held, and thenceforth live in obedience and subjection to the Emperour. These things being thus determined, saith he, every one imagined, that there is not the said unce things being thus determined, faith the, became but the feeds and occasions of farther Diffentions. For whereas it might be juilly expected that the Goths, a modas inch. ons of fartner Differences. For whereas it might to plant for the property who had now recovered their Habitations on both fides the Poe, throughout Infam, we will be the Liguria and Venetia, should fit still and be quiet, and futfer Italy to take form the strain in the property of the breath and repose; those about the Poe had not long there continued, but they warm your began to lay the Foundations of new mischeifs. And thinking themselves too walks weak, and inconsiderable to grapple with the Romans, resolved if possible, what it has been born they could not doe in their own Persons, to effect by the power of an Alliance, and Annalis . &c. betook themselves to the Franks their Neighbours; the other Goths not joyning in dathin, the feebodie by Godding of Gozg and delivers of alternations was doubtfull an initian. the Embassy, but slanding at gaze and delirous of alterations, yet doubtfull concerning the event, and lately having had their hands in the fire, they defired for a while to look on, and then joyn with the stronger Party. The Messengers having got access, endeavoured to perswade the King and his Nobles, that to joyn with them was the onely way to preserve themselves from Ruine, the avarice and The Gulu foll- ambition of the Remans being fuch, that the devouring of the Goths would but whether

cite the Franks and other Nations. They to joyn with their Appetites, to make a greater Meal of the Franks and other Nations. They to joyn with them against the promifed them not onely much Booty and Spoil, but to pay them liberal itipends. And defired they would fend them a good and fufficient Army, over which they would fet an able General of their own, who should speedily recover their ancient Lands and Possessions.

225. Theudebald being of a mean Spirit, and nothing fit for matters of War, befides of a weak and fickly Constitution, no way liked of their Message, neither thought it convenient for the benefit of other men, to involve himfelf in difficulties and dangers. But Leutharis and Butilinus, two Brothers, for all that contracted an Alliance with them, being Allemans by Nation, but of vast Authority and Power amongst the Franks, whom indeed they governed, being first brought in by the late King Theodebert. Having got an Army of seventy two thousand men together, they made themselves Cocksure of the Victory, concluding that Narses would not once dare to look them in the Face, and that they should speedily become Maflers both of Italy and Sicily. Narfes though he had not fully discovered their Intentions, yet suspecting and providing for the worst, resolved if possible to prevent them, and for that purpose to take in such Towns in Tuscany, as yet continued under the power of the Goths. He presently laid Siege to Cuma, a strong Town situate on an high Hill, and difficult to come to on the Shore of the Tyrrhenian Sea, where he was warmly entertained in his Assaults, by Aligern the Brother of the de-Aligno, Omion where he was warmly entertained in his Assaults, by Aligern the Brother of the de-Aligno, Omion ceased Tetas, whose wonderfull strength and activity appeared in many particulars. Language Pools able to take it by Storm be considered that now of the Control of the Language Pools and Control of the Not able to take it by Storm, he confidered that part of the Fort flood over a migh-slight ty Hole or Cave, where it was reported, that one of the Sibylls of old gave her m, Algebraham Answers, and particularly to Aneas the Son of Anchifes. This Cave he caused to ha intensity be inlarged, to far till they came to the Foundations of the Fort, which being underpropped with wood, ftill as they digged, and then that fet on fire, down fellthe que titiam Wall, with several of the Buildings thus undermined. Yet did not the Project succeed, for the Cave being deep and vast before, was now inlarged to such a depth mitti. and wideness, that a mighty Chasm and Precipice being thereby made, Cume remained as secure as formerly. Therefore Narses resolved not to spend all his time,

PART III

Tustinian.

there, if possible, to hinder the irruption of the Franks. 226. He himself in the mean time attempted other Towns with good success, having left a sufficient power to block up Cumæ. For the Florentines readily and willingly yielded up their City, so did the Inhabitants of Centumcellæ and Volaterræ, with all the Maritime Coasts; those of Pisa also, onely the Citizens of Luca flood out, and were very refractary, although they had promifed by Oath, and engaged by delivery of Hostages, to receive Narses, if they had no relief within thirty days, in which space they hoped the Franks would be with them. Narses was much concerned to find he was so abused, but carried it very moderately, and with great wisedom, not suffering himself to be swayed by Passion or Revenge though he had the Hostages in his hands. Yet did he devise a way by a seigned fort of execution to terrifie them in the Town, presenting them with a fight of the Hostages made ready for death, placed at such a distance, and so shadowed by cloaths, hung up on purpose, that when they saw the Axes lift up, the stroke of the Executioners, their Relations fall, and heard the noise upon the boards, they thought it a real Tragedy, though a Comical part was onely acted. Receiving fuch impressions as their deluded senses presented, they had a sutable operation upon their affections, so that lamentable cries, and great turnult followed amongst the Kindred and Allies of those they supposed to be dead. And Narses was reviled as an Hypocrite, who had covered the most cruel humour imaginable, with a specious zeal to Piety and Mercy. He told them that what had happened was by their own fault, being the punishment of their perfidious dealings, and that they must expect no better at his hands, yet possibly he could shew a trick, and make them alive again, if he might but be convinced that they deserved such a favour at his hands, and by their speedy repentance would make amends for their former faults. They laughed at the conceit of raifing them from death, and conceiving he mocked them, resolved to be even with him, promising to set their Gates open, and receive him in, fo foon as they should perceive that their Hostages were safe: for though they never meant it, yet concluding he had killed their Friends, they thought they should be released from the Bargain by the impossibility of the con-

227. Narfes thereupon presented the Hostages safe and sound to their view. with which fight they were mightily affected; but feeing their Relations alive, and in good plight, though not out of danger, they began to make excuses, and at last it was resolved, notwithstanding their obligations, not to yield the City. Then did the Roman General shew a remarkable pattern of Magnanimity. He dismissed the Hostages freely without any Reward or Ransome, sending them into the Town, and with them this Message, That it was not his custome to flatter or delude any one with vain hopes, for they should understand that in case they did not speedily furrender, that thing in his hand, meaning his Sword, should oblige them to it, without the help of Hostages. But the men thus dismissed returned into the City, and there coming amongst their acquaintance, extolled the Justice, Magnanimity and Clemency of Narses to the skies, saying, there was never a man of so noble a Disposition, and it soon appeared, that the Discourses of them were stronger and more effectual for the taking of the Town, than all the battering Rams and Engines of Narfes. They did their endeavour to promote his Interest, and while they discharged this office of gratitude, ill news comes to him out of Æmilia, where the Roman Army at first observing good order, did that for which it was sent, but afterward through the temerity of Fulcaris the Captain of the Heruli, made an excursion to the Gates of Parma, and received a defeat there by certain Franks, whom Butilinus had placed in ambush in the Amphitheatre. Narses was troubled for the loss of the man, who was a Person of extraordinary valour, had he been but prudent, and more in respect of the consequences, which he feared might be great; but he was much afflicted when he heard how the other Captains, after the death of Fulcaris, for fear of the Franks, (who they knew would be much elevated with this success,) had forsaken the Countrey about Parma, and retired to Faventia. For he had fent those Forces thither on purpose to be as a Wall and Rampart to keep off the Franks till fuch time as having dispatched his matters in Tuscany, he could bring up his Army, and joyn with them. But now he perceived he might have fudden diversion, being by their removal exposed to the first Assaults of an encouraged and daring Enemy.

228. But

Sect. r.

228. But accommodating himself to the present exigency of Assairs, as well as he could, he first by a Speech encouraged his Souldiers, whom he found a little dejected at the News, shewing them that there was no Army, how victorious or valiant foever, which must not fometimes encounter with adverse fortune. And to the Officers lying at Faventia he fent one Stephanus, to require them to return to the Post formerly assigned them, which (having with incredible difficulty and speed, accompanied by two hundred front men, passed through a Countrey filled with Franks) he did with fuch moving and convincing arguments, that, ashamed of their Retreat, they returned to their old Quarters about Parma. Narfes then, delivered in some measure of his former fears, besieged Luca more straitly than ever, diddaining they should deal so peremptorily with him. He set his Engines to the Walls, and began to attacque them in earnest, which the besieged perceiving, now more feriously weighed the Motives and Reasons of the Hostages, who using more diligence than ever, as the prefent occasion required, the Townsmen were inclined to yield: the onely obflacle was, there were certain Officers of the Franks in Town, to look to the Garrison, who omitted nothing whereby they might inflame their minds, and make them fland it out, though with never fo much disadvantage, for part of the Walls were already broken down. They caufed them to make a Sally, but they did it fo unwillingly, and fought fo coldly when out, that they ever had the worst, returned with loss and disgrace; and still being more pressed upon by the Roman Army, at length, after three months fiege, they came to a full resolution to yield their City, on condition, that what had hitherto passed might be forgot and forgiven. So Narses took possession of Luca, in behalf of Justinian his

229. Leaving Bonus, a prudent and valiant Person, Governour of Luca, he marcht with his Army to Ravenna, and disposed of his Souldiers into their Winter-Quarters; Autumn now declining, and the winter Solftice at hand, and with order in Spring to meet together at Rome. By this time Aligern, the Brother of Teias, who held Cumae against the Romans, upon notice that the Franks were coming to his Assistance, began seriously with himself to consider the reason of their coming, with the effects of their Conquests, in case it should be their good fortune to beat Narses out of Italy. He concluded their coming was for their own ends, not for any good meant to the Goths, and that if they remained Conquerours, they would turn Lords, and domineer over them. He thought it most fit and equal, that if the Goths possessed not Italy, the ancient owners should recover and enjoy it, and governed by these Reflexions, he came to Narses, and gave him the Keys of Cuma, thereby delivering both that City and the Treasures of the Goths into his Hands.

Cums and the Narfes joyfully and courteously received him, and caused him to go to Nissene. Treasures of the there to shew himself upon the Walls to the Franks, that they might see their expedition to Cumæ would be infignificant, the Riches of the Goths, and all the confiderable Places being now in the power of the Emperour's Officers. And they indeed were startled by seeing him there, perceiving how matters were ordered, and fate in Council, feriously considering, whether they had not best to retreat, and decline the War, upon which they must enter with much disadvantage. But that Party prevailed which was for flaying and pushing for Italy, let the success be what it would. Then did they licentiously forage and plunder the Countrey with Two thousand men coming near the Walls of Ariminum, where Narses being at that time, and beholding some of them stragling from a Turret, could not hold, but mounting on Horseback, called on such Souldiers as he met to follow him. About three hundred accompanied him into the field, whom the Franks feeing, united themselves in a close body, so as they could not be broken, and therefore the Romans plyed them with darts afar off. But this not breaking them, and they refuling to ftir, he caused his men to counterfeit a slight, which they beholding, made after them as fast as the could follow, and then the Romans turned about, made head against them, and by a sudden and unexpected Assault so terrified them, that they cut off nine hundred men, and caused the rest to run away. After this Narses returned to Ravenna, where having set all things in good order, he removed to Rome, and there passed the Winter. 230. At the beginning of the Spring, thither all his Forces repaired according

to order, where he caused them to be Exercised, and continually trained to all points Agathias, lib. 3. of War, to shake off any indisposition which in Winter they might have contracted. The Barbarians in the mean time, (fo the Imperial Writers call all but the Emperour's Subjects, and especially the Northern Nations, which poured themfelves in upon the Roman Territories,) made their Inrodes into all the Countrey,

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. CHAP. II. The Franks

proceeding leifurely that they might make the greater Depredations. They peirced Sect. 1. as far as Samnium in one body, but there dividing their Forces, they foraged all quarters of Italy to the straits of Rhegium on one side, and the City of Otranto on the other. Leutharis (whom Lazius calls Rabaris,) having taken the way of Apulia and Calabria to Otranto, when he had sufficiently inriched himself with Plunder, had enough of the War, and resolved to return home with his Booty, and then send his Army to the affiftence of his Brother Butilinus, who would not be drawn back till he had discharged himself of the Oath made to the Goths. But in his Retreat through Picenum, he lost many of his men, who were surprized by the Roman Forces, lying then about the City Pifaurus, and afterward croffing the Poe into Venetia, both he and his Army were feized with a great Plague, which dispatched him amongst the rest by strange symptoms, for he fell Distracted, raved like a mad Dog, and tore the flesh from his own Body; being thus punished by the just hand of God, for his Injustice and Rapine, as Agathias cannot but observe. In the mean time, Batilinus (by Lazius called Baldwinus,) having wasted all as far as Rhegium, returned towards Rome, where he heard that Nurfes had got his Army together, whom he intended to ingage as soon as possible, because he having prudently removed all Provisions out of the Countrey, the Franks were constrained to supply their want with Grapes, it being now the beginning of Autumn; which unwholesome food had brought most of them into a Flux, killed some, and he feared would make an end of more, and lessen the number of his Forces. Being arrived in Campania, he pitched his Camp not far from the City Capua upon the River Cafulinus, which flowing from the Appennine Mounts, empties it self into the Tyrrhenian Sea, having it for a Rampart on one fide, and with his Carriages and other materials, blocking up all access on the other; the Bridge also he seized, and fortified it as he saw convenient. Narses hearing where he was, hasted from Rome to incounter him, and fate down also at a convenient distance.

231. The Armies thus placed in view of each other, the Franks began according to their Custome to make incursions, to forage and plunder; which Narfes observing and thinking it a difgrace to fuffer them to doe it under his Nose, he gave order to Chanaranges an Armenian, whose Regiment was placed next the Enemy, to intercept their booty, and to put a stop to their confident pilferings. He accordingly feized on feveral Carriages they were bringing to the Camp, and killing the Convoyes, drove one of them that was loaded with Hay to the Bridge, where fetting it on fire, he burnt down the Turret which the Franks had newly Erected, and made himself Master of the Passage. Such as were set to the desence of the Turret, hardly avoiding the flames, retired in a great fright to the Camp, where the Fire being also seen, all the Franks fell into a great rage, and with disdain and the greatest height of confidence, required instantly to be led out to Battel. Narfes also upon notice given, was not backward to Marshall his men, and being now mounted, and ready to fet forward, complaint was made to him, that a certain Herulian of good account had killed his Servant, upon some flight occasion. The man denied not the Fact, confidently maintained what he had done, and afferted his power over his Slaves, to extend to Life or Death as he pleased. But the General conceived himself obliged to make an atonement for bloud, by the bloud of him that shed it, and commanded the Crime to be expiated by the Death of him that committed it. Hereupon the Heruli were fore offended, and refolved to give him no affiftence in the fight, moreover two of them fled to the Camp of the Franks, acquainted them with the Accident, and advised them to fall on whilst the tumult, (for they made full account that would follow,) still continued. Narses little solicitous whether the Heruli followed or not, led on to an ingagement; but Sindual their Captain seriously considered that for respect to a dead man, he and his Countreymen were not to be branded with Revolt and Faction, and defired the General to stay a little for him. He told him he would not stay, but in case he came, he would leave a place for him and his Heruli, though he should arrive a little with the lateft.

232. The Franks incouraged by the Story told by the two Heruli, made on with more hafte than good speed, being in all thirty thousand fighting men, formed into the likeness of a Wedge, the figure of the letter Delta, or the shape of the head of an Hog, as our Authour observeth. The Roman Battalion consisting of scarce eighteen thousand, was Marshalled with two Wings, and a main body of Foot, amongst which was left a void place for Sindual and his Heruli. Into this void place, when the Armies came to joyn the Franks peirced, which the Roman General perceiving, gave order to his Wings that they should receive, and then close upon

Sc.2. 1. them, by which means such as stood in the middle being useless, and those on the outfides laid at from all quarters, the number of them was still by degrees diminished, and when the Heruli came to take Possession of their place, such Slaugh-Builinus and his ters were made, that Builinus and his whole Army, being caught as it were in a Franky Cut off: Net, were every one cut off; five Germans onely escaping home; yet of the Romans were Slain but eighty men, and those were such as sustained the first fury of the Enemy. All the Romans did fingularly well, and of the Barbarians, Aligera the Goth who was present at the Fight, and Sindual Captain of the Heruli did eminent Service; but all admired and extolled the General, by whose wisedom and Conduct, they acknowledged they had obtained fo great Glory. Taking then the rich Spoils of the Enemies Camp, the victorious Army marched to Rome, where having the News of the destruction of Leutharia and his Forces, they could not contain themselves for joy, which they expressed in Feasts, Dances, and all other ways they possibly could. And there was great danger the Romans should surfeit of this their good fortune, for now conceiving that they were rid of all their Enemies, and that the coming of more was not to be feared; they gave up themfelves to Luxury, and all effeminate practices, being ready to exchange their Swords and Helmets for Barrels of Wine, and Instruments of Musick. But Narfes as a wife and skilfull Physician, faw there was necessity of applying some thing that should be preventing to this growing Distemper. And by a feasonable and prudent speech, so convinced the Souldiers of their folly, that repenting of their loose kind of Life, they betook themselves to their wonted Exercises, and former 233. But a company of Goths, to the number of seven thousand men, conscious

of their guilt, and despairing of the Clemency of the Romans, secured themselves in a Fort called Campfa, being headed by one Regnares by Birth an Hunne, of that fort called Vittores, who to raise his Fortunes, animated them to this desperate courfe, and perswaded them never to yelld themselves. Narses presently was there with his whole Army, and perceiving there was no storming the Castle, resolved to begirt and slarve them out, yet having laid in abundance of Provisions with all their Wealth, they bore it out with much chearfulness all the Winter. When Spring came, Regnares was refolved to try if he could make a better Market with Narfer, and at his delire a conference was granted. But the General perceiving, his pride and ambitious reaches, refused to grant what he demanded, and fent him back, whereat inraged as foon as he was got upon the Hill, and near the Wall, he let flie an Arrow at Narses, which hit neither him nor any other, but those of his Guard, being out of patience, fent a shower of Darts after him, wherewith he was mortally wounded, and being carried into the Castle, died two days after. Then did the besieged send to the General, and begging his pardon, yeilded to quarter, Comple veilded which he gave them because of his Oath, but left they should raise any more troubles, he fent them all to Conflantinople. At this time great Earthquakes happened, in that City and several parts of the East; particularly Beritus that beautifull eye of Phanicia, and famous University for the study of the Roman Laws was overthrown, and multitudes of its Inhabitants buried in the Ruines, which caused the Students to remove to Sidon near at hand, till it could be reedified. Alexandria also in Egypt to the wonder of all men, (that Countrey being counted free from such accidents,) felt the power of these subterrane Vapours, or what other cause there may be of such Concustions, and the poor Island of Cous was miserably shaken, as Agathias himself an eye witness informeth us, who chanced then to travell that way, toward Conflantinople from Alexandria, where studying the Law at that time, he perceived amongst others, that City to quiver and shake, to his great terrour and aftonishment.

234. In the mean time, whilft things thus profperoufly went on in Italy, the Persians in Lazica under Conduct of Mermeroes, advanced their affairs, and the Romans suffered themselves to be fooled out of a strong place, which hitherto they had held in that Countrey. For Mermeroes not being able to take by Affault the Caltle of Telephis, of which Martinus was Governour, the Souldiers diligence and Circumspection, together with the natural strength of the Place, defeating easily all his Indeavours, he counterfeited himfelf fick, and caused it at length to be reported that he was Dead, on purpose that it coming to the Ears of the Romans, they might neglect their Guards, omit their Watches, and thereby prefent him with some notable opportunity. The Plot took as he had laid it, for they believing the Perfian General to be Dead, concluded it folly to put themselves to any farther trouble, whereby he fo gained upon them, that perceiving they were now in his power, and that he would presently become Master of the Place, they fair- Sect. 1. ly forfook it, and betook themselves to their Friends, the Roman Army, which then lay incamped but seven Furlongs off, Commanded by Bessas, and Justinus the Son of Germanus. But all of them came not fafe to the Camp, Mermeroes falling upon their Rere, fome of them were intercepted and flain, and the rest in a pannick fear, running to the Army, brought news of the approach of the Perfians, and struck them all with such amazement, that the Officers could neither give, nor the Souldiers receive any Directions, but in confusion all ran away, to an Island an hundred and fifty Furlongs off, whither Mermeroes thought it not convenient to follow them. For he neither had Provisions, nor was otherwise furnished for a Siege, and therefore reviling the Romans for their Cowardife, he made a Bridge over the Phasis, and passing over all his Army, returned into the Province of Muchi-

Memores Diet. rifis, where he Died not long after. He was a man both of great personal Va-lour, and of excellent Conduct. Being old, and of a long time lame of both his Feet, so that he could not Ride, yet he forbore no sorts of Labours, but carried in his Litter to the Fight, both terrified the Enemy, and incouraged his own men, and otherwife discharged all the parts of a General, so as he obtained many Victories. But Dead, he had the Burial in use at that time with his Countreymen, which was to be exposed naked in the Air, to greedy Dogs, and other Ravenous forts of Creatures.

235. Chofroes much concerned for the Death of Mermeroes, that his Forces might Agathias lib. 3. not be without an Head, and miscarry for want of Government, made Nachoragan National of the without an Head, and ninearly for want of General in his Room, a man of great Repute for Military Matters. Whilft he prepared for his Journey, great Heart-burnings and Quarrels arose in Lazica, betwixt King Gubazes and the Roman Officers, which still increased by degrees to such an Height, that at length it procured his utter Destruction. The first occasion was the Cowardise and flight of the Romans, which the King bore so ill, out of respect to the wellfare of his Countrey, that he complained thereof by Letter to Justinian. who being formerly offended with Bessas for quitting Lazica, when he ought to have stopped up the Avenues from Iberia, turned him out of Command, and confined him for the present into the Territories of the Asbagians. Martinus was as much to blame for Negligence, as he for Covetousness, yet he removed not him, but placed Justinus next to him, and Buzes was the third in degree; but there was a Quafter called Rusticus then with the Army, not being employed to gather any of the Emperour's Revenue, but having charge of the Money paid out of his Coffers. for reward and incouragement of fuch as behaved themselves Valiantly in the War. Camelibraries. This Rufticus joyned with Martinus in his enmity to Gubazes, who perceiving how Gabars and the they stood affected to him, ceased not however to imbitter them by continual reRama officers. flexions upon their careless and imprudent management of Affairs. They resolved not to endure it, and still keeping in mind, what he had written to the Emperour against them, resolved to remove him out of the way, and that quickly, by some

236. But upon a long and ferious debate, at length it was refolved, to fend and accuse him of Treachery to Justinian, and of a Conspiracy with the Persians against his Interest, thereby either to procure Orders to make him away, or at least render the Fact excuseable, and obtain Connivence. John the Brother of Rusticus, was the Messenger, who telling such a tale to Justinian, he was much struck with the Story, but recollecting himself, and knowing what Malice there was betwixt Gubazes and his Officers, did not fully believe it, but holding a middle course, replied that if it was fo, he would have him fent up to Constantinople. John apprehended prefently, that if he should come up, the Cheat would be discovered, and therefore asked him, whether, in case he refused to come, he were not to be compelled. The Emperour faid, yes, being a Subject, and that he should be sent with a fufficient Guard. Again, John demanded what was to be done with him, in case he resisted; Justinian answered, he was to be ordered as a Tyrant, and ought as fuch to perish miserably. Then, faith he, the man shall need to fear nothing that kills him; nothing, replied the other, if making refusence, and refusing to obey, he perish as an Enemy. He having got such an answer, and Letters written to the Officers in Lazica, to the same purpose, they thought they had a sufficient bottom for what they defigned, and therefore fent for Justinus and Buzes, who knew nothing of the Conspiracy to accompany them to Gubazes, and be present at the Execution. Gubazes being fent to, readily met them, to whom Russicus spake, and bade him joyn his Forces with theirs, and fet upon Onogoris, a certain Fort which he faid it was a shame should continue in the Persians hands, lying as it did

Sect. 1. in the midft of the Countrey. He according to his Custome fell foul upon them, and reviling them for their Cowardife and Negligence, faid the fault was theirs, that that Fort was not already reduced, and he plainly told them, he would nei-They Murther ther follow, nor accompany them in any Enterprise, till they had made amends for what they had formerly done amiss. This would they take as a Demonstration of his Revolt to the Perfians, and thereupon immediately Murthered him in

237. All Lazica was presently in an Uprore, the Inhabitants of which sensible of the Affront, refused any more to keep company with the Roman Souldiers, Justin and Buzes shook their Heads, astonished at so horrid an Act, but contained themselves, imagining that certainly they had received some secret Order and Warrant from the Emperour. The Regicides to divert theirs, and the thoughts of others, from what was now done, as also to ingratiate themselves with Justinian, resolved to set upon the Fort Onogoris, so called of old time from the Onoguri, or Hunnes there defeated in Battel, but fince that it was named the Fort of St. Stephen. Having begirt it round, and playing with their Engines, a suspicious Person was taken and brought to the Camp by Justin his followers, who upon Examination proved to be a Persian, and was sent to signify to his Countreymen in the Castle, that Nachoragan would presently be with them, having already reached Iberia, and that fuch Perstans as lay in Muchirists and Cotassum, were upon their way in order to their Releif. A Council of War was instantly called, and the Officers spake their opinions. Buzes advised that they should go with their whole Army, and meet the approaching Succours, which having defeated, as there was no danger but they should, Onogoris destitute of releif, would fall in easily of it self; and there wanted not who were of his Opinion, in particular Vligangus Captain of the Heruli, who used that blunt but significant Proverb, that drive away the Bees, and then with ease they might gather the Honey. But Rusticus very malapertly sell foul upon Buzes, upbraiding him with a general weakness in Council, and urged vehemently that they might slay and take the Fort, and fend a Party in the mean time, to put a stop to the Persian Succours. This his Advice was approved, and the good Council of Buzes rejected by the Generality, because the Multitude possibly having contracted some guilt in reference to the bloud of Gubazes, from Justice it felf as Agathias observes, was to have a mischeif. 238. In pursuance of the order, fix hundred Horse were sent against the Forces

coming from Muchirifis, under Conduct of two Barbarian Commanders, who falling upon them unawares, and out of order, put them to flight, though they were three thousand men, for they imagined that the whole Roman Power as it was their Interest, was come upon them. But when they perceived their Errour, and that they had to deal but with a small Party, they stood their ground, faced about, and making head, by an easie resistence, beat back and pursued the Pursuers; who meeting with fo unexpected a fresh Charge, were neither able nor willing to endure the shock, but fled amain back to their Friends, who were now busily employed in the The Romans de Siege of Onogoris. Here they fell turnultuously, and pell mell upon the Besiegers, when they did not think of it, who, a mighty turnult being thereupon raifed, with great fear and Conflernation, quitted the Leaguer and ran away with their flying Friends, as fast as their Legs could carry them, which the Persians in the Fort obferving, iffued out and joyning in the Chace, did confiderable Execution, especially at a Bridge laid over the River Catharus, over which the Running Army must necessarily pass. In probability they had all been cut off, (fifty thousand, by no more than three,) if Buzes had not rallied his men, and making head against the Pursuers, gained some time for them to pass over. The Persians in their Entrenchments before the Fort, found good Plunder, and all the places thereabout forfaken by the late Inhabitants, who leaving their choicest things behind, thought it enough they could escape so with their Lives. Now the Winter came on, and the Souldiers were disposed into their Winter Quarters,

239. In the mean time, the most considerable Lazians had great Disputes amonght themselves, what course to take, and the people was wholly unsetled and distaisfied. The Nobility when they thought the Romans least minded them, having their hands and heads full enough fince the late Defeat, called the Multirude together into a Valley near a part of Mount Caucasus, as most out of the way, to consider whether they should still adhere to the Romans, or be revenged upon them by affociating themselves with the Persian King. A great Noise and rumult happening, when with much adoe silence was obtained, one Eetes stood up, a man extremely addicted to the Perfian Faction, who with vehement words, inflamed

the multitude against the Romans, taking occasion from the death of Gubazes to Sect. 1 tax them with all that favoured of Ambition and Cruelty. On the other fide he commended the manners and dispositions of the Persians, put the People in mind they were the Posterity of the ancient Colchi, who could not brook any thing that favoured of Difgrace or Slavery, and by the late defeat so vilified the Courage and Conduct of the Roman Governours, that the multitude inraged and impatient of delay, required that his Advice might be speedily put in execution. And this had been done, though the Romans were at hand, and they had all possibly perished in the attempt, had not the folly and rashness of Æëtes been speedily detected by another of the Company, called Phartazes, who first mightily inculcated this Doctrine, that nothing rashly was to be resolved. Having let them see the inconvenience of the contrary practice, by little and little he infinuated his opinion, that by no means were they to join themselves with the Persians, using Arguments drawn from the difficulty of the thing, the inconstancy of Fortune in War, (though in the late Action she had favoured the Persians,) but especially by Motives taken from Religion, and the fafety of their Souls, which he shewed must needs be in danger, if the Infidel Persian should once come to reign over them. In conclusion, he argued that it was unjust to condemn any before they were heard, affirmed it to be his opinion, that neither the Emperour, nor other of his Officers, besides Martinus and Rusticus, had an hand in their King's death, and, as a mean, propounded to send to Justinian their Complaint, and a Demand of Justice, from whom if they should receive satisfaction, then to continue quiet, if not, to doe as Piety, and the Exigency of their present Affairs should require.

240. His prudent Speech quieted their minds, and made them change their Refolutions, especially moved thereunto by his Argument taken from Religion. And presently certain select Persons were sent to the Emperour Justinian, who readily gave them satisfaction, sending down Athanasius, to inquire into the Murther, and punish it according to the Roman Laws; as also in another thing they requested, which Trakes, Brother Was the granting of Trakes, the younger Brother of Gabazes, to be their King, to whom, as the custome was, he delivered the usual Enligns of Royalty. The late

forrow of the Lazians, upon his Promotion, was turned into exceffive joy, and he entring upon the Government, ruled according to the Customs of the Countrey. Rusticus and John were by Athanasus committed to custody in the City Apsarunthis, in order to their Tryal; but an ill accident befell one Soterichus, who had accompanied him from Constantinople. He was sent by the Emperour with a great summ of money, to be diffributed, according to the ancient custome, amongst such Barbarians as bordered upon the Empire, to purchase their friendship and society in War; and in pursuance of his Trust, was to pass through the Territories of the Mismians, a People subject to the Lazians, and inhabiting toward the North-East of them. They imagined he came to feize on one of their Forts, to deliver it up into the Hands of the Alans, and fent some to require him to depart thence, promising, in case he would so doe, to furnish him with necessaries for his Journey. He disclaiming they should so use him in the Character he was, caused his Followers to beat the Messengers, who being men of good Account, and inraged at the disgrace, stirred up the People against him, and in the night, while he slept securely and con-Statistical mur- fidently in the place, flew him, with his two Sons, and most of his Company. When the heat was over, and they came to confider in cold bloud what they had done, they too late repented; for they could not but expect the Romans to come and revenge the injury. Therefore, to prevent it, they revolted, and fent to the Persians, to desire they might be taken into their protection, promising to be obe-dient to their Commands. The Roman Officers in Lasica were much troubled at the News, but could not require fatisfaction, being taken up with matters of a far higher nature.

241. For Nachoragan with full fixty thousand men, by this time drew near the Island where the Forces were incamped under Martinus and Justin, the Son of Germanus. Martinus, aware of his coming, had placed two thousand Sabirian Hunnes near Archaopelis, to stop his passage, against whom he sent three thousand of the Dilimniea, a most warlike fort of People, inhabiting Persia, within the River Tigris, who thinking to come upon them unawares, and in the night, when they were all afleep and secure, had certainly destroyed them, but that taking a Lazian, whom they met by chance, for their guide; he leading them through the Woods, took the advantage the darkness of the night afforded to flip from them, and coming to the Camp of the Sabirians, roused them from their sleep, and gave them warning. They forfaking then the former place of their incamping, disposed

Sect. 1. of themselves into Woods and Thickets, where, as they past by, they fell upon them with such advantage, that they slew eight hundred of them there, and then A Party of Per giving the chase, the Garrison of Archeopelis fallied out, and did great Execution, io that of three scarce one thousand returned back to Nachoragan, who then went to the Island, and defired a Conference with Martinus. The Conference producing nothing but greater Animolities, Nachoragan laid a Bridge over the River Phalis, and transported his Army to the other fide, where he incamped himself betwixt the Island and a City of the same name with the River, standing just upon the mouth of it. This Town being in the hands of the Romans, Martinus and his men were much concerned, and endeavoured all they could to prevent the Persians, but coming too late to effect this, they left Buzes in the Island to order matters there as he should see occasion, and if need were, to afford them relief. The rest entred the City Phasis, both to preserve the place, and because they were not strong enough

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to ingage with Nachoragan in a pitcht Battel. 242. Now did the Perfian General besiege the City; some were busie in shooting at those that appeared upon the Battlements, others employed in filling up the Ditches, and some in moving the Engines for Battery to the Walls. Martinus and his Romans, were looked upon by Nachoragan but as a company of Sheep driven up into a Pownd; and he confidering what a multitude he had to deal with, thought it was requirite to employ his Wits more than his Hands. He counterfeited Letters sent from the Emperour, which intimated, that he, out of his abundant care, had fent another Army to their affistence, though he knew such was their valour, that they would not fland in need of it. Hereupon he took occafion to florm, that he and his Fellow Souldiers having born the heat of the day, and sustained all the labour and travel, others should be sent to reap the fruit of it, and now they had even almost obtained the Victory, to wrest the Laurel from off their Heads; and he told them that his opinion was, there should be some sent to stop them at the River Neognus, where they lay incamped, but four Persian Parafanges distant from the City. They, incouraged with the News, all cried out, the thing was to be done, being unwilling any others should partake of their booty; and the rumour of this fictitious fresh Army coming to the Ears of the Persians, had the quite contrary operation upon them, filling them with terrour and dejection. Nachoragan fent a Party to lie in the way, and to stop the passage of these No bodies, till he should take Phasis; and setting a considerable number of substantial Souldiers to combate with these men of Air, deprived himself of theuse of a very good part of his Army. Yet being a man of an arrogant humour, he made himself cockfure, and triumphed before the Victory, openly boasting that before it was night. he would rid his hands of Phasis, and the Romans, by fetting fire to the Town, and

burning both it and the Army together. 243. In pursuance of this Resolution he prepared for an Assault with all the vigour and diligence imaginable. Justin, the Son of Germanus, in the mean time, betook himself to the best means of resistence, going to a Church not far distant from the City, with a Party of the stoutest Foot, and five thousand Horse, where he put up his Prayers to Almighty God, the giver of all Victory. In the mean time the Assault of the City began, wherein was nothing omitted becoming either the Courage of the Assaulants, or the Resolution of the Besieged. Justin at his return from his Devotions, perceiving what was in hand, cauled his Men to fet up a great shout, and fall upon the backs of the Perfians, who thinking verily it was the same Army which Martinus had seigned to be sent from the Emperour. and to lie incamped by the River Neognus, began in a tumultuous manner to retire The Personal and to the incamped by the length drew off quite from the Siege. The Romans made ratio their Siege from the Walls, and at length drew off quite from the Siege. The Romans made what advantage they could of their flight, and routed quite one of their Wings; but the other fought stoutly, and made effectual opposition, being guarded by their Elephants, which hindred the Horse from doing any considerable Execution, till fuch time as Ognarus, one of Martinus his Guard, seeing himself in great danger to be destroyed by one of the Beasts, struck at him with his Javelin, which he left sticking in the lower part of his Forehead, near his Eyes. The Elephant inraged with the pain, and impatient to have the Javelin sticking and hanging at his Face, bore down all before him, tearing the Horses, and trampling on the Men, so that their Ranks were broken, and the whole Wing so disordered, that their General, how confident and arrogant foever before the Affault, now both by words and example moved them to file, and away all ran to their Camp, with the Romans at their heels, who so far gave the chase as Martinus thought it was convenient.

244. Ten

Nachwagan ficals away.

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244. Ten thousand Perfians in this Action lost their Lives, besides two thousand more, which Nachoragan by his mere folly and arrogance destroyed. He had sent them to cut down Wood, and fetch other materials for the Siege, with order, that as foon as they faw a fmoak arife, they should presently return to affift in the Asfault, and share in the Plunder; for he boasted that he would quickly set the Walls and Ramparts on fire. But now when he was thus shamefully beaten, the Romans returning, fet fire to all his Engines, and other materials, which they feeing at a distance, in all haste and disorder returned, lest they should come after the Feast, as Agathias expresseth it, and so falling into their hands they least expected, were all of them cut in pieces. The Romans took the Plunder of the Field, which was very rich, and honourably buried their dead, the number of whom amounted to fome two hundred. Nachoragan afterward made as though he intended to give Battel; but fetting the Dilemnitæ in the Trenches, to make an appearance of his flay in the Camp, he, with the rest of the Army, stole away to Cotassium, and so marcht into the Province of Muchirilis. When he had passed the half of his way, and was out of danger, they being lightly armed, ftrong, and nimble of body, retired also. And after them came that Party which had been fent to watch for the Chimerical Army at the River Neognus, understanding what had happened to their Friends before Phasis, and by privy and intricate ways, at length, got also into Muchirisis; where all the Perfian Forces now being met, Nachoragan leaving the greatest part of the Horse, and to command them, Wafrises, a man of great Repute, himself with a few in company, went and wintered in Iberia.

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245. All being now in repose in Lazica, it was thought fit to call Rusticus and Agathias, lib. 4. his Brother John, the murtherers of Gubazes, to their Tryal. For this purpose all forts of Officers had been fent from Constantinople, and a very formal process was made. Athanasius, the Judge, appearing in his Robes, like a Prince seated upon an high Throne. There were Scribes, Cryers and Lictors, who brought their Irons. Gives, Fetters, and other instruments of Torture and Examination, into the Court: On the left hand stood the Prisoners and over against them the Accusers: the Judgment being ordered, with this state and solemnity, by Justinian, both to strike the beholding Lazians with more Awe and Reverence towards his Laws and Government, as also to give them full satisfaction, however the matter should be determined and judged, fo much adoe being made, and fuch pains taken, to give them content in what they defired. Some of the wifeft Colchians appeared as Accufers, who first defired that the Emperour's Letters, written to the Conspiratours. might be read; which being to the same effect as formerly we mentioned, they thence took occasion to shew how they had acted without any order, and killed him merely out of Revenge and Malice. Rufticus coming to answer, insisted chiefly upon this, that he had killed neither a King nor a Friend, but a Tyrant and an Enemy, alledging that he envied the Prosperity, and insulted in the defects and miscarriages of the Romans, betraying their Affairs to all the Barbarian Nations round about, and to the Perfians especially, with whom, he said, he held a correspondence. In conclusion, he affirmed nothing had been done without the knowledge, approbation and conjunction of Martinus, and put fuch false colours upon the Fact, that the Judge at first, not able to distinguish them from true, gave an ear to what he said, till having twice debated the matter, he found that Gubazes had been no Traitour, neither what he refused to doe in the business of Onogoris, proceeded from any Intelligence or Confederacy he had with the Persian, but out of Indignation against the Roman Officers, fault of whom it had been that that Fort was not already reduced. He then pronounced fentence, that Rusticus and John should be beheaded, referring the matter of Martinus to the cognizance of the Emperour. When the La-The Murtherers zians faw them carried upon Mules to their Execution, and all the folemnity and terrour thereof, they were fufficiently fatisfied with the punishment of these two. and continued very quiet, and observant of the Romans.

246. The Spring following the Roman Commanders refolved upon an Expedition against the Misimiani, who had killed Soterichus, and revolted to the Persians upon that occasion. Buzes and Justin were left in the Island, and four thousand Men drawn out for this service, who, according to order, but ill commanded, marcht away to the Countrey of the applitudes. Here the Persians interpoled, having had intelligence of the defign, and stopt their passage all the summer; but Winter coming on, they fairly retired, their Laws and Customs not binding them to be out on fervice in that unpleafant feafon of the year. The Romans now being rid of them, and having free passage, sent Messengers to the Misimians to advise them to bethink themselves, and by an early repentance prevent that misery and

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lustinian.

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defolation which must necessarily fall upon them, having to doe with so potent an Enemy, and being now destitute of their friends the Persians. But they, presuming upon the unpassableness of their Countrey, and the steepness and ruggedness of the Mountains, were fo far from relenting, that, contrary to the Law of Nations, they killed the Messengers, being Men of Repute amongst the Apsilians, their Neighbours, and who spoke nothing harsh or unreasonable, but, in a civil obliging manner, laid before them the danger into which they would infallibly cast themfelves. The Roman Army therefore, animated with great Difdain and Anger, marches against them, but does little good for want of a sufficient Commander, fome speaking one thing, some another, and every one abounding in his own sense. At length Martinus, who had been on the way himself, but, falling fick, was forced to return, fent them one John a Cappadocian, commonly called Daixas, who, observing that all the Missmians had betaken themselves to one Hold, presently laid Siege

The Mifimians

247. This Fort being feated upon Rocks, at the bottom thereof were pleafant Springs, whence the belieged, in the night, and by flealth, fetched their water. This was taken notice of by one Illus, an Ifaurian, who followed them so far up, till he perceived the path how it lay, and then revealed his discovery to John the Commander. He fent with him an hundred choice men, who eafily mounted the Rock fo far, till they could fee the Centinels lie all afleep by a fire fide; but then it happened, that one of them falling, and his Target breaking, made a noise, which awakened these Guards, and made them all bustle and take their Weapons. But being by the fire fide, they could not fee those in the dark, and they knowing in what danger they were, stood still, so fearfull of making any noise, that they durst hardly draw their breath; for they were not yet got fully up, and had the Centinels discovered them, they might, by the tumbling down of one huge and massy stone, whereof there were plenty, have broken their bones in pieces. But they continuing mute, and so firm as if growing to the place, and no more noise being heard, the Guards, who being formerly afleep, could not guess what the matter was, betook them to their rest again, which seeing, up they went, soon cut their Throats, then entred the Fort, killed all they met, and set the Houses on Fire. The Missmians had given too just occasion to be severely dealt with, but they neither spared Women, nor the tender Infants, which were not guilty of the fault of their Parents, but dashed them against the rocks, and tossed them on their Spears at their pleafure. 248. All the night they spent in this work, secure, as they thought, of any

Enemy. But five hundred flout Misimians, who had issued out of the Fort, set upon them unawares by break of day, and killing fome, wounded more, but made all run in great disorder to the Camp, where it was resolved no more to attempt the Town by way of the Rock, but to fet to their Engines of Battery, and attack the Fort. Herein they had fuch fuccess at the beginning, that the besieged, searfull of what should follow, sent to beg pardon, acknowledging their crimes had been great, but pleading the exceeding greatness of their punishment; for their Houses were wellnigh all burnt, they had lost five thousand Men of the flower of Are brought un. their Nation, besides Women and Children, so that the Name of the Milimians was not far from being quite obliterated. John, for this Reason, was content to receive them to terms, and the rather, because of the coldness and barrenness of the Countrey, which afforded but little Accommodation for the Army. Paying therefore all the money back they had taken from Soterichus with the Emperour's Gold, and other things, they gave Hostages, and were permitted to live under the obedience of the Roman Empire, as formerly. And the victorious Army returned into the Colchian Countrey, having loft no more than thirty Men. After this Juftinian removed Martinus from all his Commands, bearing him, and that deservedly, ill will ever fince the death of Gubazes, and refolving in time to be even with him; but he wifely concealed his Indignation for the present, knowing him to be a Man much beloved by the Souldiers, confidering the fickleness of Affairs in Lazica, and his Skill in matters of War, and especially his good Conduct of late, which

was the cause that he was not involved as well in the punishment as he had been

in the crime relating to Gubazes. In his place was Justin, the Son of Germa-

nus, made General, with full authority over all the Forces throughout the Colchian

Regions and Armenia. Being the Emperour's near Kiniman, he fent for him to

Constantinople, and there putting the whole power into his Hands, caused him to

room of John.

return back into Lazica.

249. But

249. But Chofroes King of Persia was inraged at Nachoragan, for what had happened at the City of Phasis, and commanding him to repair to his Presence, caused him to be flay'd alive, which done, his skin was hung upon a Rock, distended in Nathragan flay it's full Proportion, and there it remained a Spectacle of the Cruelty of the King, as well as of the Cowardise and Indiscretion of the General. Afterward considering how the Romans were Masters at Sea, he thought it would be to little purpose to send another Army into the Colchian Countrey, for his Men found it most difficult to come by any Provisions, whereas the Romans had all things at their Pleafure imported to them. Therefore he judged it most Convenient for his Affairs to make Peace, and for that purpose sent an Ambassadour to Constantinople called Zich; who, after much debate on both fides, came to this appointment with the Emperour, that the Romans and Persians should hold and enjoy such places, as they were at present in Possession of, by the right of War, and keep themselves quiet, and forbear all Acts of Hostility, till a more strict and perfecter League could be agreed on, betwixt the two Princes. The Commanders on both fides having notice, and receiving Orders conformed themselves unto them, and what before was

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done voluntarily, now became necessary by agreement. 250. Wearied with the Cares and the feveral Accidents of War, these powerfull Princes thus sheathed their Swords, and continued quiet a long time after. Al-

though the first overture came from Chofroes, who was utterly discouraged by the defeat at Phasis; yet Justinian secretly, and in his private Thoughts highly approved of it, especially having the Honour of the Refusal. For he was grown Jahim grown old, and confequently impatient of Noise and Action, which made him enter into a goes, see the new Course, for preventing the many Inrodes of the barbarous Nations; and Sabrians one that Charge and Trouble which in his Youth he had still been put to. He set Nation against them together by the Ears at home, hired one Party to fight against another, procured Emulations, Jealousies, and Diffentions amongst them; and if any Invasion happened to be made, he had some or other of that Nation by him, whom by large Gifts and Preferments, he so far made his own, that he could trust them to lead an Army against their Countreymen, knowing well that they best understood the Nature of the place, and Condition of those they had to deal with;

where their weaknesses most lay, on which part they were Naked, and most liable to be hit and wounded. He thought this new Craft to be so effectual, that Instance from the first made him flight his Military men, as standing now in no need of them, and the Fortifications were neglected, and fuffered to fall to nothing; together with the Legions generally throughout the Empire. The Armies were in all Countries leffened, and nothing comparable to the standing Forces of the Ancient Emperours, which being wont to confift of fix Hundred and forty five Thousand fighting Men; at present, there were hardly found an Hundred and fifty Thousand, and of these fome lay in Italy, others were dispersed through Africk, Spain and Lazica, and some lay at Alexandria, and the Ægyptian Thebes, and a very sew upon the Bor-

ders of Perfia.

251. About the Conclusion of the Peace, a number of Zani inhabiting to the South of the Euxine Sea, about the City of Trapezond, having been formerly Subjects of the Empire, fell upon the Territories of Pontus, and piercing as far as Armenia, harassed and pillaged all in their way : Against them was sent Theodorus their Countreyman, one very eminent for his Services, who easily Mastered them. having no good Commander to Govern them, and imposed a certain yearly Tribute upon them, by order of the Emperour; who so highly valued this subduing, and bringing them under the Yoke, that in one of his novel Constitutions, reckoning up his several Victories, he makes mention of this, as one of the Chief. About this time happened another Earthquake at Constantinople, fo great and Ter-As Entiquate another into the property of the whole City, Agathias fipends many words, in describing the Fear and Consternation, which feized upon the Inhabitants of all forts and Conditions, and makes the same Observation, as Pracopius did in the Plague, of the great shew of Reformation, and many remarkable Acts of Piety and Mercy, which were Practifed for the time; but when the Judgment was once removed, most of these Men then licked up their Vomits, and returned though leasurely to their former ways. Yet still one Punishment followed at the Heels of another, for the very next Spring the Plague which had never ceased all this The Plague rewhile, bus wandred about from place to place, again returned to the City, and swept away an infinite multitude: Some dyed fuddenly, as feized with a violent Apoplexy, and such as were stronger sustained the violence of the Disease not past

The Zani re-duced under the Raman An Earthquake ect t. the fifth day: But the Symptoms were for the most part the same, as had been in the former Visitation.

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

252. No fooner was Constantinople freed from this Distemper, but another mischief fell out, which filled the Inhabitants with as great Terrour and Tumult as the other. For a multitude of Cotrigurian Hunnes taking advantage of the Frost, passed over the River Ister and invaded Thrace, where dividing themselves into two Parties; one went for Greece, and the other for Chersonesus of Thrace, under Conduct of Zamergan, who grudged that Sandil, or Sandilchus the Captain of the Oturgurians should be Courted and inriched by the Emperour, while he and his Compatriots fate still at home, and continually strugled with Penury and Hardship. Refolving therefore to doc something whereby they should be taken notice of; they passed directly toward Constantinople, wasting all in their way, making abundance of Captives, punishing the very Women they haled out of Cloifters, and committing all other forts of Insolence and Violence. They passed over the long Walls, and came near to the Forts, made for the defence of the Royal City, where all matters relating to War being, as we faid, utterly neglected, there was not as much as a Man to oppose, nor a Dog to bark against them, as Agathias phrasethit, the Money which had been formerly employed in paying the Souldiers, being now converted to the maintenance of dishonest Women, Chariot drivers and other forts of loofe or Effeminate Persons. The Hunnes now were come within an Hundred and fifty Furlongs of the City: Within it appeared nothing but Confusion and Tumult, nothing was heard but Lamentations, shutting of Shop-windows, and Clapping together of Doors. The Emperour himself was not a little difmayed, by whose Order all such Churches as stood without the City, toward the Europe-lide and the Sea-shore, had all their choice Ornaments, and Utensills re-

moved into places of fecurity at a diffance. 253. So dreadfull was the approach of these Barbarians, that scarcely could any Military men be got, to make good the Walls and Gates of the City; in Cafe their boldness should bring them so far: Onely those they called Scholarii, made a flew with their Gay clothes, and Courtly dreffes, being indeed inrolled amongst the Souldiers, that continued under pay, and watching by their turns in the Palace, but meanly skilled, and as little practifed in matters relating to War, or the Discipline of a Camp, serving rather for Pomp and shew, than any thing else. For whereas, in former times, none were admitted to this Employment, but Persons of Merit; and in reward of their former Services in the Field, who paid no Money for their places; Zeno the Ifaurian first of all Princes, after his Restitution, broke this laudable Order, admitting Towns men of his Familiars, and Acquaintance into the Number; which Course being followed in after-times, when raw and unexperienced Men crowded in, then became the Employment a fort of Merchandife, and he that would pay down his Gold, was received without any farther scruple or Inquisition. For want of experienced and old Souldiers, such as these were set to the defence of the City; but the Barbarians still coming on, and the Tumults Chaisessparse and disorders thereupon increasing, Old Belifarius whose hands could scarcely now the couragainst and disorders thereupon increasing, Old Belifarius whose hands could scarcely now hold a Shield, or his Armes weild a Sword, was by Order from the Emperour, fent out against them. His Army confissed of about three Hundred stout Fellows. which had served under him in his latter Wars, the rest were a rude Company, having neither Skill nor Courage, and to these many Countreymen joyned themselves, who were driven from their Habitations by the Hunnes. Being constrained to make the best advantage he could of this slender Army, he fortisted his Camp, and sent

out his Scouts to discover the Motions of the Enemy. 254. He caused many Fires to be kindled, and Lights to be set by Night in several places, to amuze the Barbarians with thoughts of a great Force coming against them. And the device took for some time, so as to stop their Carriere; but when they heard how small the Roman Army was, and not able to graple with them, they held on their way, and renewed their former Practices. Belifarius his Men, in the mean time, were very confident, and mightily elevated with the Thoughts, of what they had formerly done; with the Confideration that they were Romans, and who those were with whom they should contend; which he perceiving, by a prudent Speech, shewed them the difference betwixt Courage and Carelessness, rash

Confidence and Hope, and put them in mird with what disadvantage in respect of number they were to fight. Using fuch Arguments, as made them more Cautious, but not less Valiant, when he understood that two Thousand of the Enemies Horse marched against him; he placed two Hundred of his Men in a Wood, to lye in Ambush and fall on upon the Signal given. The Countreymen he ordered to follow with great shouts, and as much noise as they could make; and in this manner with the rest, he fell upon the Enemy, which for the dust and noise, not discerning the number of the Romans, thought them more than indeed they were; and then the Signal given, these in the Wood arose and fell upon their Backs, so that laid at on all fides, they Contracted themselves into a narrower Compass as he designed, and thereby were less able, either to desend themselves, or hurt their Enemies, these behind not being able to protect those before, and their great number being useless, and in no Capacity to compass, or incircle their

255. By degrees therefore their number was so lessened, that judging them-

Over-powers

felves to be incompassed with a great Army, they bore back and began to run, which advantage the Romans improving, killed about four Hundred of them, and beat the rest to their Camp, where they were received with opprobrious Language, and exceeding great Terrour of their Companions; who quite out of heart with this defeat, cut their Cheeks with Knives, and using other Expressions of grief proper to their Nation, bewailed their Condition; for they gave themselves, for little better than loft. And fuch indeed, or worse, might have been their Lot. had Belifarius by a quick and effectual pursuit made use of this Consternation of their minds. But he was speedily called to the City, the Inhabitants whereof were a little too kind, and gratefull to him. For this present Victory calling to their minds the Glory of his former Atchievements; they began to admire his Conduct, extoll his Valour, and Cry him up for fuch a Souldier, as no former times could parallel, whom Old Age it felf could not enervate, nor that which puts an end to all humane Abilities, abate the Vivacity of his Spirit. This the great Men of the times could not endure to hear, and indeed the whole Court, as well the Prince himself as others, being of late years fallen to Idleness, and Effeminate Courses; and having resolved upon a new Expedient, to divert the Invasions of the barbarous Nations, were quite out of Love with War, and flighted him, who had been the great Instrument in martial Actions. They calumniated him as a Vain-glorious Person, gaping merely after Popularity, and hunting perpetually after the Applause of the People, urging that he nourished some hopes, and had private designs more than the World was aware of. This reward had Belifarius for his good Services. and fo ingratefull were the Courtiers, as Agathias observes. That he was in difgrace after his great Employments, is affirmed by all Writers, and some would have him so far out of Favour, that the taking away of his Life had been a Mercy to him, being reduced to fuch necessities, that he begged his Bread upon the Highway. This, as a thing much talked of, we must examine, and here being to take our Farewell of this great Commander, we shall be so far from Impartiality, as to take notice of what the pretended Procopius has written concerning him in his fecret History. For although in his former Books he had told the Truth, and nothing but the Truth; yet you must know that the whole Truth in those times he dared not to tell, neither concerning the Emperour, nor other Great ones: In brief therefore, what is faid there concerning the Faults, and Difgraces of Belifarius.

He was very

256. The fource and Original of most of his Failings and Miscarriages, he makes to Antonina fuit 250 The fourte and Original mour, or a fond doting upon his Wite, which was the Ingrandist moff cunning, and moff Incontinent of all Women. His Domeflicks revealed to Theodore 2 vol. moit cunning, and moit incontinent of all residents we have formerly ment. Patritis, malier oned, and he was so possessed with the affront for a time, that nothing would con
selection of the way of possessed with the affront for a time, that nothing would con
selection of the way of the way of the way of the way with at Proceedings of Control of the way with at Proceedings of the way with at Proceedings of the way with a process of the way with a proce tent him, but the death of the Adulterer; but she again so soothed him up with feribitizarum, good words, that he was content to think her wronged, and gave up her Accusers to despetation to her Mercy, which the turned into extreme Cruelry, as we faid before; and Con
in the flattinum, because he shewed himself much concerned for his General's Honour, propose. Belief in that manner, as it is described in it's due time and place. After this, fair simple she dishonest Actions being taken notice of by Photius, a Son she had by a former worker of positive of positive of proposed to the dishonest Actions being taken notice of by Photius, a Son she had by a former worker. Husband, he grew impatient, and extremely inraged against Theodofius, which so Imp. jamq.exalla far fet her against him, that she sought his death, and lest nothing unpractised gilantie Justinia Justinia Justinia which was consistent with secrecy to make him away, the rather because Theodofius and Augusti forewhich was confutent with fectory to make finit away, the father occasion with Templam S. had fignified to her, that he could not come near her fo long as he continued with Transfir plf on Transfir plf on her. But Photius more netled still with his Mothers harsh usage, and her known flagrationem. By Plots to be rid of him, procures one to tell her Husband all he knows, concernin Vide Alem. ing the Grand Infelicity of them both in fuch a Relation. Belifarius hears it with in notis ad Argreat Indignation and Grief, and falling at the Feet of Photius, desires his Assist- can. Hist. p. 3. ence for removing Theodofius out of the way: Whereupon they swear secrecy, and

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Sect. I. fidelity each to other, but the Execution of the Plot is put off, till Theodofius should return to Ephelus. For thither he had once retired, pretending he would take upon him the habit of a Monk, which put her into an Agony, and made her fo troublesome, that neither her Husband, nor the Emperour and Empress could be at rest till he was remanded, which he was willing enough to be, acting onely this part, till Belifarius should be upon his way into Persia. And he once gone, and Photius with him, he returned to Constantinople; but Antonina being to follow her Husband (for the would never be ablent from him, left once from under the Influence of her Tongue, he should come seriously to deliberate, and resolve upon something that might not make for her Interest) he was to repair again to Ephesus, where Photius resolved to fall upon him, and seize upon his Wealth, which was very great. For out of the Administration of the publick Treasure at Carthage and Ravenna,

he had scraped up no less than ten Thousand pounds of Gold.

257. Belifarius in the mean time invaded Persia, and took Sisibranum, or the Fort of the Isaurians; where, when he yet lay, News was brought that his Wife was coming to him, which did so perplex him, that out of a great desire to be upon the Roman ground, to have the better occasion of being revenged, he retreated to the Borders, and to his great Difgrace omitted the Expedition he once defigned. into the upper Countries, whereby he might have wasted all Assyria as far as Cteliphon, have delivered the Antiochians from their Captivity, and intercepted the return of Chofroes out of Lazica, where his Army upon notice of the Romans being in the Heart of their Countrey mutined against him. But Belisarius returning into the Roman Territories there found his Wife, and kept her for some time as a Prisoner, without any respect at all, purposing often to put an end to his Vexation and Difgrace together with her Life; but as our Authour verily believeth, was again overcome with Love, or as others gave out, was some way or other inchanted by her. Then goes Photius to Ephefus, as fast as his Horse could carry him; where he finds Theodofius, upon the Report of his coming, having taken Sanctuary in the Church of St. John, but Andrew the Bishop for Money betrayed him into his hands; and then upon notice that his Mother by her Interest with the Empress, had procured both her, and her Husband to be called to Court, fenthim into Cilicia with strict Order to his Keepers not to discover where he was, and The Empress a went away with his Treasure to Constantinople. Here Theodora the Empress, to requite Antonina for the Treachery she had used in the Persecution of John the Cappadocian, profecuted severely those, that had had any hand in the taking of Theodofius; and Photius was extremely lashed, to declare where he had put him. He was a man very fickly, and had been ever very tender and carefull of his Health, yet he endured all, rather than he would break his Oath, and discover the secrets of

258. But all came out at length. The Empress having got Caligonus the Eunuch, and Pander of Antonina, who restored him. Then did she restore to her, her Minion, and cheering him up with all the Delicacies and Divertisements the Court could afford, threatned fometimes the would make him General of a Roman Army; And in appropriate Divine Justice prevented the Infamy, for he dyed not long after of a Dyfen-shammalian to terry. In the mean time Photius was kept in Prison, where he could fee no Light, which was the hough he twice escaped and took Sanctuary in the Churches of the Bleffer and divides the state of the Bleffer and the state of the state of the Bleffer and the state of the Bleffer and the state of the Virgin, and St. Sophia; yet the Empress who made light of all places Sacred, to είζαι. Δυππthe great Grief and Aftonishment of the Clergy, pulled him from the Altars, and the Altars, an returned him to his Dungeon, where having ipent more than two years, Zachari- testimorum diffas the Prophet in a Dream commanded him to make his third Attempt, promiting cultaten major to be his Protectour, and accordingly he made his escape to Jerufalem, where be quam medial ing shorn, he took upon him the Profession of a Monk, and escaped the Cruelty of Theodora. But Belifarius having broken his Oath, whereby he ingaged to Bellianist having broken his fland by him to the utmost, ever after found Providence cross him in his underwing broken his only, ever after found Providence cross him in his underwing broken his fland by him to the utmost, ever after found Providence fools.

For although in his third Expedition against the Persians, he fet Chospress dades cross and the packing to his great Honour; yet he was accused of fomething which study hard to him afterward. He was by some, either thought Guilty of Treachery or Coto him afterward. He was by fome, either thought Guilty of Treachery or Co-

wardise, for letting Chosroes pass the Euphrates, without any molestation, though

he led away an infinite number of Roman Captives taken at Callinicum. Not long

after, when the Plague raged at Constantinople, the Emperour also happened to

fall very dangerously fick, the News whereof flying to the Army, some of the

Officers used this Expression; That if the Roman People should be permitted to

Name his Successour at Constantinople, it would come to pass that they should

spend all their days in the Camp. The Emperour presently after recovering, one

Commander accused another; but Peter and Johannes Helluo, affirmed they were Sect. 1 the words of Belifarius and Buzes. The Empress thought that by that speech they meant her, and in great wrath commanded them all to appear at Constanti-

CHAP. II.

259. Buzes she clapt fast up in a Dungeon under the Palace, where he lay well nigh two years, given over by all men for loft, and then being fuddenly let out into the light, feemed Minerva's Bird both to himself and others, for he remained Purblind ever after, and never had his health to his Dying day. Belifarius though Put out of Com. Convicted of no Crime, was presently put out of Command, and Martinus ordered to head the Army in the East. His Guard was bestowed upon great Courtiers and Eunuchs, who cast Lots for them, and his Friends were forbidden to keep him company. An incredible fight now it was to behold this lately Great man walk through the City alone, ever fad and thoughtfull, as expecting daily to be fent to another World. A great Sum of money, which the Empress heard he had in the East, she sent an Eunuch to seize; and when he came to Court, caused him to be flighted by her Husband, and derided by all their Attendants, herein gratifying Antonina for her affiftence in the business of John the Cappadocian, that she might triumph over him as her Slave and Vassal, as indeed it came to pass. He retires from Court with a dejected both mind and Countenance, looking still behind if there were none fent to dispatch him, and coming into his Chamber, there fits down all alone, not meditating on any thing becoming a Valiant man, which he forgets himself ever to have been. He sweats, he trembles, he is anxious and searfull, and much disquieted at the Cowardly thought of Death. Antonina walks by, pretending not to be very well to shun suspicion, and it being now almost dark, one Quadratus appears at the door, fent, as he faid, from the Empress. At that word Belifarius falls backward upon the Bed, neither able to ftir hand nor foot, so destitute of Courage, that he expected the stroke of Death, when Quadratus produced Theodora's Letter, wherein she told him, he could not be ignorant what he had deserved at her hands, yet she pardoned him, and granted him his Life at his Wives request, to whom she was exceedingly obliged; and whereas he ought to acknowledge his fafety and fortunes obtained for her sake, she should observe very strictly what returns he would make unto her.

260. He having red the Letter, could not contain himself for Joy, but before Quadratus, that he might be an Eye witness, how ready he was to obey Theodora, fell down at his Wives Feet, which taking in his hands, he first kissed the one, and then the other, calling her the Authour of his Security, and professing for the time to come, he would carry himself not as her Husband, but her obedient Slave. Then did the Empress of that Money, she had caused to be seized in the East, beflow thirty Centenaries upon the Emperour her Husband, and left the rest to Belifarius, whom they both long before this had much envied and stomached for his great Wealth, yet the confideration of his vast Services again checked them, and when they had a mind to accuse him of converting the publick Spoils and Treafure to his own use, they still wanted whereon to fix, as having no evident proof in any particular. But now that she saw him fearfull and dejected, she cast about by one device to get possession of all he had, and that was by Marrying to her Grandson Anastassus, his onely Daughter and Child Joannina. He in the mean time. defired to be restored to his former Power and Dignity, and that he might be sent General into the East against Chosroes, which Antonina opposed, affirming he should never Command the Roman Army, where he had put such an Affront upon her. But at length he is made Master of the Emperour's Horse, and sent the second time into Italy, upon condition, as the Report went, that he should not ask of Cafar one Penny toward the Expence of the War, but defray all at his own charge. And some imagined he was content to say or doe any thing, that he might but get out of Town, and have an opportunity to be revenged upon his Wife, and the rest by whom he had been fo much abused.

261. But forgetting all that had passed, as also the Oath whereby he stood bound to Photius, and the rest of his Friends, he still gave her as good Quarter as ever. being as passionately in love with her as at the first day, though she was now above threescore years old. In Italy his Affairs succeeded as formerly we have related at large; Providence still crossing all his Indeavours. For whereas in his former War with Vitigis, his Councils and Strategems generally had good fuccess, how improbably foever defigned; now his Plots and Devices, though founded upon good and substantial Reasons, ever miscarried; that being God's dispensation, which men without reason call Fortune and Chance, as Procopius well observeth. But a-

Tustinian.

1.58

Sect. 1. mongit other mischeils which happened in Italy, all the time he spent there, nothing more hindred the advance of the Emperour's Interest, than the jealousie betwixt him and John the Nephew of Vitalianus. Whilst he continued still in that Country, the Empreis resolving to consummate the Marriage betwixt his Daughter and her Grandson, earnestly solicited them both by Letters for their Consent, but they still put it off, till their return to Constantinople; but she easily perceiving the ground of their Excuse, and suspecting that if once she were Dead, Antonina would hear but small respect to her Relations, Marries the Boy and Girl together contrary to all Law, and as was reported, she caused her to be forced, that the Nuptials being confirmed by deflouring of her, the Prince himself might not be able to hinder the Match. However the thing being done, they lived as Husband and Wife regether eight months, and loved each other exceedingly. Yet the Empress Dying, when Antonina came to Constantinople, she quite forgot all her promises to Theodora, and without any sense of her Daughters Honour, took her away by force from sinastalius, with whom she had lain so long, every one crying out against her for fo unjust a deed. And when her Husband was arrived out of Italy, she eafily obtained his Confent therein, by which he discovered the temper of his mind; For as to his breach of Faith with Photius, and others of his Friends, the World eafily excused him, as supposing it done for fear of the Empress, and not as awed and governed by his Wife. But when it was perceived that she and Caligonus her Pander, ruled him as they lifted, then began he to be despised by all men, and derided as little better than a Mad-man. In these things, to speak freely, Belisarius was to blame. So the pretended Procopius in his secret History.

262. Three things are here principally charged upon Belifarius, one of them as the cause of all, viz. the doating on his Wife, the next is his breach of Faith, and the third, his Cowardise or dejection of Spirit, which appeared in his so unmanly Carriage, at the apprehension he had of Death; for as to the ill success he had in his last Expedition into Italy; Procepius consesses his Councils were well enough laid; tells us in feveral places, that he carried the War on at his own Expence; that the Emperour never scriously applied himself to that War, till he sent Narses as General; and especially he attributes this great change of Success to the various effects of divine Providence. As for his uxorious humour, he had too great an example in the Emperour, whose Lady having such a scope given her, desired, and indeavoured to have the same Rule erected in all great Families; and having allowed his Wife that liberty in the days of the Empreis, after her Death she had been too long in Possession of it to be turned out. His Faith he ought not to have broken to Photius nor his Friends, if he could lawfully keep it, but he faw there was no contending with that imperious Woman, who had resolved that the Lust of his Wife, should become a Law to him, and though at first, he might be highly fenfible of the dishonours offered to his Bed; yet, as other prudent men, who are afflicted in that Nature generally practife, he might think it better to make as little Noise as possible, and conceal that misfortune for which he had no Cure, but such a Remedy as would make him full as Unfortunate, as the prefent Calamity could do. For the pretended poorness, and abjectedness of his Spirit; his Actions in the World were too glorious, and carried more demonstration of Valour and Courage with them, than to suffer such a foul Aspertion to slick to his Memory. How many hundreds of times had he met Death in the face, how often did he rather feek for it, than flun it, venturing his Person far beyond the obligations of a General ? Gallant minds have an antipathy to Base, Cowardly, and clandestine Attempts. No man was ever fo valiant, but had some Reluctancy at the thought of an Assassination. We could instance in some mighty Commanders, that readily ventured their Lives in a Battel at the Head of an Army, and yet by all Provocations imaginable, could never be brought to indanger them onely in a Duel. Nature it self has an aversion for Death, but gallant Nature especially for a base and infamous Death, by the hand of an Executioner, or some Esseminate or paltry Eunuch. But although the whole feries of the late History feems a glorious and lasting Monument of Belisarius his worth to intelligent Readers, yet having wittingly omitted, and referred to this place, a particular Character of him, we shall doe him the Right, having prefented the worst of him, to give his Picture also as it is drawn though in little, yet to the best advantage, and that by none other than the Pencil of Procopius too his constant Assessour.

263. Belifarius was the Difcourse of all the World, having gained the Honour Proop Bellow two unmatchable Victories. brought two Kings Prifeners to Conflantinate and life 3 at initial of two unmatchable Victories, brought two Kings Prisoners to Constantinople, and beyond all expectation, made the Race and Wealth of Genferick and Theodorick,

(the most renowned of all Barbarians,) the Spoils and Trophies of War. To the Sect. 1. Roman Empire he recovered its own Wealth, from out of the hands of its Enemies, and in a fhort time, the Dominion of almost one half of the Lands and Seas thereof. It was a great pleasure to the Constantinopolitans, and such as they could not be fatisfied with it, to behold him daily passing from his House, and returning thither through the Forum; for his going in the Streets was a kind of Triumph, Multitudes of Vandals, Goths and Moors ever following him; befides, he was a beautifull Person, Tall, and of the goodliest Countenance that could be seen. To Suitours he was ever easie of Access, and as mild as the meanest man whatsoever. Both the Souldier and Countreyman were ever in love with his Government, being to Martial men exceeding bountifull, releiving the Sick and Wounded with large Sums, and rewarding such as did valiantly with prizes of Honour. If any in Battel lost his Horfe, Bow, or any other thing, prefently he was supplied with another by the General. Where he Commanded in the Field, never Countreyman suffered Violence, but all, where his Armies came, had the fortune to grow Richer, selling their Commodities at their own Rates to the Souldiers; who by Guards kept off Horse from fpoiling the Corn, while it was yet growing; and the other ripe Fruits were in as great fecurity: He had a wonderfull care of his Fame and Chaftity, never touching any Woman but his Wife, and of so many beautifull Prisoners of the Vandals and Goths, (fuch as none ever faw the like,) never fuffering one so much as to come in his Presence. He had a very sharp wit, and was exceedingly dextrous in a doubtfull Case; he was valiant in War with cautiousness and advice, bold when there was Reason, and ever swift or flow in his Undertakings, as the occasion required. In great difficulties resolute, full of hope, and free from perturbation. In Prosperity, he was neither Elevated nor Voluptuous. And no man ever faw Belifarius Drunk.

264, Thus during his Commands in Africk and Italy, he was still Victorious: And when he came to Constantinople, his worth was yet more taken notice of. For being himself eminent in Vertue, and exceeding all the Generals that ever were, in Wealth, and in the strength of his Lanciers and Targetiers, both Commanders and common Souldiers stood in awe of him. He had in constant readiness of the Retinue of his Houshold, seven thousand choice Horsemen, whereof every one thought himself fit to stand in the Front at a Battel, and to challenge the most daring of the Enemies, which being observed by the ancient men at Rome, who took notice what those men did in the Fights, with great wonder they affirmed, that one man's Family ruined the Power of Theoderich. Thus was Belifarius powerfull, both in Dignity and Council, ever advising to the Emperour's best advantage, and chearfully executing what was refolved; whereas the other Commanders equal in power, and attending onely their private gain, made spoil of the Roman Subject, and exposed him to the Injuries of the Souldier. They neither apprehended any thing worthy themselves, nor had the common Souldiers in Obedience, and so committing many Errours, the Roman Affairs were in a short time Ruined. Thus Procopius in that part of his History, which precedes the Account he gives us of Belifarius his last and fruitles Expedition into Italy. Afterward he farther tells us, that the Emperour having sent for him home, held him in Honour, upon the Death of Germanus, yet would not fend him into Italy, and though he were General of the East, he made him Captain of his Guards, and kept him at Constantinople. And Belifarius was the cheif of all the Romans in Dignity; some indeed had the priority of being made Patritians, and Confuls before him, yet yielded him precedence, being alhamed to make use of the Law, and to assume that Right it gave them againt to eminent Merit: And the Emperour took it well they did to. Thus the Reader hath an account of what is faid both for and againft him, by one who pretended to be as free from flattery, as void of Prejudice.

265. But however these Noblemen carried themselves in the point of Precedence, certain it is that his great felicities contracted abundance of Envy, and although he was not fo remarkable for any thing as his conftant Fidelity and Allegiance, notwirhslanding all his temptations and opportunities, yet no less than thrice was he accused of ambitious and treacherous purposes, viz. Once when he was in Persia, and Justimian was sick; a second time when he had newly Conquered Gelimer, and the laft when he was grown old in Conflantinople; perhaps not long after his Victory Vide Alemanum over the Hunnes; for Agathias feems to take notice of it. We are rold that on the in Now at Profifth day of December, the Emperour being very angry with him aftembel the Se. on Him. As nate, wherein was preferit Enzychius the Patriarch, and caused the Confessions of the Patriarch, and caused the Confessions of his Accusers to be read, which Belifarius took very hainously, for by calar's Com-

PART III

Justinian.

mand, he was deprived of his Guards and Attendance, and kept Prisoner in his Chronicas Attanton own House. But in the following year, on the nineteenth day of July, he was a zmarat, and gain reftored to favour, and to his ancient Dignity and Honours. And at last in Aleman. the thirty eighth year of Justinian's Reign, on the thirteenth day of March, Belifarius Died at Constantinople, and his Estate was assigned to the August House of Marina. For the Reader must know, that before the time of Justinian, there were five leveral Imperial Houles or Courts at Constantinople, by the Authour of the Description called Palaces, besides six known by the names of Domus Divina Augustarum, or Divine Houses of the Empresses, and three other that were styled Nobilissima. Eminent amongst these last were the Houses of Placidia and Marina, Vide Alessa. in the first Region of the City. In some of them the Emperours would sometimes Lodge, others served for Treasuries, their Keepers being called Curatores, and chosen out of the prime Nobility, particularly in those days, George the Cousin of Theodora the Empress was Curator of that of Marina. To those Houses and Palaces Julinian added others, built very magnificently in that Suburb called Heraum, as also in the other called Jucundianum and Justinianeum, at this day known by the

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

266. But fuch was the fortune and end of Belifarius, contrary to the Fables names of Galata and Pera. which some later Historians have devised, as that his eyes should be put out, and that he was reduced to such Poverty, that he should beg an half-peny on the Highway, which feems a mistake, for John the Cappadocian, a man of Patritian Dignity, Exconful and Præfetlus Prætorio, concerning whom Procopius relates, that being banished into Ægype, he was compelled by the Souldiers that carried him to beg Bread, or an half-peny of those they met. But of those who first related the flory concerning his Blindness, and Begging, some confess that other Chronologers delivered that his eyes were not put out, but being despoiled of his Dignity, and almost all his Honours, he was again restored to his ancient Glory and Reputation. And in this condition we are willing to leave him, being glad to vin-Vide Aleman. dicate his Honour, but supposing him a man subject to Faults, and Instrinities, efpecially confidering the greatness of his Place, the vastness of his Command and Power, with the largeness of his Fortune, all which are so pregnant of temptations, that he flood in need of the Affiltences afforded by Christian Religion, of which it appears, that he was a Professiour, from what Procopius relates concerning the Baptism of Theodofius, (upon the Expedition into Africk,) whatever any one hath fanfied

267. Now to return to our flory of the Wars, which we shall presently dismiss of his being a Pagan. after Belifarius the General; the Hunnes understanding he was recalled, and none deathin, the other fent against them, began to make a stop of their slight, and that Party which invaded the Cherlonesus, fell with all their force upon the Wall. The Leader of those that defended it, was one Germanus the Son of Dorotheus, a Stripling whose Beard began but to iprout; yet being born in the same Town with the Emperour, from eight years old he had bred him up, and now fet him at the Head of an Army. The Humes not being able to force the Wall, made a company of Boats with Reeds, Ropes and Wool, whereon having put fix hundred men, they thought to pass by the Fortifications and feize upon the passage, but this their Delign being known, the Romans manned out their Boats, and early destroyed this new fort of Invention with all the men in them. The Barbarians being much dejected with this loss, they made a fally upon them, wherein they flew many, and might have done more Execution possibly, but that Germanus their Leader, in heat of his young bloud, ventured farther than a prudent General would have done, and received a wound in his Thigh. However, the Hunnes discouraged with this loss at Land, and more by that received upon the Water, retreated from the Wall, and joyned themselves with those under the Conduct of Zabergan; those also that went for Greece, receiving a stop at the Straits of Thermopyle returned, and all resolved to march homeward. But Zabergan and his men threatned that they , as well as the Corrigurians, would carry back a good quantity of the Roman Gold, and except the Prisoners were speedily ransomed, they would cut the Throats of them all. The Emperour fent them fo much Gold, as he thought would suffice to redeem them, and to purchase the Retreat of the Barbarians, who having received it, fet at liberty the Captives, and amongst the rest Sergius the Son of Bacchus: Which done, they left off

pillaging, and returned to their own Seats. 268. The Citizens of Conftantinople murmured exceedingly, that those Hunner, having put such an affront upon the Empire, should return home rewarded, as if the Ronans themselves had committed the offence : But the Emperour had another

defign which they were not aware of, and afterward produced so good effects, as Sect. 1. our Authour observeth, that they who now blamed him, did then exceedingly admire and commend him for it. For, as we faid, he had resolved upon this Project, to fet the Barbarians at variance amongst themselves, and cause them to destroy one another. Therefore Zabergan marching but slowly homeward, he wrote to Sandilchus, Captain of the other Hunnes, his Mercenary and Confederate, letting him know how the Cutrigurians had invaded his Dominions, not so much for Justinian sets one sort of greediness of gain, as to approve themselves as good, or better, than the Uturgu-Hunnes against rians, in respect of valour. He tells him they had received the stipend which was to be conferred upon him, and if by a speedy Revenge he did not demonstrate himself to be the same for which he had formerly taken him, he was resolved to make a League with the late Invaders, as those who by their courage did most deserve. Sandilick, enraged upon receipt of the Letter, presently invades the Territories of the Cutrigurians, and having thence taken a great number of Captives, falls upon those that returned out of Thrace, and having killed many of them, takes away their Gold, and all their booty. Such as escaped home recruiting themselves as well as they could, waged War with Sandilick, and for a long time after these Nations raged against each other to all extremity, till at length both were ruined, and they lost their very Countrey name, (if Agathias observes right) fo that if any of them remained, they served other forts of People, and being dispersed, received a name from them. So far were they then from invading the Roman Territories, that it was not as much as known in what part of the World they inhabited. But the utter destruction of these Nations, saith Agathias, fell out afterwards, and every thing relating thereunto shall be declared in its order, and according to the true account of time, as near as possible. And so he concludes the fifth Book of his Hiftory, which being the last of those that are now extant, we have hence too great occasion to complain of the injury of Time, which has deprived us of the rest of his labours upon this Subject. For he was not onely an Historian, but an excellent Poet, and politibly had be been not fo good a Poet, he had been a better Historian. For his Fancy transports him out of the way, and makes his digressions about several matters fometimes impertinent, delighting to hear himself talk, and thinking to edifie his Reader by needless disquisitions. He was, as he tells us himself, the Son of Memnonius, born at Murina, (not Murina in Thrace, but that in Afia, situate upon the River Pythicus, a Colony of the ancient Eolians,) and by Profession a Lawyer, and common Pleader, of no confiderable Fortune, which he bewails, be-

269. All things at this time were not well in Italy, which when every one expected it should never more be troubled or embroiled with the Goths, again began to be disturbed by another Sedition. Vidinus, a certain Comes of that Nation, revolted from Narses, and implored the affishence of Amingus, (or Omnirugus) who voices from traifes, and impacts the amount of the miles of the state chief in the Egg, and marching prefently against them, defeated them in battel, mer. took them both, and fending Vidinus to Constantinople, put Amingus to death; and to this time and occasion seems to relate what Cedrenus mentions of Narses his taking Viria and Brince from the Goths. So was Italy cleared of the Goths, and the greatest part of it of the Franks, though they had seized and held the Parts of Venetia, There yet remained the Heruli, whom, after the defeat of Odoacer their King, Theodorich had placed near the Alpes. These also, at this time, an occasion was prefented of turning out of Italy by Sindualdus, who being set over them by Narses, presently again rebelled, and being taken, paid dear for his ambitious purposes; for he caused him to be hang'd on a very high Gibbet, and afterward, by the Arms and Conduct of Dagisthaus the Magister Militum, cleared all the Coasts of the Countrey. And so at length a period was put to all these direfull Calamities wherewith and at last en. the Barbarians, and especially the Goths, had afflicted Italy for so long a time. whene by which by Fire and Sword had its Cities defaced, was despoiled of its Men, Wealth seasof harfer and Dignity, and, from the highest pitch of selicity, brought to the lowest and most desolate condition. The greatness and variety of its calamities were such, that no Mind can conceive, much less any Tongue express, or Pen describe. But now by the fingular goodness of God, after wellnigh an hundred and fixty years, it began to have repose, and Narses, lest he should seem inseriour to Belisarus, set himself

cause his private necessities forced him from his beloved Studies. It is no whit his

Advantage that he immediately fucceeds Procopius; but his Digreffions, when historical, are some of them so profitable, that we make use of them upon other oc-

Justinian.

Sect. 2. all manner of ways to study its quiet, and the restitution of it to its former lustre

270. The repairing of its Cities, and beautifying it with new and magnificent Buildings, was, within a year or two, much hindred by the breaking forth of a Pestilence, which added to the former miseries, almost exhausted the Countrey of of its Inhabitants. This Plague, which from the Eastern Parts invaded Italy, was called Inguinaria & Bubonis Peftis, because Bubo's, or Swellings, arose in the privy and other glandulous parts, and were followed by a violent Fever, which dispatched the Party within three days, or else he recovered. This being over, Narfes went on with his publick works, and especially with the Reparation of Bridges, particularly that over the River Anienu, which had been broken down by Totilas, as an Inscription, yet remaining, testifies, which shews it was perfected in the thirty ninth, and last Year of Justinian. While he was in hand with these works, a A Plot against notable Conspiracy was hatched at Constantinople, against the Life of the Emperour, Justinian detect on the Nones of November, by Ablavius, Marcellus and Sergius, Men of no mean ted. Quality, who purposed to kill him by night in his Chamber; but Ablavius making acquainted therewith Eufebius the Exconful, and John the Logatheta, they revealed the Plot, and the Confpiratours were feized with Swords about them, of whom Marcellus instantly killed himself. Sergius, upon Examination, impeached Isaacius and Belisarius, who were also accused by Vitus and Paulus, so that Belisarius was imprisoned, as we said before, but afterwards again set at Liberty, as an innocent Person. Though this Conspiracy took not, yet have we brought the Reader almost to the period of this Prince's Life, and given him a prospect of all the turbulent Actions of his Reign. Another considerable Part is yet behind, which hath made him rather more remarkable to the World in later times; for who hath not heard of the Laws and Law-Books of Justinian? The Marks and Prints of his Sword are very long fince obliterated, but multitudes of Men to this day wear Gowns which are looked upon no otherwife than as his Livery. Laws in his days, contrary to the old and received Saying, made a noise amongst Weapons, and his Government, a thing not ordinary, became famous in after times for both. First therefore what he did in reference to the Laws. And then we shall consider of the Temper and Disposition of this Man, so much spoken of, as to his own Person.

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Of the Laws altered, made and modelled by Justinian.

an's Laws and Principum Pla-

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THE Original of the Civil Law, from the Law of the Twelve Tables, we have discovered in its due place, together with the Progress of it in its Infancy, and how many parts there were of it, or what those were which obtained the Force and Power of Law. After that the supreme Authority came to be invested in one single Person, the Principum placita gave force and efficacy to all the rest, or could rescind them, the Power of both Senate and People being, by the Lex Regia, transferred upon him. Yet the Responsa Prudentum, and the Ma- Smithin aum aiftratuum Edita, continued to be in use, and were given out, upon occasion, for bisions, and the clearing of Doubts and Difficulties, and letting the People know what was their insignation. Duty. Forasmuch as all Difficulties could not possibly be removed by Laws for Principal Pioners, and Constitutions and Difficulties could not possibly be removed by Laws for Principal Pioners. merly, or Conflictutions and Edichs afterwards, the Interpretations and Artiwers of im Edia, Re wife and learned Men were found necessary, nay, as Pomponius witneffeth, when food Priles the Laws of the Twelve Tables were made, the Authority of some prudent men De has n site was requifite to interpret them, the Credit and Reputation of whom so much in Library Company creased, that, in practice, a great part of the Suits and Controversies were referred minam & distributions of the suits and controversies were referred minam & distributions of the suits and controversies were referred minam & distributions of the suits and controversies were referred minam & distributions of the suits and controversies were referred minam & distributions of the suits and controversies were referred minam & distributions of the suits and controversies were referred minam & distributions of the suits and controversies were referred minam & distributions of the suits and controversies were referred minam & distributions of the suits and controversies were referred minam & distributions of the suits and controversies were referred minam & distributions of the suits and controversies were referred minam & distributions of the suits and controversies were referred minam & distributions of the suits and controversies were referred minam & distributions of the suits and controversies were referred minam & distributions of the suits and controversies were referred minam & distributions of the suits and controversies were referred minam & distributions of the suits and controversies were referred minam & distributions of the suits and controversies were referred minam & distributions of the suits and controversies were referred minam & distributions of the suits and distributions of the suits a to their Council and Determination. Now their Office, Duty and Employment confilted chiefly in four thing. First, in prescribing forms for Stipulations and Judgments. Secondly, in giving Council and Advice to fuch as asked it, in matters of Law especially, but indeed in all matters whatsoever, as Cicero writes, that

in old time they had recourfe to Pub. Craffus, T. Coruncanius and Scipio, in all things,

whether Divine or Humane. Thirdly, they interpreted fuch Laws as were hard

to be understood, or seemed contrary, as also Instruments of Contracts and Testa-

ments. And lastly such matters as were neither by Law, nor Agreement and Confent of Parties, ordered and concluded, they took up and determined, ex bono &

The Office of

4. Trebatius was a Man of great authority with him in this kind, whom he used as his familiar friend, commended by Cicero for his fingular memory and knowledge in the Civil Law, who much cherished him when he was young, writing to him his Topicks, and many Epistles, full of very good humour. Much about this his default time Atteius Capito, and Labso Antistius, by their contrary opinions, sowed such feeds of Civil Discords, that their Scholars being addisted to several Sects, and per-

æquo, as seemed most right and equitable in their apprehensions, who, from their Sect. 2. studying the known Laws, had most reason to understand what was agreeable to, or might be deduced from, them. They made Profession of this Art either walking cross the Forum, or fitting on Benches at home, in a grave and stately manner, where they admitted all Clients, as appears by the Books of Cicero, which he wrote concerning Oratory and Laws. But their Responses were concerning matters of Law, not of Fact, whereupon Celfus hath defined their Art very well to be Ars Bo-

2. Pomponius tells us, that before the time of Augustus, it was free to every one to practife, who had confidence of his own Ability, neither did they fign their Answers, but wrote most commonly to the Judges themselves, or told their opinions to such as consulted them. But Augustus vindicated the honour of the Civil Angular takes Law, and provided for the security of the Essates of the Subject, by taking away
any the Power the power of giving Answers from all, except such as should be authorized by the p. de Origine formal bur fact, the power of giving Annwers from an, except fuch as inound be authorized by the p. de aboud be in Prince. Of those who excelled in this Art or Mystery, Pomponius reckons up about Juin.

fixty, from Sextus Papyrius, who lived in the Days of Tarquinius Superbus (when the Laws made by Kings were in force) to Salvius Julianus, who flourished under Hadrian the Emperour. These, and others, omitted by him, are too many here to be reckoned up. Of them Tit. Coruncanius, who flourished not long after the time of Pyrrbus, first made publick Profession of the Law, whereas those before him gave onely Answers in private. Scipio Nasica, a young Man, was of such esteem, that an House was given him by the State in the Via Sacra, that he might more opportunely be consulted. A little before the 3d Punick War Q. Mucius Scevola, M. Junius Brutus and M. Manilius, who laid the foundations of it, by the many Books they published, gave, as it were, life to the Civil Law. For Mucius, who was Pontifex maximus, the year wherein Tib. Gracchus was flain, left ten Books concerning Law, M. Brutus feven, and Manilius three, though Cafar faid, he heard

Scavola fay, that Brutus left but three in all, and his Method was not well liked of. because he expounded not Theses, but Hypotheses. P. Mucius Scavola, the Augur. his House, for his Skill in the Law, was called the Oracle of the City. Q. Mucius Scavola was Pontifex maximus, and first gave form to the Civil Law, by reducing it into eighteen Books. 3. Servius Sulpicius, who was Consul together with M. Marcellus, and one of

the most eloquent in Tully's Age, came, on a time, to consult Q. Mucius in a point

M. Junius Bru-

H. Maxilius.

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he multitude

of Law. Mucius gave him an Answer, but he understood it not, and asked him a fecond time; but neither upon a fecond Answer did he understand the matter. Hereat Mucius fell on chiding him, faying, it was a shame for one who was both a Patritian, and pleaded Causes, to be an Ignorant in the Laws of his Countrey. Servius, nettled with the difgrace, applied himself presently to the study of the Law, and came to such Eminency therein, that dying in an Embassy, his Statue was erected in the Pleading place at the Publick charge. He left wellnigh an hundred and fifty Books, as they counted them, and had many eminent Auditours, who lived to see the great Change of the Roman Government, from a Free State, as they termed it, to a Monarchy. And the Government was changed at fuch time, as many eminent and learned Men had often confulted concerning a Model of the Civil Law, and reducing it into a Form of Art. For the multitude of Books began then to be cumbersome, and Pompey, Casar and Cicero laid their Heads together, how to regulate this great variety, and prescribe to it certain bounds and limits. Cicero wrote a Book concerning the modelling of it, but some think he never finished it, though elsewhere they own he hath given his thoughts, and complains of the great confusion, and want of some able Person to undertake the Task. Yet notwithstanding after the time of Julius Cæsar much more was added by heaps of Writings. and more Laws made, the Constitutions of Princes now coming to bear a great part in this mystery. But this Service Augustus did to this noble Science, that besides the Leges Julia, formed and named from him, adopted into the Julian Family, he vindicated the honour of it, by taking away the liberty used formerly by every Pretender, and allowing onely fuch to give Answers as should be authorized by the Prince.

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Sect. 2. tinaciously adhering to their Principles, those Differentions could not be composed in many years, and the Heads of many of their Controversies yet appear in the Pandects. For to the Party of Capito adhered Masurius Sabinus, and then Cassius Longinus, to whom succeeded Calins Sabinus, as to him Jabolenus, and to Jabolenus Salvius Julianus. To the fide of Labeo stuck pertinaciously Cocceius Nerva, then Proculus, to whom succeeded Pegasus, as to him Celsus, and to Celsus Neratius. Hence the Sabi- Hence those of the former Party were called Sabiniani, and Cassiani; and those of nian, or Cass the later Proculiani, and Pegasani. The Emperour Tiberius savoured much the m, and the rre-fludy of the Law, and from him Masurius Sabinus received Authority to answer publickly all questions. Caligula and Nero were rather Enemies than Friends to the Mystery of the Law. Caligula intending to abolish quite the Art and Profession it gafiani. Mafurius Sabifelf, often boasted he would so order the matter, that they should be able to anfwer nothing but Eccum, quibbling, as though he would have them answer nothing but what was equum, but meaning Ecce illum, and intending himself, from whom all Answers in matters of Law should thenceforth proceed. Nero banished Cassinus Cassinus Cassinus Longinus, whom afterward Vespatian recalled, in whose time Pegasus was Prefect of the City, and bore the Office of Conful. He was the Son of a certain Master of a Ship, which had Pegasus for its Ensign and Name, and thence was this great Lawyer so called. And from him received its name the Senatusconfultum Pegastanum, mentioned by Justinian. During the Government of Nerva and Trajan the Profession of the Law flourished, as appears from their many excellent Constitutions mentioned in the Pandects. And the peaceable Reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus, as also of Severus, Caracalla and Alexander, produced many excellent men, rendred famous by their Writings, of whom feveral we have mentioned in

Salvius Julianus

5. Here Salvius Julianus, who flourtfleed under the Emperour Hadrian, must be remembred, that Eminent Lawyer of Milan, who composed the Edicium Perpetuum, which being allowed, and receiving authentick Stamp from the Prince, so as to be flanding Law, another fort of Law now fell off, which was the Edicts of Mawhereupon the giftrates, made, upon occasion, or at their entring upon their Offices. This was called Jus Prætorium, because chiefly made by Prætors, as also Honorarium, from their bearing these Offices of Magistracy or Honour. But how the Prætors should come to make Laws, which is a Prerogative of Majesty, they being but Magistrates, appointed for pronouncing, and not enacting, is questioned; especially seeing that we no where meet with any Law that gave them this Authority. Some think that at first they onely proposed Edicts by right of their Office, denoting, of what matters, and in what manner, they would administer Law. In progress of time, Vide Vinescan the People not opposing it, they took upon them also to make Law in declaring it, Infin. yet fo, as their Edicts had less force than the Laws themselves, neither could they abrogate such Laws as were constituted or received, but onely help, supply and correct, that is, mitigate the rigour of the Law, and ordain formething ex bono & aguo, concerning such things as were not mentioned nor forbidden by the Laws, though it were besides the tenour of the Civil Law. That the Prators, as to these matters, could doe more than either the Lawyers or private Judges, appears from fo many Exceptions and Aditions, fo many Possessions of Goods and Estates, introduced by the Prator, being besides the manifest tenour of the Civil Law, in which, before what was thus introduced by the Prators, no private Person could claim or attribute fo much to himself. But, during the Commonwealth, other Magistrates, as the Cenfors, Confuls, and the Ædiles Curules, proposed their Edicts, all which went under the name of Jus Honorarium, being contained in it, and indeed in the Jus Prætorium, because the Prætors being made on purpose for administration of Juftice, and having all the Jurifdiction, in a manner, had the honour to have the whole taken together denominated from themselves.

6. But an end was put to all their pretences, by the forming and authorizing of the Edictum Perpetuum, though the whole Power of Senate and People, being given up into the Emperour's Hands, all Powers before were but indeed precarious or derivative, as was that of giving Answers, in the Lawyers. Who the Lawyers of Eminency were, in the days of Hadrian, and his Successiours, we have already shewn, who were famous for their Learning and Writings, which, for the most part, respected the Editum Perpetuum. Now, however Persons began more than ever to confult the Prince himself, who had always at his hand the best Lawyers to advise with From the time of Hadrian, to that of Alexander Severus, (both inclusive) flourished those great and eminent Men, out of the Books of whom the Pandects, for the most part, were taken. This Knowledge and Profession being

then arrived at the highest pitch of Excellency, as all sublunary things are subject to Sect. 2. change, began thenceforth to fall away and diminish. For after this time no Law-When the Emi- yer of any note or Eminency appears, and, by degrees, the Profession so much decayed, that in the time of Ammianus Marcellinus (or Valentinian and Valens, Emperours,) such as professed it, if we believe him, were esteemed rather Apparitions and Shadows, than Men, not being able to reconcile the hundredth part of these Differences and Contradictions, which, to men unskilfull, feemed to be in the Civil Law it self, and yet they valued themselves at no less a rate than as the Interpreters of the Sibylline Oracles. Those that practised at the Bar were so rude, covetous and fordid, that they neither understood what Justice was, nor remembred that they ever had read any thing concerning it.

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7. The Emperours therefore must have taken upon them the whole care of the Law, and many of them, if not most, deserved well of it, as appears by their Rescripts. And yet in penning these Rescripts, several Lawyers, of great worth and Learning, must have been employed, though they have not otherwise rendred Yetlearned Men themselves famous by any work now remaining, what ever Ammianus, or any other. there were after may write. For both before and after Constantine, Princes gave out Constitutions

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of very great Equity and Judgment, which certainly they themselves had not Skill to compose. These grew to such a number, that several Books of them came acodex Gregoria- broad, but of principal note and esseem were those of Gregorius and Hermogeniasat by Hermoge- nus, about the Reign of Diocletian. The Authours themselves are unknown, and fome Fragments of their Books are onely come to hand; but St. Augustine, as many take notice, makes mention thence of a certain noble Rescript of Antoninus. which learned men justly admire, that it should be left out of Justinian's Code. About an hundred years after, Theodofius the Second caused to be compiled another Code, wherein were contained the Constitutions of Christian Princes, from the beginning of Constantine to his own time. Betwixt them and those of the precedent Ages there is this difference: The Constitutions which precede Constantine.

are most of them short and acute, weighty and elegant, as are the Writings of Law-Conflications of yers of those times. Those that follow are generally tedious and lofty, more fuiting the style of an Oratour, than the Majesty of an Emperour. They savour of the flanting Afiatick flyle, which was that of the Court, after it came to be removed to Byzantium. Especially the Constitutions of Martianus, Zeno, Anastasius, Justin and Justinian, which are neither comparable with the other in point of Eloquence. nor yet in respect either of Gravity or dexterity of Drawing. A great Altera- 8. A great Alteration was made in the Law by Constantine, who corrected it fo.

tonnade in the as to make it more suitable to the purity of Christian Religion, and the tenderness taw by Conflam. time the Great. and compassion thereof. Which he did by adding many Edicts, full of Mercy, and taking off the rigour of former Rules and Customs, both as to the materials of Law, and the forms and quirks of it. This also was imitated by his Christian Successiours, as we have largely shewn in the course of our History, down from his time, till that of Theodofius the younger. But as every day, almost, produced some new occasion, by reason of the variety of circumstances, for some new Decree. these Imperial Constitutions grew to that infinite bulk, together with the other ancient forts of Laws, that, before Theodofius began his new model of a Code; the A Discriminati-Government in the West, or that under young Valentinian, thought it self obliged to make a discrimination, both of the Constitutions of Princes, declaring which time of Valenti- should be of force, and which not, and of the Writings of Lawyers, as to the value and estimate of their Opinions, to be alledged and followed in Courts of Judicature. What these Discriminations were we have shewn particularly in their places. The Lawyers were nine in Number, of which Papinianus was to have the Preeminence, so as if in difference of opinions, he made one of an equal number, that of his party was to be followed. This Constitution, as Gothofred notes, may serve to discover how few learned Lawyers there were in those days, how few that knew the Writings of the Ancients; to be fure, it shews that the numbers and heaps of the Writings of Authours were very great.

9. But as it is very rationally thought, that the Codes of Gregorius and Hermogenianus were composed of such Constitutions of Emperours, as preceded Constantine, (ten years before whose beginning they end, at the Tetrarchy of Diocletian,) on purpose to exhibite the Pagan Law, which Christian Princes in their new Decrees had altered; to Theodofius might resolve for the contrary reason, as well as to select a competent number, to make a Body of fuch as were composed by those of our Religion. He fays indeed he was moved by this confideration, how few in his Age were rich in the knowledge of the Civil Law, and were folidly learned, al-

duce them into Order, and give flamp to a Body or Bodies, more exquisitely fram-

Sect. 2. though twelve years before he had founded two Professions of the Law for the Illuftration thereof, in the University of Constantinople. He designed to ease Students of fo great Labour as they underwent, in turning over fo many Heaps, by cutting off fuperfluities, and introducing brevity, as allo to provide against obfcurity. For he furnished them with such Constitutions, as related both the Jus Publicum, and Privatum, and with all forts, not onely Edits strictly to called; but various Reserripts sent to Magistrates, who had consulted their Princes Letters given out to Magistrates, Orations to the Senate, Pragmaticks, Alla had in the Con-Vide Gubdiel. given out to pragintates, or the first in Fridgish fiftery, Mandates and Instructions given to Governours of Provinces, to Censitives in Cont. Total. and Peræquatores fent abroad, and to such as should hear Debates concerning Religion. But though no part of, either, the Jus Privatum, or Publicum, be left untouched in that Code; yet the Collectours are taxed for omitting so many material Constitutions, as they have done, and for studying so much Brevity, that by depriving the Laws of their necessary Ornaments of words, they made them most Fault commit-obfcure. For, cutting off the Prefaces, and fuch Discourses as were connexed, or coherent to them; they deprived the Readers of all knowledge of the feveral occasions of the making of them, and other Circumstances which would have contributed much to the understanding of them.

It's Defects.

10. Besides, notice is taken, how several Laws are repeated in the same words, and sometimes with a few things added and altered, and those not onely made by feveral, but one and the same Emperour. Many contrary one to another, and repealing one another, are to be found in this Code: The Rubricks are fometimes larger than the Text. But it is chiefly objected, that to Julian therein is given the Title of Divus, and that some of his impious Constitutions are inserted often, though not obscurely they contradict, and that out of Design, those of Christian Princes. Some of Constantine and Valentinian also, which though they might be forced out in their days, to grant leave to use and continue unchristian Practices, yet when Christianity was advanced into the Throne, they were by no means to be regifired as Laws, by those who pretended to collect a Body standing and Authentick to be referred to, and whereby Cases were to be pleaded and decided. Some Edicts are also placed in this Book, though against the Orthodox Profesours of Religion. Many Laws are Fugitives or mil placed, some are so lacerated and dismembred, that no Sense can be made of them. And Errours and Mislakes, are too frequent in the Inscriptions and Subscriptions of Laws. Now it must be said, that though this Body, or Collection, even in some things here objected be of great use; for knowledge of the History of the times, yet these were some of them Faults very unfufferable in a Standard and Rule of Law, as it was intended to be. It may be faid for the Collectours, that some Faults were formerly committed, and transcribed by them, and some might be justly laid to the Charge of the Transcribers; having passed through to many hands. However in matters wherein fuch Excuses cannot be admitted, the infufficiency of the Code, sufficiently appeared, as to its being a Standard of Law, and still those that were concerned in the Practices of it were at a loss.

II. Yet was it for want of a more perfect, of great use, and readily imbraced both in the Eastern and Western parts of the Empire, both at this time, and by succeeding Princes. And not onely within the Empire, but by Barbarians was it received, even as a Standard of Law, as we shall see in the Histories of those Kingdoms: Yet its defects to the skilfull could not but be sufficiently known. Though all parts of the Jus Privatum were touched at in it; yet were there many Cases omitted in it, and to be found in the Constitutions of the ancient Emperours. And especially in the Writings of ancient Lawyers, were they to be found, which those that practifed found necessary to have Recourse to as formerly, and the memory of this Code, as well as the Conflitution of Valentinian, growing by degrees more out of mind; they had Recourse to their former Helps, and then again grew sensible of their Heaps. Now again they were affrighted at the Piles of Imperial Conflitutions, at the Mountains of Interpretations and Answers of Lawyers; the Dust did not conceal the Old Plebifcita, Senatus consulta, and Editis of Magistrates. They could not but look at the Old Laws made by Kings in the Infancy of Rome, and take Body, or Bodies notice of the Rhodian Laws, concerning Sea matters, and owned by Imperial Authority. These Heaps are said to have contained two thousand Volumes, and thirty times an hundred thousand Verses or Paragraphs. All sorts of them afforded help to Students, and yet the far greater part, must of necessity be unknown, and a great share be obsolete and uteless in Judgments, and Decision of Controverfies. It was therefore Difcourfed, that there wanted a Prince, who by his So-

But not onely modelleth, but

altereth the

Books afford.

CHAP. II.

12. Justinian was a man whose Humour the design did very well suit, being naturally a lover of new things, and greedy of Fame; especially, to be thought very vigilant and solicitous for the good of his Subjects; as his Prefaces to his Novel Constitutions do sufficiently shew. But he imbraced a much larger design, than that of abridging the Law. He was brought to be of Opinion, that the Law not onely wanted abridging, but altering and changing from that Tenour and Genius, which it had in the days of the ancient Lawyers and Legislatours; not onely accufing it, as Constantine had done, to need Reformation as to Charity and Mercy, and that it was to be pruned of its needless, and troublesome quirks and scruples, as Valentinian the Third and other Princes thought, but even as to the reason and Complexion of much of it. But however, in many things he might be in the right, it had been much better, if he had flaid fome time to make his Observations, if he had made an Apprenticeship first in the Government, and been filent for the time enjoyned by Pythagoras. But he introduced that, which hath been fince, in reference to the old Tenour and Frame, called Jus Novum, and began this course in the beginning of his Reign. And indeed fearcely isthere any part of the Roman Jurispradentia, wherein he did not make some Alteration. How he both altered and modelled it, it's now time to make a short discovery, according to the Nature of our design, which will permit us onely to hint at the most remarkable things in such a vast number, as his Laws and

vereign Authority should abridge the number and substance of these Volumes, re-

ed than yet had been; which should remain as the Authentick Monuments, and

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

the Standard of Law and Justice to Posterity.

13. Justinian then, as we faid, was made Collegue by and with his Uncle on the Calends, or first of April, in the sole Consulship of Mavortius, with whom he Reigned till the Calends or first of August, on which Justin his Uncle dyed. Now for all the five Months of this year, or Consulship, he made no Law, nor considerable Alteration in any thing. But having all this while it feems refolved, and meditated on it, he opened the fecond year, or his own fecond Confulfhip with great Attempts this way, as if then he had begun to Reign indeed This he did on the very first day of the year, or the Calends of January, on which several of his Laws bear date. Four we have still extant in the Code, which mention the Calends of Jahis feeded Con. muary as the day of their Originals, and possibly more there were, which have lost

their date, still extant in the same Book without any Consulship annexed, or any 1. 8. de Natura-Month or Day, though directed to the same Mennas, who was Prafettus Pratorio for libat libris, Cod. this year, and also that which followed till the month of August; to whom a vast num. 27, 124, 46 this year, and ano that which rollowed in the state of Constitutions are inscribed. He thought sit to give to his Subjects, a more free Topamenia, col. Scope of making their Testaments than formerly had been allowed, though by the twelve Tables themselves it seemed to have been indulged. He declared that I. Un. de his no Errour or miftake of the Drawer or Writer of a Testament, either, in guipean suming, omitting, or inserting any thing therein contained, should make it Null; neither the contained, should make it Null; neither the contained, should make it Null; neither the contained of the state of the if he wrote down a Legacy before the naming of the Heir. And though this & I. s. Quanto quar-Preposterours course might have been taken according to the mind, or direction of targets, call the Testatour himself, yet he would have the Testament good, which the former Jul. lib. 10. Law did not permit. He tolerated it also afterward in Stipulations, as well as Legacies. Junt quantities And still that he might add greater Freedom in this Nature, a few days after he trium tantum declared that the formal observation or usage of the Ancients, as he termed it, should Baldwinus in not be necessary in Nuncupative Wills. For of old, those that made such Testa- Justiniano sub ments without Writing, were to protest in solemn Words, that the Witnesses de Jure novo were met together for that purpose, because before them he would name his rum libris 2. Heir without Writing.

14. This form of Ptotestation he declared not to be necessary. And he remit-consuled ted as many other things to Testatours; see the forms of Words which they were 1.26. Cod. Just. bound to observe when they made their Wills. Amongst others, there was this de Tifsam. called Nuncupatio. The Testatour holding the Testament in his hands said: As is contained in these Tables, and under this Wax, so I give, bequeath and ordain. Therefore ye Quirites bear Testimony. And the Witnesses thus required were wont to bear Testimony to the Testatour, who ought to hear what they said, so that of old a deaf man could not make a Testament. Whereas also in old time no Legacy could be left, so as to burthen the Heir by way of punishment, as if it was written: In case thou marriest thy Daughter to Seius, then shalt give Caius an hundred pounds, he left it free to leave such Legacies, provided as in other Conditional Legacies and Stipulations, if the Heir was Commanded to doe no unworthy or impossible

Sect. 2. thing. To natural Children he allowed that more should be left in Legacy than formerly had been Lawfull; but afterwards published a Novel Constitution more in their Favour, which afterward we may take notice of. And he also made provision for Children obnoxious to the Services of Corporations, which he also thought fit afterwards to increase. All these things he enacted this first day of his second Confulship, or the first day of the first January after his coming to the Government.

15. The making of these new Laws, did not so divert him, but that still he was thinking and confulting about a new Model of the Old, and he came to fuch Resolution therein, that on the Ides of February following, he expressed it in an Presampling He acquaints the Senate with Edict, directed to the Senate of Conftantinople. "In this Edict he tells them, that de movo Codie

the senare with Edits, directed to the behave the senare with Edits, directed to the amended, but Farindaya-his Defigiment, "those things which to many former Princes feemed necessary to be amended, but Farindaya-nof anew Code." which mone of them were so bold as to bring to Effect, he now by the help of mine, take 1911. "Almighty God thought fit to Communicate to the publick, and to take off the " prolixity of Suits, by cutting fhort that multitude of Constitutions, contained "in the three Codes of Gregorius, Hermogenianus and Theodofius, of those also that "were made afterwards by Theodofius, other succeeding Princes and himself; " and by Composing one new Code, which should bear his own happy Name, in "which were to be Collected as well the Constitutions of the three Codes lately "mentioned, as other newer Constitutions made after them. Therefore for so vast "a work, which relates to the Sustentation of the Commonwealth it felf, he tells "them, he hath made choice of Persons fit for so great care and trouble, viz. of The Compilers "the excellent John, Exqualtor of his Sacred Palace, of Confular Dignity, and " a Patritian ; and the most sublime Leontius, a Magister Militum, Expræfectus præ-" torio, of Confular Dignity, and a Patritian; the most eminent Phocas, a Magister "Militum of like Consular Dignity, and a Patritian; the most excellent Basilides, "Expresect also of the East, and a Patritian; the most glorious Thomas, Quastor of "his Sacred Palace, and Excon/ul; the Magnifick Tribonian adorned with the Ma-" gifterial Dignity among the Agentes; the Illustrious Constantine, Comes Sacrarum "Largitionum, among the Agentes, Magister of the Scrinium Libellorum and of the " Sacræ Cognitiones; the most famous Theophilus a Comes of his Sacred Consistory "and Doctour (or Profesiour) of Law in that City; Dioscorus and Præsentius most " eloquent Gowned men, of the most ample Prætorian Forum.

16. "To these, he saith, he had given especial Power, having first cut off Pre-" faces (being superfluous as to the Solidity of Laws) as also left out such "as were of the same Tenour, or contrary (except another division of Law re-"quired it) as also such as were grown out of use, to compose out of them three "Codes and later Constitutions, Laws which were to be certain and written in " fhort, to place them under feveral Heads or Titles, adding and fubtracting, and "even changing their Words, where the Convenience of the thing should require; "gathering into one Sanction, fuch things as had formerly been dispersed in vari-" ous Constitutions, and making their meaning more evident. Yet so that the Order " of times of the faid Conflitutions should be manifest, not onely from the addition " of Days and Confuls, but also from their very Composition, the first being placed "in the first place, and those that followed in the next; and if any were found "without Day and Conful, either in the three above mentioned Codes, or in those "wherein later Constitutions were contained, they should yet be placed with the " rest, without any doubt to arise concerning their general Force and Efficacy; as "also such Constitutions as were given out by way of Rescript to certain Persons, "or by a Pragmatick Sanction at the first, if inserted in this new Code, should be " of the same Efficacy with the general Edicts. These things he tells the Senate, "he hasted to bring to their knowledge, that they might understand how great "his daily care was for the common Utility, defigning for the time to come to have "certain fetled Constitutions and not to be doubted, and those Collected into one "Code; that out of it being called by his Name, in all judicial Proceedings, Con-"flitutions might be produced for the more speedy ending of Suits. Dated on the "Ides of February at Constantinople, the Lord Justinian, Father of his Countrey, Augu-"fus, being the fecond time Conful, which was in the Year of our Lord, DXXVIII.

17. To work now go these Lawyers, about the compyling of a new Code; but while they were so employed Justinian sate not idle, but bussed himself with suitable Industry; either for adorning, and filling up that Code, or for the Illustration of the Civil Law. For of this year, befides these already mentioned, we find twenty four Constitutions bearing Date, whereof ten of the Calends, or first day of June. Of all these the Nature of our Design will not permit us to give an Account, because we write not a Book of Law, but History, and so vastly nu-

merous are the performances of Justinian in this kind, that onely the most material Sect. 2. of his Laws, and of most publick concernment must be touched. The Romans were fo tender of the obligations arifing from Nature and Bloud, that by a Law not were to reneer of the conganious animal noin spatial and animal, small was of tib. 2. c. 21.

The flored lib.

introduced by the Practor, but by Claudius Glicias a Dictatour, as Cujacius was of tib. 2. c. 21.

specify 7th.

opinion, it was permitted to bring an Action or Complaint against a Testament. to make it void, wherein a Parent, Son or Brother, was passed by or Disinherited. as contrary to the Duty of fuch Relations. But about this Complaint, there arose in process of time manifold Questions, and in composing and settling the matter, Justinian very much laboured by publishing various Laws concerning this Subject, wherein yet he scarcely satisfied himself. It was of old strongly debated, one who had fomething left him by Will, but lefs than the share allowed the by Law, could bring this Complaint to null the Testament, as well as he that had nothing at all. Pliny was of opinion, that if the Heir offered to one so passed by, to whom nothing at all was left, the Legitimate part, which if left by Will, would have Excluded the Complaint, it would be a bar to this Action. In the opinion of Legion splite Learned Baldwin he was miltaken. But by the ancient Law, if a Son was by his an in lib. oil Father instituted in part, but less lest him than his Legitimate share, he had an Tinulus Justinia. Action against his Brethren the Coheirs, for making up and supplying his share, more than rather than that of the Complaint for nulling the Testament, which was granted trioram librit. to him, in case they were not Brothers but Strangers, that were joyned with him

by, he was made Coheir with his Brothers, if fuch were inflituted as Heirs, but if

18. In like manner, if a Son was born after his Mothers Testament, being passed

Strangers were instituted, he might bring his Querela or Complaint for dissolving the Will. In case a Son was not named Heir, but a Legacy was left him onely which yet reached not to his Legitimate share of the Inheritance, he could not bring his Complaint but onely his Action, for what was wanting, if the Testatour expresly ordained, that it should be made up by an indifferent Umpire. If so be, the Testa-Regulated by tour left no fuch order, he was of old allowed to Complain. But Justinian would L. 20. de Inosti de not even in this case permit him to Complain; his pleasure being that onely the re- full-lib.3.11.28. mainder should be sued for, where something was left; and this he did he said for the bashfull reverence that's due to Nature: And when the Legitimate share should be computed, he would have an Employment purchased with the Father's money, to be reckoned into it. By another Law made this very day, he ordained L. wit. de pignorithat Employments should in certain cases be understood to be tacite cautions obliged lib. 8. iii. 14. to the payment of Debts. On the fame day he also published another Noble Constitution, concerning Legitimate Successions, in what manner either a Mother or a Father might be joyned, with the Sisters or Brothers of the Dead, the Law having formerly been in no other part more various than in determining how Parents should succeed their Children dying Intestate. When Justinian came to the Government the custome was, that the Mother should so be joyned with Sisters, that she should succeed to one half of the Inheritance, and they to the other half. This L. ult. ad S. C. Right of the Mother he now confirmed, adding that if there were Brothers, the Termilianum. Inheritance should be divided by Poll, not distinguishing as the old Law did be-tit. 45 twixt Brothers. And whereas by a Constitution of Constantine, the Mother was bound to give a third part of the Inheritance to the Uncle, by the Father's fide of the Deceased, his Son or Grandson. Justinian now ordained that she should not be obliged to doe it. Neither should it be material, whether she had the Right of three Jus trium libero-

Tertullianum.

19. For by that Senatusconsultum, Mothers had the privilege given them to succeed their Sons, but of old it was limited, in case a Woman of ingenuous Condition had three Children, and a Libertina four. But by another Law bearing date L. vile de Jure also on this very day, or Calends of June, Justinian removed this limitation, giving liberarum, Cod. them full Right of fuccession, whether they had brought forth so many Children ult. or not. What now he established as to the Mothers Right, heafterward confirmed in his Institutions; but in the tenth year of his Reign, when he published his two and twentieth Novel Constitution, he forbad that the Mother should have a greater share of the Inheritance, when she was joyned with Sisters, than when she succeeded with the Brothers of the Deceased; but would have it divided to them by Poll. After this he granted that Right simply to the Father, which he now gave to the Mother. But in case there were a Father, to joyn in the Succession with the Mother, Sisters and Brothers of the Deceased, the Father should have the full profit or Usus fructus of the Estate, but the propriety should remain to the other,

Children or not, which distinction was formerly made by the Senatusconsultum rum.

Sect. 2. and be divided amongst them, in such manner as is aforesaid in case no Father was iurviving.

20. From the Calends of June, we can observe no Constitutions made for the space of a month. But on the Galends of July, we find him and his Quafter at work again, as if he had appointed the first day of the month to this Service, there being five Laws now extant in his Code, which bear Date of these Calends. On them we cannot insit, as belonging to the Jus Privatum, and not so proper for our Cognisance, who write not a Book of Law but History. Neither can we take much notice of most that follow of this year, though some of them be to be mentioned. On the sixteenth of

November, by publishing a new Constitution against Rapes, he thought fit to abolish He published a all the Paragraphs of the Julian Law, concerning this crime committed either a-confliction a gainft Virians Widows or fuch as were valled in Clothers, whether found in the Conflication against Virgins, Widows, or such as were veiled in Cloisters, whether found in the ancient Books of Laws, or in the Sacred Constitutions, so as this new Law of his, L. Un. de Rayle ancient books of Laws, of it the backets them. Herein he ordains, that fuch as wirging the should answer all the Provisions made by them. Herein he ordains, that fuch as wirging the should answer all the Provisions made by them. take away by force any Woman of free Condition, be punished with Death; as Juft. line of the condition, be punished with Death; as Juft. line of the condition also such as give them assistence, especially if they be veiled. Such also as thus offend against Widows, though but Libertina, and the Slaves of other men. And especially those that committed this offence against Married Women. All liberty of Appeal he takes away from the Offenders, according as had been anciently determined by a Law of Conflantine: If the Women on which the Rape was committed, were onely Slaves or Libertina, no Estates should be forfeited; but if of ingenuous Condition, their Goods moveable and immoveable, both of Principals and Affiftents, should be recovered to the use and property of the Women so injured. He forbids such Women to be Married to those that committed the Rapes, but to be otherwise bestowed as their Parents shall think fit. The aforesaid Pains of Death and confifcation he declares shall be undergone by the Offenders, and those that affift them in Person at the commission of the Crime; all other Abettors and Receivers shall onely be punished with Death. All such Persons shall undergoe such pains though the Women be consenting. Parents not Prosecuting, shall be punished with Deportation. And if any of the Assistance be found to be of servile condition, the party whether Man or Woman, shall be Burned, as had also been provided by the Law of Constantine.

21. For the two first months of the third year of Justinian, wherein Decius (in the West) was sole Consul, no Laws are found dated, though possibly some of those that are without date, (and inscribed to Memas especially,) might thence derive their Original. The Code went now briskly on till the feventh before the Ides of April, on which day being finished, it was directed to Mennas the Prafetlus Pratorio, and before it was finished, Justinian hasted to make several Constitutions upon divers Subjects to be inferted in it. For befides what probably might be done in these two lately mentioned months, we find by certain Dates, that in March and afterwards, the Queftor was at work, and from the eleventh before the Calendsof April inclusive, to the faid seventh before the Ides, eleven Constitutions to have received stamp from Imperial Authority. By one on the eleventh before the Calends, he took away more difficulties in making Testaments, fo as they should opperate Testaments in favour of concerned Persons. On the Calends themselves on the first of April 19 in favour of concerned Persons. On the Calends themselves, or the first of April, iii. 3. iii. 3. three Constitutions bear certain Date. I call it certain, because the Consul with month and day is also expressed; but there is another which though it want the Name of the Conful, yet because the Calends of April are expressed, and it is inscribed to Mennas the Prafectus Pratorio, Baldwin with reason sets it to this day also of this very year. The three former do so nearly concern the Jus Privatum, that they are not so fit for our Cognisance; this is of a more general Nature, and Ordains that may be taken notice of by us. It determines that Criminal Caufes shall be termi. L. th. a interminal Caufes shall be termined caufes shall be termined that the contest of the Suit, community, and the contest of the Suit, community shall be termined to the contest of the Suit, community shall be termined to the contest of the Suit, community shall be termined to the suit. The contest of the suit of tence to be admitted; or the Judges and their Officers shall fine in twenty pounds Cal. Apr.

of Gold.

22. Of old time, a Criminal Action was to be finished within the space of one year, fo favourable feemed the cause of accused Persons to be, who, while in Bonds they defended themselves, could neither manumit, nor make Donations, 76, 36, 164, neither be witnesse for nor against, nor look after Honours. The year was to Cold Theories the tis beginning from the Inscription (of the Accuser's Name, who if he proved common the Crime, was to undergo the Lex Talionis,) in such cases where an Inscrip Baldain stip not the Crime, was to undergo the Lex Talionis,) in such cases where an Inscrip Baldain stip in the Crime, was to undergo the Lex Talionis, and the Crime of not the Crime, was to unuergo the Lex lations, I in fuch cases where an interior beautiful tion was required, and where it was not from the contribution of the Suit. If the Court of the C Accuser did not finish what he had to doe in a years time, he was branded with of a

Infamy, or if of more base Condition Banished; and besides this forfeited the Sect. 2. fourth part of his Estate. But now instead of one, Infinian thought fit to grant two years for profecution, and therefore when Tribonian composed his Code, and was to insert in it the Laws of that of Theodosius, the Title which runs that within a year a Criminal Action is to be terminated, he thus interpolated and changed, within a certain or determinate time, and he did the same thing in the Laws themfelves. Yet notwithstanding, such was his carelesness or forgestiulness, that in several places of the Digefts, he left fome remainders of the old Law, which circumfcribed the time of profecuting a criminal Action within a year. Hereypon the mistake of some Interpreters hath risen, who after a years time imagined that an accused Person might sue for Honours, which opinion was sounded upon his inferting still the remainders of the old Law. But Justinian afterward allowed the term of three years for deciding Civil Caufes, and pecuniary Matters, but allowed two for Criminal onely, and out of respect to the accused Persons, is thought to have inlarged it so far and no farther. Of old time possibly he was put in mind, that in pecuniary Caufes time of delay could be given but once, in Criminal to the accused thrice, and to the accuser but twice. But hereby nothing was altered as to what Zeno had Ordained, that a Magistrate should speedily be tried after the coming out of his Office, as fustinian made it a singular Case, that what was objected against a Clerk, should be decided within two months.

23. Of the ninth before the Ides of this same April, is a Constitution bearing Date, whereby he declared that if one Stipulated, to give or doe fomething at a certain time, under a certain Penalty, in case he faild, the Penalty should take place, though he pretended he was not put in mind; for he himself ought to have remem- L. 12. de contrabred it. Now this, he faith, he doeth, to take off the obscurity of the old Law, hends by con-which gave occasion to the protracting of Suits, but Baldwin shews in several parimpediately plant of the protracting of Suits, but Baldwin shews in several parimpediately plant of the protracting of Suits, but Baldwin shews in several parimpediately plant of the protracting of Suits, but Baldwin shews in several parimpediately plant of the protracting of Suits, but Baldwin shews in several parimpediately plant of the protracting of Suits, but Baldwin shews in several parimpediately plant of the protracting of Suits, but Baldwin shews in several parimpediately plant of the protracting of Suits, but Baldwin shews in several parimpediately plant of the protracting of Suits, but Baldwin shews in several parimpediately plant of the protracting of Suits, but Baldwin shews in several parimpediately plant of the protracting of Suits, but Baldwin shews in several parimpediately plant of the protracting of Suits, but Baldwin shews in several parimpediately plant of the protracting of Suits of Suits, but Baldwin shews in several parimpediately plant of the protracting of Suits of S ticulars out of the Pandects, that the opinions of the ancient Lawyers in this parti- lib. 8. in 38. cular were very express, and this was not any new Law. On the day following, or the eighth before the Ides, seven Constitutions bear Date. Whereas Persons were not at Age, till they had completed twenty five years; yet when young men were found to be frugal and discreet, after that of twenty, they were sometimes were found to be trugal and ducreer, after that of twenty, they were iometimes without allowed to govern their own Estates by the indulgence of the Prince. Now Justin miss their E. miss to their to prohibit them, as also other Minors, to alienate or ingage their L. 3, de bit qui immoveable Estates, without the authority of a Decree interposing. By another imperaement, and this day, he declared the Emperour and his Empress free to make gifts to each out Justin his 2.

other during Matrimony, which others could not doe, so as they should forthwith tit. 45.

be Valid, without expectance of the Death of the Prince; forafmuch as Imperial L.26. de donation Contracts (he calls them,) are as fo many Laws, and need no affiftence from with nibus tates within the contracts. out. By another Conftitution of this day, he provided for Modelly, otherwise & sawm, c.d. than what before had been practifed, at least as he imagined. There had been practifed, at least as he imagined.

fome controversie how Puberty should be made out and proved; some said by the L. ult. Quando Habit of the Body, and ability to generate; but most agreed upon the Age of four-Tutures sel Cuteen years in a Man, as twelve in a Woman, as is proved from Tertulitan and o-man, odd. fyli. Censul doubt thers. But though this opinion of the Proculeians was the most received, yet to lib s. iii. 60.01-ato Paberty. take off all doubts and controversies, Justinian thought fit to Establish it by Law, & Ballatima wh and to prohibit all unfeemly inspections of the Body: This was convenient to be print, p. 74. fetled, because one not arrived at Puberty, could not contract Matrimony, make

a Testament, give Testimony, nor be bound to any thing without the authority of his Tutour intervening. Full Puberty ended, of a man in his eighteenth year, and of a Woman in her fourteenth. And a Boy was wont to nourish the Hair of his Head till his fourteenth.

2.4. There is another Law bearing Date also of this same day, which with others L. Uh. de fifeating of the same nature, relatesto a remarkable Subject. The Subject is that of Usury, likes when, Cad.

Recognizes the or interest for Money and other things borrowed: And this Constitution relates to Japhilla Law. The Treasury, prohibiting that it receive any Interest, but according to a former Law made by him, which hereby he confirms. Now that Law must be one which is of the same tenour with this which confirms it , and indeed no other than L. 26. de Univ. a Noble Constitution directed also to the same Person, viz, Mennas, now Prafettus Cod. Full. Rb. 4. Pratorio, in the Confulship of Justinian; though how many times Consul and the 111. 32. day be not added. Indeed Justinian made many Laws concerning Usury, though he ordained nothing but what had formerly been such concerning the Obligation, the cause whence Usury descended, @ how it was contracted, whether by Stipulation, Pact, or Delay; but concerning the manner, end and quantity of just and lawfull Interest, he first enacted many things, liking none which had formerly Z 2

Part III.

Justinian.

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Sect. 2. been made by the Romans upon the same points. And in the old Common Wealth, they varied much as to their Laws and practice in this kind. By the Law of the Indian, Amad. twelve Tables, that Usury was onely permitted, which they called Ofura Onciaria vide Cabin twelve Tables, that Untry was onely permitted, when as pleafed the monied Lexic in the of thing food being one in the Hundred, whenas before that time it was as pleafed the monied Lexic in the food time. Men. After that, (ten years its faid,) it was brought by a Tribunitian Law to ciarium Jean. Men. After that, (ten years its faid,) it was brought by a Tribunitian Law to clarium Jesu. half an one in the hundred; and when even this proportion also feemed grievous, L. Genutius proposed a Law to the People, that no Usury at all should be taken. But the practice being suppressed, Covetous or Concerned Persons betook themfelves to Frauds. They had a way to transmit the Obligation to others, who were not obnoxious to the Laws, as those they called Socii Latini Nominis. To obviate this M. Sempronius the Tribune, by order of the Senate, proposed a Law, and the People enacted, that the same Law should hold in the case of Borrowing and Lending money, with the Affectates of the Latine Name, as with Roman Citizens. However Tacitus writes, that though many Laws were made by the people for to cut off all Fraud; yet though repressed, it renued again by strange slights and devices. However, for the fake of Commerce and other Conveniences, it still was found convenient if not necessary, that Usury should be permitted, and the highest The United Con- role to the Ujura Centesimaria, which contained twelve times the Ujura Onciaria

tesimaria, and but now mentioned.

2.5. For the better understanding of this, and many other matters relating to the Roman Laws and Customs, it is necessary that the Reader know formerhing concerning their Ulage, and Division of their As. Here, in short, it may suffice to fay, that this word being the same import with a Nammus, with Libra and Pondo, was also received to fignify any thing that was whole and Integral. For the Ancients when they divided any thing into equal parts, as an Inheritance, or any fuch other thing, were wont to call it As, and the parts of it so divided, Uncire. And The At was all into twelve Uncia they divided it, as the Pound is fill into formany Ounces. And the feveral parts had their proper Names, as two Uncie were called Sextans, three and their names. Quadrans, four (or a third part of the As,) Triens, five Quincunx, fix Semis or an half, seven Septunx, eight Bes, nine they called Dodrans, ten Dextans, eleven Denax, and the twelve, or the whole, As. Now to apply this to our prefent matter of Usury or Interest, it must be known that the principal money was wont. to be reckoned by the Hundred, as now-a-days. And this the Romans are faid to have taken from the Greeks, who for a more commodious way of Accounts, reduced their Principal to a Mina, which contained an hundred Drachms. Now then when one in the Hundred was paid for Interest by the year, this they called Usura Unciaria, but not Centesima; for the Usura Centesima was when one Umia or the hundredth part of the Principal was paid every month, and so twelve Uncide or the whole As in a year, which indeed was twelve in the Hundred. But their Custome was to pay their Interest every month, and when one Oncia was monthly paid, this was called the Centesima indeed, or full Interest, being the As of Usury. Hence followed other leffer as Parts of this As. Semis when but half of it was paid in the year, or fix in the Hundred, viz. Half an Uncia every month, or half an one in the Hundred; Quadrans when a fourth part, and so proporti-

26. Notwithstanding all Indeavours to the contrary, yet the Centesimaria Usurase ems to have been the most common, and even that called Legitima in the Law Books. Some have held that it was leffened by the Lex Gabinia, because Cicero vide Baldaina fignifies to Atricus, that some such thing was comprehended in that Law, which withput he himself followed in his Edictum Tralaticium, or that which according to the Custome of the Ancients, he took and transcribed from the City into his Province. Plutarch also writes, that Luculius in Afia prescribed those bounds. Both Tacitus and Suetonius mention a Law made by Cafar the Dictatout, concerning the manner of Lending and holding Poffeffions within Italy. What it precifely determined we know not, though it feems that in the time of Tiberius, the Lenders took more for their Money, than by that Law they might do, which Law lay neglected, the publick good, hefaith, being lefs valued than private Commodity. This caufed a multitude to rife up as Informers, against fuch as transgressed the Law, and Gracchus being Prætor, unto him the examination of the question fell. He being constrained by the multitude of fuch as were indangered thereby, propounded the matter to the Senate. The Senatours being afraid, for there was none of them free from that fault, craved respite of the Prince. He granted them a year and fix months, within which time every man, according to the prescript of Law, should settle his Estate, and make up his Domestical Accounts. Upon this, every man calling in

his Debts, on a sudden there followed a great scarcity of Money; and by reason that so many were condemned, and their Goods sold, all the Coin ran either to the publick Treasury, or that of the Prince. The Senate ordained, that two parts of the Use money should be laid out on Lands in Italy: but the Creditours disliked it, and urged the payment of the whole, as a matter impairing the Reputation of the Parties convented, to go from their word.

27. At first there was great running hither and thither, and Entreaties used. Then they flocked about the Prætor's Tribunal: and those things that were proposed for a Remedy, as selling and buying such Mens Goods, turned to a contrary in Therms uns. effect, because the Usiners had hoarded up all their Money to buy Land. And because the multitude of Sellers made Land very cheap, the more a man was indebted, the more unwilling he was to fell. Many were thrust out of all they had, and with their Wealth their Credit also fank, till Tiberius relieved them, by putting an hundred Million of Sesterces into a Bank, and lent it for three years without Consideration or Interest, provided the Debtour could give security to the People of Rome in Lands double the value of the Debt. By that means their Credit was reflored, and other private Creditours by little and little appeared. Neither was the buying of Lands practifed, according to the Decree of the Senate. Though it was hotly at the beginning pursued, in the end it was carelesly neglected, as almost all such things are. Such was the stir about Usury, as Tacitus relates it, in the time of Tiberius, and it feems that the Practice returned to be much as formerly, and the Osura Centessima continued even to the time of Justinian. He was against it, as too hard and exacting; but to settle the full matter of Interest there was famina diffice need of good confideration. It could not be done in a word or two, but was to be fitted to various circumstances.

28. For a diffinction was to be made between Creditour and Creditour, Debtour and

Debtour, the thing that was lent was to be confidered, with the Condition of the Obligation, what delay there was in the case, or how long the Creditour wanted his money. Arcadius and Honorius, as we have formerly seen, ordained that Senatours should not stipulate or receive more than half the As, or fix in the Hun-Bellatins that of dred. But now Justinian thought fit to restrain Illustrious Persons, under whom they

were comprehended, to a Triens, or four in the Hundred. But as Baldwin words it, he did not think his own Treasury so illustrious, but that he permitted it to receive fix. For a little after that Constitution he published another, whereby he enacted, that his Treasury should be bound by that Law, yet so as it might require Though not that the Usara semissis, which was vulgar and common. Paul, the great Lawyer, had

formerly answered, that one who had received Interest less than six, yet if he became a Debtour to the Treasury, should to it pay the full fix. Now Justinian, in general, defines that always fix shall be allowed to the Treasury, but no more, whether it be a Debt principally and originally belonging to it, or that Actions be transferred to it from other Creditours. But Illustrious Persons he will allow to receive but four, which fort of Interest is, by Lawyers, called the lighter, as fix, by Pliny, is termed civil, and moderate. Lampridius writes of that excellent Prince, Alexander Severus, that he to took but four in the Hundred; and in old time it was answered, that when any thing were yearly left to the Commonwealth, the Interest was to be of four onely, in the Falcidian Law. When any thing was delayed to be paid to the Commonwealth, as the fetting up of a Statue, left as a Legacy to the People of Rome, Paulus also said, that but four in the Hundred were to be exacted for that delay. In like manner Justinian ordained, that if the Dower was not paid for whole two years after Matrimony contracted, or if after the diffolution of the Marriage the Husband did not restore back the Dower; consisting in moveables, for such Mora, or Delay, Interest of sour in the Hundred should be paid. To which fomething like had formerly been appointed.

Permits Traffickers to take

29. But Traders Justinian permitted to take eight in the Hundred, others in general onely fix, whereas twelve had been formerly permitted to all. Herein he considered the Persons of the Creditours, or of those who put out their money. Novel. 32, 33, Executational. And he also had respect to those who received upon Interest. He had at length 34 main interest pity upon miserable Husbandmen, to whom the State is fo much beholden, ordaining, that to no Creditour whomsever they should pay more than four in the Hundred, or not much more than four, viz. one Siliqua yearly for every Solidus, of which it was the four and twentieth part. But those whom he eased tarraher bur. in the Interest of Money, he seems to have burthened in that of Fruits. For these them in he allows the eighth part of a Modius to be stipulated for every Modius, which a little exceeds the Vfura Centesima, or twelve in the Hundred. And indeed when

he published his first Constitution formerly mentioned, he permitted all Persons to take the Centesima upon Commodities, though not on Money. And now he remits nothing, except it be for Bread-corn lent to Husbandmen. The reason was, because Husbandmen are wont from sowing such seeds to receive the Interest of two hundred, or more, and otherwise the prices of such things are so uncertain, that he feemed to find reason therein to consult the advantage of the Creditour, to whom the thing borrowed might be paid, in, or at, a time wherein the value of it was faln, which rarely happened unto Money, the quantity of money confifting in the value, but that of other things in weight and measure. Constantine, as we formerly observed, put a restraint upon the Usury of Fruit, forbidding more to be taken than a third part, or, allowing that, if two Modii of Corn were lent, a third should be returned back for the use of the two, so as these two, and it, should make up three parts, and, in reality, an half of the whole should be returned for Interest. This was a Reformation of the old Extravagance and Extorsion, made by Constantine; but notwithstanding this, and that, the Vsura Centesima was left by him as it formerly was, though he forbad it to be exceeded, the Interest of Fruits was three

times greater than that of Money.

30. Both the one and the other fort Justinian found to be too great, and what he did as to that of money we have already faid. Other Usury than that of Money he forbad to exceed the Centesima. That he allowed, and he allowed it to be taken than that of Mo- of Husbandmen, from whom otherwise he forbad so much to be exacted for the neyhe forbids to use of Money, as from other men. For Fruits he grants they might take double of exceed the Conthat of money, permitting, though but a Siliqua yearly for every Solidus, yet for a Modius of Corn an eighth part to be slipulated. To evade this Law, Creditours afterward were wont, when they lent Money, to fay, they lent it to buy Corn, and L. 16. de Ufinis stipulate the Interest to be that of Corn, to obviate which fraud Justinian took care in the law formerly mentioned. Thus he had respect to what was lent, and confidered who it was that borrowed, and who lent, in these his Constitutions. But he also distinguished according to the Danger and Risque the Lender was like to run. So that if he was to bear the loss, if the fruits that were to be sown miscarried, he restrained him not by Law. Meither was that the Lawyers call Antichrefis formerly fo restrained by Constitutions, but that it might be used, provided there was no fraud therein. They called it Antichresis, when the Creditour received the Fruits of a piece of ground, or other thing, which was given in pledge for Money lent. And Lucullus feems to have attempted to restrain the practice of it, and to reduce it to moderation. To be fure both the obligation of it, and of other Forbids the Am forts of Pledges, was diffolved, if the Principal was tendred. However Julinian intensity in the neorgis in the Lands or Goods forbad, that the Fields or Goods of Husbandmen should be held by the way of Anof Husbandmen tichresis. The Ancients indeed prohibited the Instruments of Husbandry to be taken or obliged this way, but he extends the Prohibition to other of their things,

though the Creditour lent them the Corn, and underwent the danger of the mifcarriage of the seed. For miserable must be the estate of the Husbandman, and

Husbandry it felf must be disturbed, if their grounds be held and tilled by other men. 31. There was another fort of Usury, as remarkable as any of the rest, if not The Farmer Nau- more, and that arose from Money lent for Traffick by Sea, called Farnes Nauticum, ticum uncertain, and Trajellitium. In case the Creditour took upon himself the danger of Sea and Navigation, nay and in such case subjected the very Principal to danger, the Ancients judged Usury to be free, and by no means to be circumscribed, it being indeed the price of the danger rather than any thing elfe. But such Contracts Just inian thought fit to restrain to the Usura Centesima. Yet afterwards he found, that these Contractus Trajellitii were so various, that they could not conveniently be regulated by one Law, and his Resolution was various about them. In order to a right determination, concerning lawfull Interest in such Cases, a distinction must be made in reference to the condition of the Money lent, and the peril undergone by the Creditour. Moreover it's to be known, that the Law fo often mentioned concerning the L 26. moderation of Usury, properly belongeth to Stipulations and Contracts, and that fometimes, even by the Imperial Constitutions, greater Interest was due without contract. As Justinian himself afterwards declared, that the Interest of such things as had been decreed in Judicature, concerning which the Law had passed, should be that Interest of the Centesima, if so be the Party cast did not make payment after four months, L. wh. Cod. Jul.

in Judiciante provided it should be onely for the Principal, not for any former Interest due upon de Opination allowed to be of the Designated though they had been tained together as one in the condemnation distale, in ? the Principal, though they had been joined together as one in the condemnation disals, the And yet he declared by the former I aw that no greater Interest thould be supply the second And yet he declared by the former Law, that no greater Interest should be exacted for Contracts, than he therein allows, though the Contracts had been made before

CHAP. II. the Law, in the time when it was lawfull to stipulate greater. And what is more Sect. 2. observable, he permitted not the course of Interest to exceed the double, or more to interest not to be paid for Use, than the whole Principal amounted to; nor though there was a L. penult. Cod. de

Pledge in the case.

32. This was received of old for Law, that when the Interest did equal the Principal, the payment of it should cease, although it was the Usura Nautica and Trajectitia. But Justinian infinuates, as Baldwin observes, that there were some old Laws, by which, if the Creditour had a Pledge, he might retain it, and so by it, exact even greater Usury; which Laws, whatsoever they were, he took away, that so the Moderation of Interest, which he brought up, might be preserved. He also observes another effect of this Moderation of our Legislatour. In reference to the doubling of the Principal, and stopping of Interest when it should have equalled it, Antoninus the Emperour, by his Rescript, declared, that to the making up of that fumm which equalled the Principal, fuch Interest as had formerly been paid thould not be reckoned, but onely fuch as were in arrear from the Debtour. But Justinian considering, that by this means a knavish Debtour might have the advantage above the honest and well meaning, who constantly kept his day of payment, and that a covetous and exacting Creditour should fare better than one who was generous, and not exacting or precise in getting Money, though he had at first taken that Rescript or Law of Antoninus into his Code, yet at length he thought fit reason be, receit fhould be reckoned to make that furm, which equalling the Principal should difto repeal it, and ordained that Interest already paid, and the several payments of Movel. 121.

charge the Debtour from farther Usury. This his favour was abused by certain Creditours, who extended it to extinguish some pecuniary Incomes, which otherwise were perpetual, which constrained him to publish another Novel Constitution Novel, 160. whereby he repressed that interpretation. For when the Creditour can call in or recover his Principal, it is a fault in him to chuse rather to oppress the Debtour with

Interest; and therefore where he doth not call it in, the Law stops the Use-money; and he may thank himself for suffering his Principal to lye dead in the Debtour's But his now re- hands: But if it be fo alienated, that it cannot be recovered, and by the payment of it, a Pension or Annuity be purchased, though with that Condition, that the

Debtour, by repayment of the Principal, might discharge himself, it seemed hard, that having for fome years onely paid as much to the Creditour as it came to, he should refuse to pay Interest still for that Money which he kept in his hands, and

which the Creditour could not recover out.

33. Another particular is still behind, which shewed how moderate this Legislatour was in point of Usury. The old Laws forbad that Use should be taken for Use-money, or Use upon Use, insomuch that they marked him with Insamy that should require it. Yet, as Justinian observes, they did not make sufficient provifion against the practice, but by permitting the Interest to be turned into Principal, and then the Interest of the whole summ, so put together, to be stipulated, made it all one thing to the Debtours, and thereby regulated not Things but Words. But he Hoc cent erat resolved to obviate this fraud by defining, that, to take off this colour and vizard bis, tantummodo of Justice, no Use-money or Interest should be turned into, or receive the name of legem Interest forbid. Principal, and Interest stipulated to be paid for it. Yet this Law seems to be im- 1. 28. de Uparis. de to be chan-de to be chan-ged into Princi- it is demanded what punishment such Offender is to suffer. In the Law at first men. L. 26.

tioned, as well as in this, he added; that stipulations made contrary to these Laws should be of no force; and in favour of Husbandmen he was more severe, ordaining, that fuch as did not observe his Novel Constitutions in that point, should lose their Principal. This Baldwin observes, and since him Molineus embraces the opi- vide Notas in nion of fuch Lawyers, as think an infamous Ufurer may be punished criminally, Law, easier infamiairand may be tortured, though in the Laws no fuch provision be made, and this he regame, co.d. lost. had seen done in the Parliament of Paris. Plato's Law was very severe also, which life 2 in 12. would permit the Debtour so exacted upon to pay neither Interest nor Principal.

But Baldwin pronounces such Theoremes of Philosophers to be too confused, and The Laws of o- to disturb the Commerce of humane Societies. As also that the Laws of other Nations, as to Usury, kept no mean nor distinction, but were intemperate and infinite, and either prohibited or permitted every fort of Usury. But how more wife-Point of Intely, faith he, and confiderately did Justinian act: And yet he adds, Posterity bewitched with a foolish fort of Superstition, and fillily abhorring the name of Usu-

ry not understood, whenas they did not refuse the thing it self, hath dared to inveigh against so good a Legislatour in this kind.

34. We

Tustinian.

PART III.

CHAP. II.

The Edict of

Sect. 2.

ject, he published another on a different, wherein he altered the Law as it had for-Donations be- merly ftood. The Ancients prohibited mere Donations betwixt Man and Wife, twixt Man and for according fuch Inconveniences as extreme affection or importunity might pro-

cure betwixt them. They prohibited them not when they were first contracted; but this fort of Donation is faid to have had a tacite condition, if Marriage follow- nation ed, especially by a Law of Constantine; for indeed before, when no cause was expressed, nor any condition, the ancient Lawyers seemed to interpret it to be a pure and liberal Donation, so as the thing became presently theirs, to whom it was made. There was a third fort of Donation before Marriage; which was not a Et property at mere Donation, but for confideration, being, as it were, a certain compensation Julius as it. antwening our lines Donaton, be to contact the Wite brought; or our Jointure in England, open toward jointure, not of the Dos, or Portion, which the Wite brought; or our Jointure in England, open toward jointure, not of the Dos, or Portion, which the Husband contributed as she did her Dos.

Baldwin faith, this fort of Do- Prima application to the Romans. which the Husband contributed as the did not partial was unknown to the ancient Lawyers, even by confession of fustinian; but est Domain and nation was unknown to the ancient Lawyers, even by confession of fustinian; but est Domain and Domain in the time of the later Emperours, when Barbarism diminished the Dignity of fitnianas cam to

34. We have done with the business of Usury, but shall farther take notice, that the same Day he made the Law which gave occasion to the Discourse upon this Sub-

Husbands, and when men became thereupon uxorious, it began to be in ule, there men being no mention of it in the Pandects. Hereupon though the Dos, or Portion, ter Napita, on be faid to be by the Law of Nations, yet he scarcely allows this to belong to the earn etiam pf De laid to be by the Law of Nations, yet he clared how much the Man should give or maintene, at it.

Civil Law. And at first it was not prescribed how much the Man should give or maintene, at it. contribute upon this Account. But Leo and Anthemius decreed, that some equality sam Drem. Like of Portion should be observed in the Pacts of the Dos, and this Donation, that on it. 3. 115.5 cal. fuch terms as the Husband gained a third part of the Dos, the Wife should gain in like manner a fourth of the Donation.

35. This equality therefore might otherwise be unequal, and Interpreters commonly, though barbaroufly, faid it was quotitative, not quantitative; yet Justinian, when he made his Code, was content to admit it. He onely added, that if the Pails were unequal, they should be so reduced to equality, that the greater gain should be Qualitative to brought down to the lefs, as if the Wife compacted to gain a third part of the Dona- quantitative tion, and the Husband but a fourth, that Pact of hers should onely be understood Judinion takes to be of the fourth part. He afterward in a Novel Conflictution approved this Law; Nov. 22. pains in this At but some time after, by another, he enacted, that both in quantity and frame of Nov. 97. fair. this Donation for Marriage, fuch equality should be observed betwixt it and the Dos; that so much should be contained in it as in the other. He had formerly ordained, that the Donation should not be greater than the Dos. He was afraid that the Law which prohibits a fimple Donation to be made from the Husband to the Wife, should be infringed; and herein, contrary to his wont, he seemed little to savour Women, by repressing the liberality of their Husbands. But this Donation ten-

ded to their advantage, the Dos being better secured to them, and thereby the Husband being hindred from breaking the Matrimony by divorce, rashly, and without a cause. Indeed the Wife, in respect of her Dos she brought with her, had a great Obligation upon all her Husband's Estate; but besides, this condition was profitable; for the Husband could not alienate tuch things, especially if immoveable, though the Wife consented, as the Legislatour determined. And then, as the Woman divorcing Nov. 61. her self without cause, lost part of her Dos, so the Husband, in such case, lost part

of his Donation also. 36. The day following the date of all these Constitutions lately mentioned, or the seventh of the Ides of April, presents us with one directed also to Mennas, where-

in Justinian will have all due honour and respect paid to Judges, and ordains, that L. uh. Quado in case a Judge have omitted to tax the Expences of a Suit, and to award them to medifical full Prohibits Appeals in point of him that overcomes his Adversary, there shall be no need of any Appeal, but the 11th, 7 th Adversary coll of source and agent, but the 11th, 7 th Adversary coll of source and a source to decree him a compensation for the said Costs and Damages he hath sustained. Though all or most of the other Constitutions were made before the Code was published, yet we can scarcely think that this was, because on this very same day we find the Code it self set forth, though Baldwin would have it the day following. It appears to to have been by the date of the Edict, prefixt to it for its confirmation, which, in our later Edition, bears date of the seventh of the Ides of April, and is directed also to Mennas, as Præfetlus Prætorio, Expresect of the City, and Patritian, which Mennas continued to be Prefect to the Month of August of this year. He begins his Edict by telling his Subjects, "That the main defence of the State De Jallinson of Proceeded from two fountains, of Arms and the Laws, which exerting thence its 4. "Power, had procured the happy Stock of the Romans to be preferred before all

"Nations, had caused them to have Dominion over all People for the time past,

"and with the Favour of God, would doe the like for that to come. One of these, "he adds, always flood in need of the Affiftence of the other, the Affairs of War "being kept in fafety by the Laws, as well as the Laws preserved by the safe-guard " of Arms. That therefore applying his Mind, and Indeavours to the chief " means of the Prefervation of the Commonwealth, he had by manifold means. " and provident Methods amended the State of the Militia, as well by reducing

"the ancient Laws into a better Frame, and that in a short space of time, as by

" ordaining new, yet without any new publick Expences.

36. "But it being necessary by reducing into Brevity, the multitude of Consti-"tutions as well found in the three ancient Codes, as those added afterward, to "take away the obscurity of them, which cast a mist before the Judges in "their Decisions; for the performance of this common Good, with the Assist-"ence of God, he applyed himfelf earnestly to it, and having made choice of "Men, who were most Glorious, for their learning in the Laws, their experience "in the World, their indefatigable Industry for the good of the State, and their "laudable Defign, with certain Restrictions, he committed to them this great La-"bour, by which the Constitutions of the three Codes of Gregorius, Hermogenia-" nus, Theodofius, together with the Constitutions of the said Theodofius, of suc-"ceeding Princes, and fuch as had been made by himself, he commanded to be "collected into one Code; which should be named after himself. The Prefaces "he tells us, were to be taken away, as affording no fuffrage to the Sanctions, as "also such contrary Constitutions as were made void by others, more lately pro-"mulgated, fuch also as being to the same purpose, and made no distinction in "Law; besides many other things, he gave in Charge to those most prudent Per-" fons; and the Omnipotent God gave Affiftence to his Endeavour, which was un-" dertaken for the Commonwealth. After this, he declares that those Persons formerly " named, according to their feveral Titles and Qualifications, which here it will "be needless to repeat, viz. John, Leontius, Phocas, Basilides, Thomas, Triboni-" an, Constantinus, Theophilus, Dioscorus and Præsentinus, being chosen for com-" pleting to great a Work, had by the help of God, brought what he had com-"mitted to them, through their fedulous and most vigilant Industry, and their " moderate digefting of Matters to a prosperous Issue, and had presented to him a "new Justinianean Code so composed, as should be profitable to the Common-" wealth, and agreeable to the Constitution and Interest of his Empire.

37. "Then applying his Speech to Mennas the Prefect he tells him, that he "thought fit to direct this Code, which for ever should be of force to the Judg-"ment of his Highness, that as well all that have Suits, as the most eloquent Ad-"vocates may know, that in all Causes and Tryals, they infift not for the time " to come on any Constitutions found in the three ancient Codes now mentioned. "or on any amongst those at this time called Novel Constitutions; but onely make "use of those inserted in his Code, under pein of Forgery. For he saith, the " reading of the Constitutions of his said Code, if the Labours of the ancient Inter-" preters of Law be added, are sufficient to decide all Controversies; there being no "doubt to arise, either for that, some of them are without Day or Consul, or for that "they are Answers to certain Persons; it being most evident, that they all obtain the "force of general Constitutions; although some of the said Constitutions be so "framed, that certain words be taken away, added or altered, which Liberty he "had given to the faid most Excellent Persons. He forbids that, any recier them "out of the Books of the ancient Lawyers, otherwife than they are in his Code, " permitting them onely to commend the opinions of the Interpreters, which shall "onely fo far be of value, as they do not contradict the Constitutions of his " Code. If there were any Pragmatick Sanctions which had not been received in-"to his Code, perhaps granted to Cities, Bodies, Schools, Scrinia or Offices, or "to fome certain Person; if so be they granted any special Privilege and Indul-"gence, they should remain in force; or if they were designed for certain Heads "or Chapters, then they should be of force if they were contrary to no Con-"flitution in his Code. In like manner, if any thing had been done in the Court " of Mennas, or other Civil or Military places of Judicature, or at the Principia " Numerorum, in reference to publick Expences, or any Titles relating to the pub-"lick, he adjudges them to be valid as the common Utility doth require. And " now he concludes with an Epilogue, which he, or his ten Compilers of the Code, "have cut off from all the Constitutions therein comprized. Let therefore thy "Magnifick and Illustrious Authority, according to the Vigilancy thou usest in "behalf of the Commonwealth, and in fulfilling our Orders, cause the said Code

" to be known to all forts of People, by Edicts published according to the Cu-"frome. The Text it felf also of the Code, is to be sent into all Provinces subject "to our command, with our Divine (so still they used to word it) Subnotation, "that fo the Constitutions of our Code may come to the knowledge of all; "and that there being Festival days to come, that is from the fixteenth day before "the Calends of May, of this present seventh Indiction, in the Consulship of the "most famous Decius; Quotations and Authorities of Constitutions, may be made " from our faid Code. Given on the seventh before the Ides at Constantinople, De-" cius, the most Famous, being Consul, A.D. DXXIX.

38. In this Edict he commends much his ten Compilers, for their Industry and Skill; whatever their Industry was, their haste seems to have been too great and precipitate, having taken but the time of fifteen Months, for the Collecting and The hafte of the Interpolating of this Code. This indeed they might the more eafily doe, because Compilers cen- he gave them leave to take away the Prefaces to the feveral Constitutions; which afforded no light to the Sanctions. But they took away both Prefaces and Epilogues, and thereby deprived us of a great Light, which they would have afforded the occasions, and consequently the reasons of the Laws. It were to be wished they had taken away all contrary Constitutions, and those of the same Tendency and Effect. And that the Liberty he gave them of taking away, adding and altering Words had been more cautiously used, as with great Grief to all understanding Men, it is found that it was not; their Interpolations being most notorious. And Justinian by the persuasion of them or others, seems to have made too too much haste, having scarcely put into this Code, the tenth part of the Constitutions he found requisite afterward to add of his own device. At the same time, that he published this Code (which he ordained should be of Force, from the fixteenth before the Calends of May, or the fourteenth of April) he was still hammering new Constitutions, it is therefore admired that he should not defer the Publication of it. till they were finished. And he found so much occasion for the increasing their number, that for the collecting and inferting of them, a new Edition of the Code was afterwards found necessary. 39. The very day following the Confirmation of the Code, we find a L. with de Relia

not to extend

Constitution directed to this same Mennas, whereby the Emperour declares such runtonils Mill-Privileges as were ordinarily granted to Souldiers, in declining Exceptions, and tum of revision of Retip. cases at Privileges granted to Souldiers in the Restitution in integrum, should onely hold in the time of Expedition, and not funt. Cod. 74th. in the Reflitution in integrum, infould onely fload in the time of experiment, and not pair, cas square then they lay in other places, or at home. And whereas Military men had all of the s. in. i. allowed them great Liberty, in making their Teflaments, which fet them free complete from the Solemnities, which in those of others were required, by another Edict Complete from the Solemnities, which in those of others were required, by another Edict Complete for the following the solemnities of the solemnit tions, and not at all times. This bears Date on the fourth day before the Ides, and on 6.1. 21. the Ides themselves, another Constitution is still directed to Mennas, whereby he L. ult. s. Mennas declares that fuch Alienations as had been made of the Goods or Estate of a Mi-fallus Alienation nor, or one under Age, without the Intervention of a Decree shall be good; if the nem fadam face faid Minor after his coming to Age, or twenty five, did not contradict it, but held habuerin, Cal. his Peace for five years. But whereas a Minor could make no Donations, though Juft. 18th, 5.th. with a Decree, in the time of his Minority, except onely for the cause of Marriage, he will not have them valid, except such Person after he came to Age, shall if present be silent ten years, and if absent twenty. And if he dyed before those Terms completed, his Heirs within the remainder of the Term may recall, if he please, the Donation; not after. These Constitutions might easily have been taken into the Code before its Publication, according to what we now can judge; but the Truth is, there might be preffing Reasons not to stay so long, of which at this distance we are ignorant: So also we are not certain, but that many more might be made betwixt this and August; but yet we find a space of near four Months of Intermission, wherein the Emperour and his Quastor, seem to have of the eighth before the Ides of August; yet being directed still to the same Men. is. 64:59. nas, we suspect other inscribed to him without Date might have been Composed in so much distance of time; but then as to the time we have no certainty.

40. That Edict so much concerns the Jus Privatum, that we shall not meddle with it, for Reasons formerly given. We find on one day of the next Month, viz. the fixteenth of September, or the fifteenth before the Calends of October, eight several Conflitutions bearing Date, as now they are in the Code, not directed to Mennas, but to Demosthenes. For Mennas being now out, Demosthenes came in for the remainder of the Year and that following, together with one Atarbius, as Alaman-

CHAP. II. The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. nus observes from a Constitution published by Ant. Contius, though whence he Sect. 2.

tells not. This Demosthenes also, as he observes, had been Præfestus Prætorio, eight years before in the time of Justin, in the first Consulship of Justinian and Va. In Secret. Hist. lerius, to whom that Emperour directs a Law concerning a blind man; whether, 1.8. Qui Tefful and how he may make a Testament. By one of the eight Laws lately mentioned, menta facere pohe made an Alteration from what had been before, granting an Action in Cafe Fullitiani, lib. of Legacies, and Fideicommissa, both against Thing and Person, and besides an Hy- 6-tit. 22. potheca, or Obligation upon the rest of the Testatours Estate, and he took away he is Communia de Legatia, Cod. the Diffinction of Legacies formerly used. By another, he expresly forbad that, lib. 6. iit. 4: if an Illustrious Woman had legitimate Sons, and also Bastards, of whom the Fa- list Cod Just thers were uncertain, that the Bastards should succeed her, together with the Le-

Nor a Posthu-

The same Per-

fon not to be Affellour and

mous Isfue.

yours Legacies, and Fideicom-

produced our place of Gift, made betwixt the living. For that a Bastard should be named the first to a Woman, both of free and Illustrious Condition, he esteemed it and horrible thing, and unworthy of the times. So much was he concerned in that the Dedicates this I are the state of the stat an horrible thing, and unworthy of the times. So much was he concerned therein, that he Dedicates this Law to Modesty, and that deservedly, which he thinks in pudicities always is to be regarded. He was of Opinion, that the Greatness of Quality quam semper comade the Crime the greater. But if a Woman of ingenuous Condition, was a mus, merite de-Concubine to any Free-man, he permits that fuch Children propagated by fuch law- dicamus. full Conjunction, be admitted to fucceed their Mother, together with her Legitimate issue, in her lawfull Patrimony,

41. He farther ordained, that fuch Infants as were exposed, should be taken and held for free and of ingenuous Condition, and as at this time he defined, what 1. 3. de Infant. Children should be accounted ingratefull, upon that account, as that they might exposin, Cod. be dif-inherited, or loofe part of the Inheritance; fo a few days after, or on lib. 8. tit. 52. the twelfth before the Calends of October, he approved what the great Lawyer Paulus had written, that an Infant could not be ftyled ingratefull by the Mother, nor be repelled from the Mothers Inheritance. But whereas it was held, that An Infant not out of hatred to the Husband, a Woman might dif-inherit her Son, he rejected it, 1. 23. de Inoffia rited as ingrate- and ordained that none should be burthened by the hatred of another Person; that Testam. Cod. lib. an Infant could not be ingratefull, and therefore could not be dif-inherited, and if 3. tit. 28. he were, might always have the benefit of the Querela Inofficiosi Testamenti. As for Posthumous Children, or those that were unborn at the death of their Parents, though he was of feveral minds herein; yet at last, he resolved that they could

not be dif-inherited. For he forbad it to be done at all, without just Cause, and no just Cause could there be as to Posthumous Children. On the fifth before the Calends of October; he decreed that the fame Person should not be both Assessor I. vir. de Assessor and Advocate, or be Assessor to two Magistrates. On the fixth before the rib. Cod. lib. 1 Calends of November, he ordained that a Judicial Sentence of the Prince, should tit. 51. have the Force of a general Law. And on the third before the Calends, or the twenty ninth of October, he made several Constitutions which are said to have been re- 1.6. de Britis cited feven times in the new Confiftory of his Palace. Of one we shall take no. qua, tib. cal. tike tice, which declares what things these are, which a Son as yet in the Paternal 6. til. 61.

power, and not Emancipated, acquires to his Father. 42. By the most ancient Law, whatsoever such a Son gained, he acquired it all

for his Father, who had the full Propriety and Dominion of it. But by the Con-What some not flittutions of the Emperours, Sons, if they were Souldiers, had the Privilege to acquire to their own Propriety and Dominion; what they got by the Service, or those things called Bona Castrensia, which by this example was also granted, to such as ferved the Commonwealth in a Militia non Armata, in fuch Goods as thence were called, Bong quaft Castrensia. But for Adventitious Goods of a Son in Power, they were still acquired to the Father. Constantine first excepted Goods coming by the Mother: and then other Emperours, fuch as came by Matrimony, or betrothing. All these Constitutions in favour of a Son Justinian approved; but whereas other Adventious Goods were acquired for the Father, he judged it a more just thing in the General, that the Vinsfructus of Adventious Goods should be granted to the Father, and the Propriety kept for the Son. As for those they called Profectitia, which proceeded from any thing, or cause of the Father to the Son, those he suffered to be acquired for the Father. But whereas he feemed to be fo Indulgent to Sons in Paternal Power, as contrary to the old Laws, he gave them the Propriety of Adventitious Goods, though the Usifructus belonged to their Fathers, yet would not he I. Uh. ejuft. fuffer them, either, to make a Testament of them, or make any Alienation of "

them amongst the Living, or ingage them, without the Consent of their Fathers. Yet it feems very rational and confequent, that the one should follow the

CHAP. II.

lustinian.

Sect. 2. other; but he fearing he had done too much already, would doe no more, but left the old Law still in Force. Or rather Baldwin is of Opinion, that if he had been moved about it, he would also have given this Liberty of making Wills; being otherwise so indulgent to Sons, that by his Novel Constitutions he would have certain Goods, besides the Castrensia, and quast Castrensia in their full Propriety, without any Vinstrustus lest to their Fathers, such were Goods lest to them with this Condition, that the Fathers should not have the Vinstrustus of them, Goods that came from a Division of a legitimate Inheritance, when the Son and Father were Co-heirs, and as such the Son obtained by an unjust Divorce. As for Adventitious Goods, the Father was the Administratour, or Curatour of them at his own Charge, but not without the Son's Consent, as neither could the Son act as to them without him. Although a Tutour and Curatour, had in General power to all without such Consent required.

43. Whereas it was formerly unlawfull to make any Deed of Gift, or Donati-

Donations when not to be regifired.

on, above two hundred Aurei, except it was publickly Registred, he being a Friend to liberality, permitted first three hundred, and afterwards five hundred to be given without fuch publick Solemnity. But as to the Donations of the Prince, he Vide Baldetwould have them free, and exempt from all Law of Registring whatsoever. And he mam quo supplies was fo Crafty that as he would have the Emperours Donation free from the Law of Infinuation, to also such Gifts of private Men, as were made to the Emperour. The following Year, was the fourth of Justinian, and marked with the Confulfhip of Lampadius and Orestes, who were both Consuls in the West; Justinian little regarding this Honour it feems, and not caring whether at all, or on whom he bestowed it. Amongst several he made this Year; we shall first take notice that on the fixteenth of March he abrogated a Law of Honorius, and Theodofius, 1. 27. de Tellan, whereby it was ordained, that a Tellament made ten Years before the Death of Cod. lib. 6. in. the Testatours should be void. For he took it as an Argument, that the man 23. would have it to continue in Force, because he did not all this while revoke it. Indeed if he did revoke it by another Testament legally made it was void in Law, or if he revoked it by Word of Mouth, before three Witnesses it should stand revoked, if ten Years passed before the death of the Testatour, but not else; or he might in such a Case revoke it at a publick Registry, and the Revocation should stand good, provided ten Years passed as is said. Of the Laws of this Year ,made and altered by him, we shall take no farther notice, being all of such Concernment as relates to the Ins Privatum, which the Reader, if he please, may find in Baldwin his Justinianus, a learned Book as to the Matter, though much as to the Alteration of Laws, to them that do not practife them, not easie to be understood. But at the latter end of this Year, or the eighteenth before the Calends of the next, he gave out, that memorable Mandate for collecting of that Body of Law from the ancient Writers, which now we call the Pandects and Digefts. For these Books were to receive, and into them were to be disposed the substance of the Civil Law, from the Writings of the greatest Professours thereof, digested under se-

out a Mandate for composing the Digests,

44. His Mandate he directs to Tribonian, with the Title of his Quafter, in Prefain rine whom he wonderfully confided for this Affair, though not so happy as Julius Ca. De compiler far would have been in his Sulpitius, or Hadrian in his Julianus for such an Ar. Digetom at the Indiana. tempt, in the Opinion of Baldwin. "After some Presace he tells him, that moved Prantise Dis-" with the Confusion that was in the Law, he had already framed his Code, from still "the Conflitutions of former Princes rightly amended, and digefted, and that "chiefly by his Ministery and overlight. That having had experience of his Dex-" terity in that Affair, he had committed to him also this present Design, of col-"lecting and amending an intire Body of Roman Law, and given him Power to "take to his Affiftence, fuch of the most eloquent Antecessours, and Advocates of " the Prefecture as he should think fit, to bring them into his Palace for this pur-The purport of " pose, and to give them Testimony, as to their fitness, to whom he had committed "the Work; yet so as all should be managed by his most vigilant oversight. He "commands them then to reade and refine the Books of the ancient Lawyers, to "whom the Emperours had given Authority to write and interpret Laws, that " from them, all the Matter thereof might be collected, without any thing men-"tioned, that was either to the same purpose, or of disagreeing Sense, as much "as was possible, but so as that one saying should suffice for all. When this was " done, with high-flown Words he declares, that it ought to be digested into fifty "Books, and under certain Titles, in imitation as well of the Constitution of his "own Code, as the Edictum Perpetuum, as they should most conveniently doe it.

"That fo nothing might be left out of the Collection, but in these fifty Books so whould be comprehended the whole ancient Law, which had lain confused for almost a Thousand five Hundred years, but now was purged by him, and senced as it were in its own Wall. Herein they should observe an equal Authority in all Authours of Laws without any Prerogative of Dignity. Because all were not certain in all, but either better or worse, in certain and peculiar Points.

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

45. "But neither will he have them conclude, that to be most equal and just, "which most Authours say, because perhaps the Opinion of but one, and "he inferiour, may be better. Therefore he will not have them presently reject "what is alledged out of the Notes of Æmilius Papinian, by Ulpian, Paulus and "Marcian, for the honour of that most splendid Person. But if any thing they " meet with in them, which should consummate the Labour of so great a Wit, or "necessary for Interpretation, they should not delay to put it down for Law; as "all other Opinions, which he confirms by his imperial Authority. He gives, "them in Charge as a thing to be studiously observed, that if they find in ancient "Authours any thing not well placed, fuperfluous or imperfect, without any Te-"diousness they amend it, and produce the work, as consummate to all purposes. "Yet should they observe, that if they found any thing not rightly written in the "ancient Laws or Constitutions, put by the Ancients into their Books, they should "reform, and so regulate it that it might seem to be true, the best, and that "as it were written from the beginning, which they made choice of and placed there. And he declares that none dare by comparing the ancient Book, to repre-"hend their writing as vitious. For, whereas by the ancient Law called Regia, " all Right, and all Power of the People of Rome, was transferred into that of the " Emperour, and whereas he did not divide all Law, into such and such Parts of the "Lawmakers, but would have the whole to be his own, what could Antiquity "abrogate as to what he ordained? Nay he will have all fuch Laws to be of that "Force, that though they were written otherwise by the Ancients, yet placed "now contrarywile in this Collection, no Fault shall be imputed to the writing, "but this shall be ascribed to his choice. In Conclusion, he will have no Antino-" mia in any Members of this Collection; but one Concord, and one Consequence, " without any thing faid to the contrary."

46. "But he again prohibits, that any thing like or to the same purpose, be in-"ferted in this Work; as also that such things as are ordained in the Constitutions " placed in his Code, shall again there be put from ancient Law, the Imperial Au-"thority of the Makers fuffering for their Authority, except for the take of Di-"vision, Repletion, or for fuller inquiry this happen; but this shall be very sel-"dom done, lest any knotty Controversie thence arise. If any Laws had grown "obfolete, he will have them by no means to fuit them in; his meaning being, " that onely fuch things should obtain, as were most frequently practifed in Judi-"catories, or the long Custome of that City had approved, according to what "Salvius Julianus wrote, that all Cities ought to follow the Custome of Rome, "which is the Head of the World, and not observe the Custome of other Cities. "Now, faith he, not onely the ancient Rome is to be understood, but our Royal " Rome, which by the Favour of God was founded with befter Auguria or begin-"nings. He commands therefore, that by these two Books or Collections, all " matters be managed, the one of the Constitutions, and the other of the Jus Enuclea-" tum, except he should publish something afterward, in way of Institutions, that "the mind of the Student void of knowledge, being first inured to simple mat-"ters, might more easily be brought to a knowledge of greater prudence. Now "he declares and ordains, that this Elaborate work, which they by the help of "God shall compose, shall have the Name of Digests or Pandects That no "Lawyers for the future, shall dare to add any Commentaries to it; and by their "verbosity confound the Compendiousness of the said Books, as had been of old "practifed, when almost the whole Law was disturbed by the contrary Opinions " of Interpreters; it being enough by Indexes, and the fubtilty of Titles (called "Paratitha) to make some Admonitories of it, so as no inconvenience arise by "their Interpretations. And that no doubt may afterward arise by writing, he "commands that this Book be not composed by the Captions of Sigla, and com-"pendious Enigmata, which had introduced many Antinomies; although the num-" ber of the Booksbe fignified, or any other thing; for he will not grant that the num-"bers shall be made by special Sigla, but explained by the consequence of Letters. "Then he concludes with a ferious Epilogue, and dates this Mandate in the eigh-"teenth before the Calends of January, Lampadius and Orestes being Consuls, A. D. "DXXX.

Tustinian,

Sect. 2.

47. In obedience to this Mandate, Tribonian, Baldwin observes, took to him as Assistents Theophilus and Cratinus of Constantinople; Dorotheus and Anatalius of Be-Dekeroblered Tytus Antecessours of Law, and eleven Pleaders of Causes out of the Forum of the Præfellus Prætorio of the Éast. And he wishes he had joyned to them Julianus a Consul of those times, and a Patritian of Constantinople, whom Priscian testifies to have exceeded almost all the Ancients both Greek and Latine in every fort of Learning. And he adds, it had been well, had he also employed Priscian who lived at this time at Constantinople, a Grammarian indeed, but such a Grammarian as excelled in the skill of Roman Literature and Antiquities, one who diligently perused the Monuments of the ancient Lawyers, and understood the learned way both of speaking and writing. Many Books Justinian confesseth to have been brought by Tribonian to the management of this Affair, which otherwise were then unknown, and that two thousand Books containing three hundred myriads of Verses were to be perused. He talks of fifteen hundred years wherein the Roman Law till histime had lain confused, whereas his own Reign began but in the MCCLXXX of the City, as fome observe, and Baldwin cryes out, that three hundred years were scarcely to be reckoned, for that Law which was reduced into the Pandects, and tartly makes an observation, how little and dark the memory of Roman matters was in those times. But however, faith he, the reveiw of all Roman Law from the beginning of the City, Vide Mata at and of all Antiquities is committed to a few Græculi; and others will have it, that Prefat prim. the Envy of these Græculi brought more damage to the Roman Glory and Law, than the Burnings and Desolations procured by the Goths. To be sure it was a work of fuch Labour and Judgment as is not expressible, to cut down materials out of so vast a wood, and to select out of so many vast Volumes, stuff for erecting of fuch a structure: Not onely the words and matter, but even the writing it self must bring with it much difficulty. But he requires that no Sigla be used in the Text, which had brought in great Inconvenience. By Sigla he means Sigilla, or fmall Notes or Marks when whole Names and words were noted by the first Letters. These Notes had been formerly disowned in ordinary Testaments, though in those of Souldiers they were permitted. Indeed if a thing was to be kept obfcure, it was convenient to have it written in them, and in such manner Augustus commanded the Sibylline Books to be written by the hand of the Priests, with obfcure Notes, that so they alone might reade them. But Justinian had a design of a-

48. Which Defign did not yet fully take, though it was very good and profitable, because the Interpretation of those Notes was very difficult. Therefore *Tri*bonian and his Companions, especially in such haste, might well be mistaken. Sometimes they were prone not to expound them, their meaning being for the most part ambiguous, otherwhiles to take Notes for Letters and Letters for Notes, which the old Transcribers of Books much confounded to the great vexation of Readers. But the end proposed by Justinian in waving these Notes, is to shun an Antinomia, by which the Ancients meant the Repugnancy of two Laws rather by accident than Nature, as when two Thefes differed in one Hypothefis, which often happeneth; but he means by it a contrariety and conflict of Laws in their very Nature. This Antonomia of his meaning was very difficult to avoid in a work of so vast a Bulk, fo great diffents of the Ancients, and fuch variety of Opinions and Controversies, with which those Books abounded, out of which the Pandects were to be Compofed, there being not onely diversity of Opinion in private men, but two Sects and Families of diffenting Lawyers as the Sabiniani and Proculi. There wanted a man of more folid Judgment than possibly Tribonian was, to weigh duly and determine those great differences and various opinions met with by these Undertakers, who being many in number brought each as they had Collected, their feveral parts or fhares which were all fewed up together, fo as one knew not what part the other

had taken, in the choice of his Collections.

49. Another thing he charges them with , is not to infert any obfolete Laws, which Baldwin thinks they did better not to obey him. For most of the ancient Law was in his time grown obfolete. Those Customs of the ancient Roman Forum vaftly differed from his. Not onely the Seat, but the form and face of the Empire was changed; the Religion, Jurifdiction, Manners, and in conclution, the Commonwealth it felf was different. Not many Roman Antiquities had been inferted into those Pandects, if nothing had been therein comprized, but what obtained in the time of Fullinian. It's farther to be noted as ill, that fome things of the Roman Superstition are left therein which the Christian Religion absolutely abhors. Which is to be attributed to the carelefness of the Compilers, and could not be confirmed

by Justinian. Memorable is that other branch of this Mandate, whereby he orders Sect. 2. them to accommodate what they transcribe to the Manners and Customs of their own Times, and upon that account, to change and transform the Writings of the Ancients, to add and take away what they should think convenient. Now in Composing the Edictum Perpetuum, three or four alterations are instanced to have been made by Julianus the Compiler. But they that made the Pandects more audaciously interpolated as they thought fit, and as they were constrained to doe it, to accommodate the Laws to their own times. But they leave no mark of distinction what was old and what was theirs, and he commanded the Inscription to be put as if nothing had been altered. But in this as the preceding part of the Mandate, fometimes Tribonian obeyed his order, and fometimes not, which makes the matter more in the dark, and if it be not distinguished what is Ulpian's, and what is Tribonian's, great Inconvenience must come of it.

50. In the last place, he commands that the Pandects should be Composed in the fame method as the Edictum Perpetuum Hermogenianum, when he Composed his Books of Epitomies, he pretended also to follow the order of the Edict; yet added The Digests to thereto many other Titles. For whereas the Law respects either Persons, Things, of the Edition or Actions, and Edition or Actions, and Edition or Actions, there seemed need to Paperson, how add fome Chapters concerning the other two. This Example Justinian followed. The first part of the Edict was inscribed me weam, or the First, the second was De Judicius, and the third De Rebus, which Inscriptions he gives to the parts of his Pandects. What in the Edictum Perpetuum was briefly expressed, he would have more largely explained, but yet not fo largely as the Interpreters of the Edict, Paulus and Olpian had done before. These things he expresseth in his first Presace before his Digests, and in those that follow, which being two other in number, are by us to be considered at their proper time, and not altogether. But to speak in relation to these as they bear it one to another, the Mandate for making the Digests was dated on the eighteenth before the Calends of January, in the Consulship of Lampadius and Orestes. And how much time did these Collectours now take to themselves? Baldwin thinks that if the Decemviri took a whole year for Composing the ten Tables, and another for adding the other two, those sixteen men might well have required twenty for Collecting and digefting of the Pandects. And it might have been wished they had done it, the nature of the work requi-

51. But they spent not therein the space of three years. For Justinian confesses, that in three years three Volumes of the Roman Law were compiled, viz. The Code, Digefts and Institutions, whereas it was thought they could not be finished in ten years time. Now the Code was published long before the Pandects were begun, on the Ides of April, in the Confulthip of Decius. In the following year Lampadius and Orestes were Consuls, and not long before the end of the year he first commanded the Pandects to be composed, and after their composition, some time was required to his reading and confidering of them, which he affirms. Now they were published and confirmed on the seventeenth of the Calends of January, in the third Confulship of Justinian, which was but three years after the Mandate for their composing. And in the month of November before them, were published the Institutions, the third Volume he meaneth. The thing it self indeed sufficiently declareth that there was too little time taken for collecting and revising such Volumes. It was a matter of greater consequence than to be so hudled over, especially a perpetual Standard of Law, being to be delivered to Posterity, which now complains, as Baldwin makes it speak extravagantly, that not so much Laws as Crosses or Difficulties are left unto it. But so it was: On the seventeenth before the Calends of January, he directed an Edict inscribed with glorious Titles, under the name of Cæsar, Flavius, Justinianus, and with Additions from People as it were Conquered by him, though he had never fought with them, or had no cause to boast of Conquest, as some of them by way of capitulation afterward affirmed. But he stiles himself as having subdued the Alamans, Alamanicus, and so for like reasons Gothicus, Francicus, Germanicus, Anticus, Alanicus, Vandalicus, Africanus. How far these Additions might be truly assumed by him appears by his History. To them he adds the usual Epithetes of Pius, Felix, Inclytus, Victor and Triumphator, Semper Augustus, and directs his writing to Theophilus, Dorotheus, Theodorus, Ifidorus, Anatolius, Thalleleus and Gratinus, Illustrious Antecessours. As also to Gulamius the most Eloquent

52. "In the Edict he first declares all the Law of the Commonwealth, now to "be purged and compiled, viz. in the four Books of Institutions or Elements; in

Justinian.

"the fifty of Digests or Pandects, as in the twelve of Imperial Constitutions. That "the fifty of Digetts or Pandects, as in the tweive of imperial Confidences. I nat Prefain feet the had also by his Edicks both in the Greek and Latine Tongue declared what was da Digetree. He precines "convenient thereupon. But now he had thought fit to direct another Discourse Rules for teach "to them, for the information of them, as well as other Antecessiours, what Rules ing of Law by ing of Law by to tnem, for the mormation of the most commodious institution of Students in this an Edia. " he would have observed, for the most commodious Institution of Students in this are ediant."

"Science or Myslery. He makes it utterly out of doubt, that it is necessary first "to reade the Infittations, and those that deliver the first rudiments of the Science. Ad tindam a feet " Of the fifty Books of Digefts, he judges thirty and fix onely to fuffice for their de horand it. " Exposition, and the Instruction of Youth. He puts them in mind, that formerly for

" from out of such a multitude of Laws, as made up two thousand Books, and "thirty hundred thousand Verses, Students onely were instructed in fix Books, " and those confused and containing but few profitable Laws, the other being now " out of use, and not to be come by. In these six Books were the Institutions of Anciently what " Gains, and four fingular Books. The first treated of the ancient way of Marriawas wont to be ges, the second of Tutorships, and the third and fourth of Testaments and Legaretad the fift

"cies, and these not in order, but passing by many parts. This was the Task " of Students of the first year, not according to the method of the Editlum Perpe-"tuum, but out of order and without choice. In the second year after a preposte-"rous manner, the first part of the Law was delivered to them, some certain "Titles being taken from it. After a course of Study made up by parcels, and "unprofitable in great measure, other Titles were delivered to them as well out

" of that part intituled De Judiciis by piecemeal, as out of the other De Rebus, " feven Books being laid a fide as not proper to be taught. In the third year, that "which had not been delivered in the fecond out of both Volumes, viz. De Rebus " and De Judiciis, they received according to the viciflitude of them; and a way what the third " was opened to them to the most sublime Papinian and his Answers. Of the " nineteen Books of these Answers they received onely eight; neither was the " whole Body of them delivered to them, but a few out of many things, and most

"brief out of most large, so as they might go away from them with a thirst. These "things above being delivered by Professours, the Answers of Paulus they read by "themselves, and them not all, but in an imperfect and inconsequent course after "a kind of ill Custome. Hence they passed into the fourth year, and therewith " made an end of their Study; so that upon Count, one might find that out of so " immense a multitude of Laws, they read scarcely fixty thousand Verses, all the " rest being impassable to them and unknown, and then not to be made use of but

"in the leaft part, as often either as the practice in the Judicatories required it, or "they the Masters of the faculty hasted to read fomething out of them, to have " more advantage in the skill of their Scholars. Such he faith had been the monu-" ments of the ancient Learning, for which he appeals to their Testimony.

"And finding such a penury of Laws, as also judging it a most miserable "Cafe, he is refolved to open the Treasures of that Science, to such as are willing "to receive them, being prepared in some measure by the skill of those to whom " he directs this Letter, that they may become most able Oratours in the Faculty. "In the first year he will have them fully skilled in his Institutions, which had been What he will " confummated out of the Bodies of almost all others that had been before them, nowhave taught " and from all impure Fountains drained into one clear Receptacle by Tribonian "the Vir Magnificus, Exquastor of his facred Palace, and Exconful, and two of their "number to whom he writes, viz. Theophilus and Dorotheus most Eloquent Ante-"cessours. For the remainder of the year, he ordains that Students have the for-" mer part of the Laws delivered to them, which by the Greeks was called πρώτα, " which should finish, as the other begin, their Studies for the first year. Such as " had been Auditours for this year, should not becalled by the wonted name, as well

"frivolous as ridiculous, of Dupondii; but New Justinians, which he thinks fit to popular "ordain for all time to come, as befeeming the Reformation of Laws he had made, die op death of the first Volume of which was to be put into their Hands. In the fecond year, and death of the first Volume of which was to be put into their Hands. In the fecond year, and death of the world which was to be put into their Hands. In the fecond year, and the death of the world which they should bear the Name formerly imposed by Edict, he will remain the fecond year, and the world will be will be the world with the world with the world will be the world with the world with the world will be the "have them study either seven Books De Judiciis, (from the fifth to the eleventh,) "or eight De Rebus (from the twelfth to the nineteenth,) as the vicifitude of time " shall include them, which he will have preserved inviolable, and without skip-" ping or omitting any thing in the faid Books, which now were all graced with " new beauty, nothing unprofitable, or what was out of use, being to be found in "them. To either of the forefaid Volumes he will have added, to be taught in this "fecond year the four Libri fingulares, which he faith he had collected out of the

" had composed De Doribus; one out of two which treated De Tutelis & Curatio- Sect. 2. " nibus; one from two others concerning Testaments; and from seven Books han-"dling the matters of Legata and Fideicommissa; also one of those four Books pla-"ced at the beginning of the aforesaid compositions, he tells these Masters that " he would have onely taught by them, the other ten being referved to a conveni-"ent time, it being impossible that in the space of the second year, these sourceen " Books should be read by them, and degested by their Scholars.

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54, " In the third year, whetherit happens that they reade the Books De Judiciis " or De Rebus, with them he will have to concur the Tripartite Disposition of the " Leges fingulares, and in the first place that concerning Hypothecae, because being " fo near a-kin to Actions concerning Pledges, they may be joyned near together " After this he would have another added concerning the Edict of the Ædiles, and "the Action called Actio Redbibitoria, concerning Evictions and the stipulation of "Double, composed by him, because they are near a-kin to the Doctrine of Sales, " treated of in the former Edict. Those three Books he will have joyned with the " reading of the most acute Papinian Students, being wont to reade them in their "third year, but not intirely, but a few scraps taken out of them. And he again " recommends Papinian to be read by himself, of whom he saith excellent use was " made in the Composition of his Digests, not onely from his Answers which were " divided into nineteen Books, but also from his seven and thirty Books of Questi-"ons, his double work of Definitions, as also concerning Adulteries, and from all "his writings almost. And lest the Students or Auditours of the third year whom "they called Papinianiste, should seem to lose his Name and Festivity, he is again introduced into the third year by a most brave device, for Instinum had com-" posed his Book of Hypothecary Actions, out of the writings of the said Papinian, "that both they may have a Name from him, and be called Papinianistae, may re-" joyce at the memory of him, and may observe that Festival day, which they " were wont to keep when first they took his Laws into their Hands, and that by " this means the memory of that most sublime Præfestus Prætorio may continue " for ever. With this the Audience of the third year should be concluded.

55 " And because the Students of the fourth year were wont by a Greek word i. e. Solvendis "to be called Lyti, he will have them if they think fit still to enjoy it. But in but identify the but identify the state of the state " flead of the Answers of the most prudent Paulus, which they read confusedly, whathefourth, "fread of the Antwers or the most prucent transco, which they having reduced them from twenty three fearcely to eighteen, they should study having reduced them from twenty three fearcely to eighteen, they should study the formers lately mentioned by him " the ten Libri fingulares, which remained of the fourteen lately mentioned by him, " out of which they should draw he affirms greater Treasures of skill, than out of "Paulus his Answers. If so be they well improved their time in these things, "and in the fifth year wherein they were named Prolytæ, both read and subtilly is e. Lyik dolling and in the fifth year wherein they were named Prolytæ, both read and subtilly in the latest the state of the latest the state of the latest the "endeavoured to understand the Code of Constitutions, nothing would be wanting finite lege fluidto them of just and fit knowledge, and this Service of theirs would obtain a won-ordinary default Accomplishment, which scarcely happened in any other though the meaning the stage of the service of their world work of the service o

" nest Art. He ordains then that these Scholars of theirs (Discipuli,) shall have all anigmata solveres " fecrefie opened to them, and nothing hid, but all being throughly read and made "known to them, which had been compiled for him through the Service of Tribo-" nian and others, they might be found to be the greatest Oratours, and the Satel-" lites of Justice, the best Champions of Equity, and most happy Governours in " every Place and Age. Now these three Volumes of his Composing, he will have " delivered to Students in the two Royal Cities (of Rome and Constantinople,) and in "the most beautifull City of Berytus, (which justly might be termed the Nurse of " the Laws,) and in them onely, as had been formerly ordained by Princes, not in " other places which had not obtained fuch privilege of old. For he had heard that " in the most splendid City of Alexandria, in Cafarea and other places, some un-" skilfull men wandered about, and delivered adulterate Doctrine to their Disciples, "whom now by threatning he repells from such their Endeavours; and if they " shall dare for the future to doe any fuch thing in any fuch places, he punisheth "them with a fine of ten pounds of Gold, and orders that they be cast out of that "City in which they do not Teach, but offend against the Laws. After this he "prohibits the Sigla, formerly mentioned under pein of paying to the owner dou-ble of the price if he know nothing of the thing; and if he will have such a Book it "shall fignify nothing, and no Judge shall allow any Pleadings, or Quotations to be made out of it. Then he severely forbids all Students of the Laws, both at

"Conflantinople and Berytus, to act any Plays wherein the Antecessours or Novices are reslected on, it behoving, he saith, first their Souls and then their Tongues to be learned. The Power and Care of observing these matters, and punishing both

"whole composition of fourteen Books, viz. one out of three Volumes which he

Justinian.

Sect. 2. To whom he ' Booksellers and Students, he commits in Constantinople to the High Presect thereof; in Berytus both the clarissimus Præses of Maritime Phænicia, the most blessed (beatifimus) Bishop of the said City, and the Professours of the Laws. He concludes ' with this Exhortation: Begin then to deliver to them, with God's Government, ' the Doctrine of the Laws, and to open to them the way which we have found out. ' That so they may become most excellent Ministers of Justice, and the Common-' wealth, and the Teachers may be most highly honoured in all Ages. For that in ' their time such a change of Laws was found out, as in Homer, the Father of all ver-' tue, Glaucus and Diomedes, make betwixt themselves, changing things very unlike, X107102 reaxion tue, traucus and Diomeaes, make netwist themselves, thanging trangs very unince trans Bile in for which he quotes a verse out of that ancient Poet. These things he will have of states in force in all Ages, both of Profetfours, Students, Bookfellers and Judges, to be ob-date unit on-force in all Ages, both of Profetfours, Students, Bookfellers and Judges, to be ob-date unit on-ferved. Dated on the feventeenth before the Calends of January, Our Lord Justin Inc. ' nian, perpetual Augustus, the third time being Consul. A.D. DXXXIII.

56. On the same day we find two other Presaces or Speeches dated, one whereon the funeday of is directed to the Senate, and all People, in Latin, and the other in Greek is in-he direction feribed also by Contins to the Great Senate. 'Herein he fignifies, that he had composed the Fersian War, as also that of the Vandals, which Nation he had subdued, and rejoined Carthage, and all Libya, to the Roman Empire; and then magnifying ' what he had also done about the Laws, gives an whole account of the several ' Works he had ordered to be compiled, declaring what their particular Parts and ' Books were, and of what Subjects, as also whence they were taken, suitably to ' what hath been already related. And he calls upon the Fathers of the Senate. ' and all the Men of the World, to give Thanks to God for reserving so great a Be-'nesit for their times. He declares he will have his Volumes of Institutions, or ' Elements, of Digefts or Pandects, to be of force, from his third Confulship of the present twelfth Indiction, the third before the Calends of January, together with ' his Constitutions in all Ages. Which third Consulship, he saith, by the help of 'Christ, had been most happy, in respect that the Parthian Wars were ended, a ' perpetual peace was made, and a third part of the World added to his Dominion. ' For, after Europe, both Asia, and all Libya, was joined to his Empire, and a con-' clusion was put to so great a work of the Laws; all which heavenly Gifts were ' indulged to his third Confulship. In conclusion, he commands all Judges to re-'ceive these his Laws within their Jurisdictions: And especially he ordains, that 'the Prefect of Constant inople observe them. The three Præfecti Prætorio of the ' East, Illyricum and Libya, he requires to take care to make them known to all ' that were within their feveral Diffricts.

57. We mentioned the Institutions (that we may now speak of them altogether) His Preface to their being published in the month of November: Before the Book we find a Prehis Inflicacions face, directed by Justinian, with the usual swelling Titles, to the Youth that had a desire to understand the Laws. He begins with telling them, 'That the Impe-'rial Majesty ought not onely to be adorned with Arms, but also armed with 'Laws, that so the Government may be fit both in times of War and Peace, ' and the Roman Prince may not onely be Victour in Battels fought with Enemies, ' but also by legal Proceedings, expell the Iniquities of Delinquents, and may as 'well be most religious in Laws, as magnificently triumphant in the Conquest of 'Enemies. Both these Courses, he saith, he had run, and that to perfection, 'through his great Watches and Forecast, by the help of God. His sweat and toil ' in Wars the Barbarous Nations, brought under his Yoke, sufficiently knew; and 'as well Africk, as other innumerable Provinces, after such spaces of time, being again added to the Roman Dominions, and his Empire, did protest. All People 'now are governed by Laws promulgated and composed by him. After he had ' put into due order, and made to agree, the most sacred Constitutions, which be-' fore were confused, he extended his care to the immense volumes of ancient ' Prudence, and had by heavenly favour, travelling, as it were, through the mid-' die of the Deep, brought a desperate work to conclusion. This being, by God's 'favour, perfected, he called to him the Magnifick Tribonian, Magister, and Exquaftor of his facred Palace, together with the illustrious Theophilus and Dorothe-'us, Antecessours, (the notable wit of whom, together with their knowledge of ' the Laws, and fidelity in observing his Commands, he had had experience of in ' many respects) and had specially commanded them, by his Authority, and at his 'Instance, to compose Institutions.

58. 'Hereby they, (the Youth) he faith, may learn the first Rudiments of the ' Laws, not from ancient Fables, but, as he words it, fetch them from Imperial ' splendour; and their Ears and Minds may receive no unprofitable nor idle thing,

but what lies in the very Arguments of things themselves. And what happened Sect. 2. to them that were before them scarcely after four years, viz. to reade the Imperial 'Constitutions, they may now enter upon at the very beginning, being worthy of ' fuch Honour, and found in fuch Felicity, that both the beginning and end of the Laws to them should proceed from Imperial voice. Therefore after fifty Books
 of Digests, or Pandects, (which were compiled indeed, but as yet not published,) wherein all ancient Law was collected, and which he had dispatched by the indeavours of the faid High Tribonian, and the Illustrious Persons, he had comman-' ded the fame Institutions to be divided into four parts, that they might be the ' first Elements of the Mystery of the Laws. In them, he saith, was briefly decla-' red, both what formerly obtained, and what was grown out of use, and rendred ' obscure, was illuminated by an Imperial Remedy. Which Books being compiled out of all the Institutions of the Ancients, and especially out of the Commenta-'ries of his Cains, as well of his Institutions, as daily occurrences, besides many other Commentaries, had been presented to him by the aforesaid three prudent Persons, and having read and considered of them, he had accommodated to them the most full force and strength of his Constitutions. He concludes thus: Re-' ceive therefore these our Laws with all Industry and Charity; and shew your ' felves learned therein, so as fair hope may cherish you, that after the whole work ' (of fludy) is completed, our Commonwealth may be committed to your Trust ' and Government in the feveral parts thereof. Given at Constant inople the Eleventh before the Calends of December, Our Lord Justinian Father of his Countrey, Augustus, the third time being Consul.

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59. Such is the Account (though in an Afiatick, rude and difficult flyle to be interpreted,) we have from Justinian himself concerning the composing of his Digests He fill goes on and Institutions, about which, while he and his Compilers busied themselves, they with new Laws. were not otherwise idle, as to such matters, but continued the former course of daily adding new Laws. Of these the Reader, if he please, may consult Baldwin, and lib. 3. we shall touch at some of them as they best serve our purpose. He was continually consulted, in some point or other, by the Judges or Advocates of the Provinces, as particularly in the beginning of the year that came next after the Confulship of Lampadius and Orestes, by the Advocates of Cæsarea in Palestine, about a Takes away the matter not fit for our relating. In February, on the tenth before the Calends of L. Communication March, he took away the difference which formerly had been manifold, betwixt a 6. tit. 43.

twixt a Legatum

CHAP. II.

betwixt them, he now commands that it be perpetual. Hereby the Law of Fideicommissa, which began in time of Augustus, was perfected by him; and that of Legacies, which had been ancient, but narrow, was much amplified. Formerly the difference betwixt a Legatum and a Fideicommissum, was this: A Legatum was expressed by Imperative words, and Fideicommissa by Precative. Imperative were accounted Direct and Civil, as Do, Lego, Capito, Sumito, Hæres esto. Precative were such as thefe, Rogo, Peto, Volo, Mando, Cupio. Formerly he had taken away the old forms of Where the Dif. Words in Legacies; now he will have no difference to be made betwixt the form of former former a Legatum and a Fideicommiffum, and he ordains, that there with whatfoever fignificant word expressing the Will and Pleasure of the Testatour, a thing is left, it shall be valid, whether it be in Imperative or Precative words; and he adds, that it shall be the fame if the Testatour use an Obsecration, which, because he invoked Almighty God, is termed an Oath, and was upon fuch occasions wont to be used by the Romans, being called otherwise from the Greek word, exorcifing, which was Essenization a term used also by Christians in those times.

Legatum and a Fideicommissum, and whereas formerly there was some agreement

60. The fumm of the whole Difference betwixt a Legatum and Fideicommissum lav in this, that in the latter onely the Will and Pleasure of the Testatour was regarded. but in the former fubtilty of Law, for that the Legatum proceeded from the Law of the Twelve Tables, as did the Testament, and the Fideicommissum was received ex equo & bono. A Fideicommissum might formerly be left by nodding or figns, in the Greek Tongue, which a Legatum could not be; nay in the Punick or Gallicane, which, by this Law of Justinian, must be interpreted to be extended to the Legatum, which in like manner might be left by one dying intestate, and by the posthumous Son of a Brother; and by a Legatary both a Legatum and a Fideicommissium might be left, though formerly a Legatum could not. Both before the Institution of an Heir, and after the death of an Heir, or Executour, both might now also be left, though formerly a Legatum could not. And whereas a Fideicommission could not be sued for in form, but by extraordinary cognizance, Justinian would not onely have it recoverable by ordinary Action, but also as in case of

Sect. 2. Legata, granted all three Actions, viz. Real, Perfonal and the Hypothecarian. But o great a Friend Justinian was to liberty, in making Testaments, that he also made free from restraint of words the manner of disinheriting, a matter wherein good caution seemed to be requisite, as being averse to the course of Nature. On the foose of words fame day he decreed, that if any one disinherited his Son in these words, Let that is dissillating, fame day he decreed, that if any one distinherited his Son in these words, Let that Son of mine be a stranger to my Substance, he should be esteemed not past by (in which Son of nine be a stranger to my Substance, he mound be enterined not part by can which L.3. Delikea case he might have relief,) but disinherited. He gives this as a Reason or Advice: practinal experiment of the might have relief. When the sense of the Testatour is most manifest, never let the Interpretation of words baredain, Osl. so much prevail, that it be better than sense, or meaning it self.

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61. This year was indeed fruitfull of Laws made for regulating the ancient Jurisprudentia, and especially the month of April, which would furnish us with store, but not proper for an Hiftory, which being written in the English Tongue, and for the English, it is most proper to make choice onely of such Constitutions as, with the discovery of the Legislatour's design of altering the Law, may best suit with the Knowledge, Customs and Genius of our Nation. There had been formerly a mighty contention, not onely betwixt the old Lawyers, but Princes themselves, in their Edicts, concerning the Efficacy and Force of a disjunctive word, and this difference on the last day of the month, if he did not decide, he resolved to remove, cut and take quite away. Sometimes it was written, He, or he, be mine 11th annihmling remove, cut and take quite away. Sometimes it was usen; Him, or him, I will have the their; To him, or him, I give, bequeath, or I will have given; Him, or him, I give, bequeath, or I will have given; Him, or him, I will have given; the first transfer and the first transfer are the first transfer. or command, be, or to be, a Tutour. It was controverted whether such Institution, vel darivila, vel Legacy or Assignment of a Tutour was good. Whether should be understood to be illum as illument, the former, or the latter; or whether he who had Possession should be remelled. thought to have the best right. So many and so various Opinions were held about L. 4 Deventable this matter, that Justinian saith, No small Book might have been filled in the bare refigure limits that citing of them. He therefore thought sit to end the Controverse by determining, sik 8. in. 31.

that Aut, in this Case, should be taken for Et, the disjunctive be received as a contaken for a con-junctive, so as both should be Heirs, or Legataries, in equal shares, as if it had been written, He and He. Paulus indeed, the Lawyer, speaks in the Pandects of Disjunctives and Conjunctives, that they are after put one fort for the other. And it may be so; but however this Decision of Justinian was new and extraordinary, and seemed to some not to agree fully with the mind and meaning of a Testatour. But in a dubious and perplex Case he followed what he thought most equal, and chose rather to give to both, than all to one, and nothing to the other. In this partition betwixt them he judged less inconvenience and hardness to lie. 62. He began the month of September of this Year by correcting, as he faith, a

very great fault of the ancient Subtilty, as to Law. This Subtilty, he tells us, thought fit that there should be one fort of Law for Males to succeed their Parents by L. 4 de liberis Testament, and another fort of Law for Women, though in succession to those that presents, call lib. 6, iii. 28. died intestate, there lay one common and equal Right to both Sexes. Of old they held and ordained, that with one fort of words a Male, and with others a Female should be disinherited. In reference to the disinheriting of Grandsons, sometimes they introduced the Civil, and fometimes the Pretorian Law. And if a Son was difinherited, ipso jure, he either nulled the Testament, or was admitted to the whole possession of the Estate, contrary to the Will; but if a Daughter was past by, the had the Jus accrescendi, and did not break the Testament, by which she did in part, as it were, break her Father's Will in the same moment, and as if she had been mentioned therein, was placed after Legataries, yet, by the Pretorian Law, she had an intire possession of the Estate, contrary to the Testament. Now a Constitution of the great Antoninus did in so much hinder and straiten the Daughter, as she had advantage by the Jus accrescendi. But these Law-makers Justinian accuseth, as Accusers of Nature her felf, in that she did not make all Males, and none of which they should be begotten. Now he pretends to follow the example of the more ancient Romans in correcting this Errour. For he faith Sons and Daughters, and all others, were difinherited alike, till the Centumviri (who were Judges in Testamentary and Hereditary matters) brought in the difference, whereby it came to pass, that a Daughter that was passed by had less than a Daughter that was disinherized. He determines therefore, that a Daughter shall have no less right than a Son, either to break Daughters equal the Testament, or to sue for the Possession of the Estate against the With. He also will have posthumous Daughters to be disinherited, as if they were Males, and no otherwise, that they may not be esteemed as passed by. And what he ordains concerning Daughters, he will also have extended to Nephews and Neeces by a Son.

63. But it is observable, that on the first day of November of this Year, he delivered the Law and Lawyers of much trouble, by taking away the ancient Cere-

monies about Adoptions. Here it will be convenient, from A. Gellius, to inform Sect. 2 the ancient Ce- the Reader what the ancient Rites and Differences of this thing were, in old times remonies about observed. 'When Strangers, saith he, are taken into another family, and into the Lib. 5. c. 19. ' place of Children, it's either done by the Prator, or by the People. That which is performed by the Prætor is called Adoption, that which by the People, Arro-Adoption ' gation. They are adopted, who by the Parent, in whose power they are at pre-

Arrogation how of old they dif-

Adoption and fent, are by three Mancipations, or Sales, parted with, and by him who adopts them are challenged, and recovered before him, in whose Court lies the Action at Law. Such are arrogated, who not being in any paternal, but their own power, and at liberty, voluntarily give up themselves into that of another man, and are authours of this change themselves. But these Arrogations are not lightly, nor without scrutiny, celebrated. The Curiata Comitia are not granted, though the Pontifices prefide. And it is considered whether the Age of the Person that arrogates be not fit and proper it felf to beget Children, and whether the Estate of him who is arrogated be not aimed at, and treacheroufly defigned. Moreover it's faid, that an Oath was conceived by Q. Mutius, then Pontifex maximus, to be taken in Arrogation. But one cannot be arrogated that's under a Vesticeps, (fo he calls him) or one who takes his virile Gown. Now because this fort called Arrogation, whereby one passed into another family, was performed per Rogationem Populi, or asking leave of the People; the words of it were these: Please you to will, or command, that L. Valerius (for example) shall become Son to L. Titius, as well in Law, and Right, as if he had been begotten by that Father and the Mother of the Family; and that he may have Power of Life and Death over him, as over a Son born. So as I have faid, so I defire of you, Quirites. But neither a Pupil, nor a Woman, can be arrogated, though she be in the power of her Parent; for the Comitia meddle not with Women; and for Tutours, it is unlawfull for them to have so much Authority and Power over their Pupils, as to subject a free Person, committed to their Trust, to the Power of a Stranger. Now Massurius Sabinus hath written, that Libertini might be adopted by Persons of ingenuous or absolutely free condition in strictness of Law; but he saith it is not permitted. neither doth he think it ought ever to be, that those of the state and quality one-'ly of Libertini, should invade the Right of Ingenui by the way of Adoption. Otherwise, saith he, if the Antiquity of the Law should be observed, a Slave al-' fo should, by intervention of the Prator, be given by his Lord to be adopted; which most of the Authours of the ancient Law have written might be done.

64. So much, and fomething more, writes A. Gellins concerning this matter. Now Baldwin observes, that these difficulties of Arrogation, as he terms them, in the Comitia, were taken away long before the time of Justinian. For Dioclesian de-Amogation in the Comitta, were taken away long before the time of fujernian. For Disclesian de-the Comitia cea-clared, that an Arrogation made by the Indulgence or Grant of the Prince, and infed long before timated before the Prator or President, should be full as valid, as if it had been done according to the ancient Law by the People. But the ancient Rites of Adoption longer continued. Gellius writes what these were, viz. three Mancipations, or Sales, and Recoveries before a Magistrate; and Suetonius, before him, of Augustus, that he bought Caius and Lucius at his House, by Money and Weigh-scales, of their Father Agrippa. First, because the natural paternal Power was to be dissolved, the Rite of three Mancipations intervened. Then because this was done for the cause of Adoption, the Party was not manumitted, but adopted, after three Mancipations. But now whereas Justinian had formerly determined, that the Power of a Natural Father should not always be dissolved by Adoption, and Anastasius had before that refolved, that without any other Ceremony a Son might be emancipated by the Rescript of the Prince, it had been ridiculous and absurd to retain the ancient form of Emancipation in Adoptions. Therefore on the first day or Calends of He takes away November, he took away the whole Pageantry of the ancient Emancipation, by us in Adopti- abolifhing the imaginary Sales, or Mancipations, wherein he fignifies, that Manumissions and certain Rhapismata intervened.

65. 'The same day of the month, of the foregoing Year, when Lampadius and Orestes were Consuls, he had taken away, as he terms them, the old Circuits in L. ult. de Adopt Adoptions, which were wont to be made by three Emancipations, as to Sons, and tionibus, Cod. lit. two Manumiffions, or by one Emancipation in other children. And he gave c leave to a Parent, who defired to give away by Adoption Children in his Power. to manifest this thing before a competent Judge, by the way of registring, without the old Observation of Emancipations and Manumissions, he being present who was adopted, and not contradicting, as also he who should adopt him, Now on that day twelve month after, or the Year whereof we write, he fig-

Sect. 2. nifies to John, the Prafeilus Pratorio, 'That having beheld in Emancipations a L sth. de Emm. 'Vain Observation, to be kept with Sales, figurated upon free Persons, inextricable given the same of the control And the ancient Circumductions, and injurious Rhapifmata, of which no rational effect is found, ram, chi. 14,9-Dat. ch. circuits.

Che will have this fort of Circuit to ceale for the time to come, and gives leave to him that will emancipate, either to doe it according to Anaflafius his Law, confident name and the results of the model of the results of the confident name and the results of the or without a facred Rescript, to go before a competent Judge, or such Ma-padit of oresis. ' gistrates as by Law, or long Custome, were permitted to doe this thing, and to dismiss from his hand his Sons, Daughters, Nephews, Neeces, or such 6 Off-spring descending as were in his Power, and to retain his legitimate Rights, although he did not specially reserve any to himself; to give the peculium, or transfer other things upon them in way of liberality, to detain other things by the way of V fusfractus, and doe all other things, the vain Custome, as was said, being onely taken away. The Custome was, that the Son was thrice fold by his Father, and, as it were, fold back to him again, that he might manumit him, being redeemed, as a Lord did his Slave, and thereby have over him the right of Patronage. This was called Fiducia. The Rhapifmata, fome think, were Cuts on the Ear, wont to be given to Slaves at their Manumillion, as a Ceremony; others, that they were stroaks given by the Vindicta, or Rod of the Prætor's Lictor. Five Witnesses were to be present at the imaginary sale, with the Weigh-scales and Money ready. But Justinian, by removing those Ceremonies, which, in the time of Romulus, and the twelve Tables, were thought convenient, delivered the Imprudentia from many Thorns and Briars, if Tribonian had not dispersed their Stumps and Pricks into the Digefts, by inferting into them feveral remainders of these abolished Rites. So short was his memory or diligence in this and many other matters, as Baldwin sufficiently discovers.

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66. Certainly our Legislatour laboured much in things of this nature, as appears, amongst other Instances, from another Law he published this very day. He had formerly taken away that shadow of liberty, called Dedititia Libertas, declaring, L. mit. de Deli-He took away formerly taken away that madow of motry, cannot be defined the Deditional Line of the future molest the Commonwealth, because it was of no limitalibenated lenda, Calib, p. 6 use, but was onely an empty name of liberty. For he, he saith, who was an observer ii. 5.

6 of Truth, would have those things onely to be in his Laws, which indeed were real. Such as had this liberty had little benefit, for they could neither make a Testament, nor receive any thing from one, be reduced to the former City, nor be made Heirs. nor receive any tining from one, be reduced to the former casy, has be made trens. L. un. de Laina
^c Having abolished these Dedititii Liberti, the liberty of the Latini, as also imper-libertan tillus. fect, as fetled upon uncertain foundations, did, he faith, reel and stagger, having da, by. iii. at first been brought up in a tumultuary and confused manner. For the Lating it. 6. Liberti seeming to have been introduced after the manner of the ancient Latinity, ' fent in Colonies, it were very abfurd the Original it felf of the thing being taken away, to have an Image or Representation thereof continuing. Now whereas af-

ter several Fashions, and almost innumerable, the condition of these Latini was introduced, diverse Laws and Senatusconfulta made thereupon, and thence many difficulties did arise, as well as by the Lex Junia, the Senatusconsultum Largianum, and the Edict of Trajan, of which Law-Books were full, but no good Experiment had been made; he now thinks fit to cut off all these things, and to reduce the Latine And the Latine & liberty by certain methods into the perfect Roman. For how can it be endured that there should be such a kind of liberty, as by virtue of it, at the time of death, liberty

and fervitude should concur in the same Person? and that he that dies should, dy-'ing as free, be fnatched away, both into fervitude and death, at the fame time? Hereby it appears what a fort of liberty this of the Latini was, and it will be con- Inflin. III. 1. venient to observe, what this our Legislatour tells us essewhere in his Institutions, its deliberation that the state of Libertini, or such as were made free, was of three forts. For such as were manumitted fometimes obtained the greater liberty, and were made Roman Citizens; fometimes the leffer fort, and were made Latini by the Lex Junia Norbana, and otherwhile were onely Dedititii, by virtue of the Law called Lex Ælia

67. Roman Citizens were made, either by the Vindista, or by the Cenfus, when they were inrolled, at the command of their Lords, in the Books of Ceffe, or were manumitted by Testament. Or, as others have expressed, who by Testament in the Church, or before the Conful, received this favour. These could both make a Another Latini, Testament, and succeed in an inheritance, by virtue of one made. The Latini were made either by an Epiftle, amongst Friends, or even at an Entertainment or Banquet. These could neither make a Will, nor succeed by virtue of one, but by a fecond Manumiffion might become Roman Citizens. Now the Dedititii were fuch as had been subjected to punishment after Crimes committed; for the same

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publickly beaten, or in whose Faces or Bodies such marks were made by Fire, or Sect. 2. Iron, as could not be defaced, who had been bound in Chains, in way of punishment, by their Lords, been found guilty, watched and observed, and who had been delivered up, that they might combate with the Sword, or with wild Beafts, or had been thrown into Cuitody. These could neither make Testaments, neither receive benefit by one, nor be made Citizens. They were called Dedititii from the example of Stranger Tributaries, who, being Rebels, were overcome by the Romans, and basely did dedere, or give up themselves into their Power. But to come nearer to the Latini. They were also called Latini Liberti, as Baldwin will have it, who were not manumitted altogether after the legitimate manner, and in folemn order; not by a Lord who was above twenty years of Age, one who was Lord ex Jure Quiritum; or when the Party manumitted did not exceed the Age of that of thirty. Yet whatever others fay, he delivers it as Law, that being manumitted, they enjoyed fuch liberty, as to have Commercium, and a right of receiving advantage from a Testament, though they had no Connubium, or privilege of Matrimony, nor could make a Testament, nay, indeed dyed as Slaves. This descended from the Law called Junia Norbana, preferred in the time of Tiberius by those who were then Confuls. Thence they were called Latini Juniani. But that Law. and its Interpreters, fignifie, that many ways these Latini Liberti might be made Roman Citizens.

69. Suetonius relates how Vespasian married a Woman of Latine condition, be-

ing by a recuperatory Judgment pronounced ingenuous, and of free condition. Indeed fuch were eafily made Roman Citizens, so at least as they enjoyed the privilege of Quirites, as long as they lived; and that they might not trouble themselves in obtaining it, afterwards Trajan conferred on them the Jus Quiritum, as long as they lived in general, or permitted them to enjoy it, though their Patrons being unwilling, or ignorant of it, they had procured to be Citizens; but for all this, fo as they should die as Slaves. Afterward the Senatusconfultum Largianum was made in the time of Antoninus Pius, that the Latini Liberti, who were manumitted at full Age, and by a Lord that was at full Age also, as was provided for by the Law. called Lex Ælia Sentia, although not folemnly, as by the Vindicia, or Testament, might be made Roman Citizens, and dying, might enjoy the privilege of a Citizen. otherwise they could not make a Testament, as in the time of Salvianus of Marfeilles, an hundred years before Justinian, they could not doe. At length, now fullman takes this Emperour took away all these troubles and difficulties, and would own no and difficulties other Liberty but what was joined with freedom of a Citizen. And afterward, as fome have thought, by his Seventy eighth Novel Constitution, he would have all that were manumitted, not to be of libertine, but full, free and ingenuous condition. By this Law of which now we treat, he ordained, that Liberty it felf should be conferred feveral ways, wherein the Latine Liberty was wont to be bestowed. For example, a Lord might manumit his Slave by an Epistle, provided it were attested by five Witnesses. He might doe it also amongst Friends, if he took five Witnesses, or did it apud Alta, and had the testimony of Witnesses and publick

70. Claudius, the Emperour had of old made an Edict, that if a Slave were in some grievous Infirmity, forfaken by his Lord, who would neither look after him himfelf, commend him to others, nor fend him to an Hospital, such Slave should enjoy the Latine Liberty, yet fo, as his Lord at his death feized on his Goods. Now Justinian ordains, 'That a Slave so used shall be absolutely free, and his former unkind Master shall have nothing to doe with his Estate, either when he lives or dies. In like manner a She-Slave, if fold on condition not to be profliguted, if he be by him that buyes her, or her former Lord, referving to himself a way of recovery, prostituted afterward, she shall obtain full Liberty and Franchise. Farther, whereas a Pileus, or Cap was used by Slaves manumitted, as a Badge of Liberty, he farther ordains, that fuch Slaves, as at the Funeral of their Lords pre-' cede the Corpse, or stand in the Bier, so as to ventilate the Body, and that by or-' der of the Testatour, or the Heir, shall presently become Roman Citizens; whereas formerly an entrance upon an Inheritance was necessary, as well as the Cap, for making free those Libertini Orcini, as they were called. If one by Will, or by the other course of the Vindicta, fignified, that he would make his Slave a Latine Freed-man, he should, for all that obtain his full liberty. If a Lord bequeath liberty to his Slave upon a condition, and while that condition depends, the Heir, being a stranger, gives him liberty, he shall not be as formerly, a Latinus Libertus, but a Roman Citizen. If the condition failed, he should be his Libertus, who

' made him free; if the condition was fulfilled, he should be as a Libertus Orcinus, 'and the Patronage go as otherwise by Law it ought. He esteems it very hard ' what formerly was practifed, in case a Slave upon a Controversie and Suit was ' found to be fuch, and cast by his Lord, that then he should onely be a Latine ' Freed-man, in case any other paid his price down to the Lord. He declares such Ways how full 'an one shall be a Roman Citizen, as also a She-Slave, given in Matrimony by her Liberty might Lord to a Freeman, if the Lord by writing configned her a Portion, which was be obtained, as Lord to a Freeman, if the Lord by writing configned her a Portion, which was of old was the 'done for free and even noble Persons. In like manner shall be free a Slave, whom

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Latina Liberton apped Asta his Lord names his Son. A Slave also, to whom his Lord delivers the ' Writings, or defaces fuch whereby the Slavery was proved, and made out, if it were done in the presence of five Witnesses. These excepted, he declares, that all other ways and Methods found in any Lawyers Writings or Constitutions, shall cease, and pretenders to liberty by them shall continue in slavery, as formerly. That the Latine Liberty may absolutely be so, he repeals all Laws made concerning it, as to that particular, if mention be made of Liberty, and none of Latinity, it shall be taken for absolute Liberty and Freedom. In conclusion, this Constitution shall take place in those who shall onely for the future be Liberti, or Freed-men. 71. Thus did Justinian both relaxate the bonds of Servitude, and open the way

to Liberty; out of which good humour he published various Constitutions, which De Lege Fusia to Liberty; out of which good named the published variety the name and form of Repeals. But amongst these, none are to be found for de Allerine el taking away the Lex Ælia Sentia, for though some Heads of that Law he took lenda, & Deliaway, yet others he retained. That Law forbad, that one under twenty years tilla Likertal away, yet others he retained. should manumit a Slave, except he made good the cause thereof before Council. tima Libertate Inouid manufult a Stave, except the made good five flower flowed be fufficient; and after-tollenda, de the Indianian first declared, that the Age of seventeen should be sufficient; and after-tollenda nuts June ward, as appears by his one hundred and nineteenth Novel, was content with that Quirinum. of fourteen, wherein the man was capacitated to make a Testament. The same Law commanded, that no one less than thirty years old, being manumitted by the Vindida, or by Testament, should become a Roman Citizen. On the contrary. Justinian would have no consideration of Age to be had, but that he who was manumitted might be an Infant, and thereupon yet become a Roman Citizen. In conclusion, the same Law would have a Slave, who had been bound in Priion by his Lord, if he was afterward manumitted, to be onely in the number of the Dedititii. of whom we have already fpoken, as to the repealing of this Law. There was another difference of Servitude, when one was a Slave Jure Quiritum, by a solemn Rite or Cession in Law, or onely by buying and sale, which difference he also took away, by forbidding any Dominion but what was natural, and Jure Quiritum. If a Slave was given in pledge, if manumitted by the Giver, he would have him enjoy liberty, though not fully, without the Creditours confent. If a Slave belonged to two Persons, as Lords, if one of them manumitted him, the whole right of him came to the other, Jure accrescendi, by way of accruing, yet if a Souldier did so manumit, his Companion was forced to fell his share in the Slave, who thereupon obtained full liberty. This Justinian would have also of force, though one who was not a Souldier did manumit, and the Slave should obtain thereby his Freedom. In conclusion, he abolished the use of the Affertion, so called, because of old it was not lawfull for one reputed and held for a Slave, to fue for his liberty though he had an occasion, but by a Vindicatour, who was termed Affertour, who could act for him; and if the first Assertour was cast, or deserted the Cause, it was lawfull for a second to take it up.

The Advocates

72. This same day of the first of November was still more fruitfull in the production of another remarkable Law. And this was an answer to the Advocates of Cuesarea in Palestine, though directed to John the Prafedus Pratorio. Baldwin will have it Cafarea in Cappadocia, formerly called Mazaca, which had its Society of eminent Government in the Forum of Lawyers, who, as Strabo relates, were Tigranes King of Armenia led away into barbarous Servitude; yet were as by the Lib. 12. right of Postliminium afterward restored, and recovered their former Dignity. This Dignity, they and their Succeffours feem to have retained more than five hundred years from that Accident, till the time of Justinian, whom they often were wont to Consult in controverted points of Law, as were other Advocates of Palestine and Illyricum, Yet in this point to which this Answer is directed, there feems little or no difficulty worthy to move a Question. It was an ancient Opinion of Lawyers, that a Convention, Bargain, or Compact, concerning the Estate or Goods of another man as yet living, was not onely unprofitable, but filthy and Tales benefited dishonest, insomuch that such Bargainers and Contracters, were thought unworthy dim grellate ever to be Heirs, and loft the Right of fucceeding to fuch Persons, which other- to whether

Justinian takes

away from his

wife accrued to them. Certainly if any do greedily expect and covet the Estate Sect, 2. of another man, that Expectation is of Evil and dangerous Example, and may provoke to the Procurement of the Death of fuch a Person. Indeed we may in some Cases, sell or give away our Hope and Expectation, as of the Draught of a Net; but the Hope of another's Inheritance is wicked, if we make a Compact concerning it without his Knowledge or Confent. But the Advocates of Cafarea doubted if fuch a Pact might not be tolerated, as was conceived under an express Condition,

if the Inheritance should fall to the Bargainers. "Justinian so far Confirms the old L. ult. de Patis, Law, as not to tolerate any such Paction, and forbids not onely any Gift, but any Cod. lib. 2. sti. 3.

'Obligation or Security to be made thereby. 72. If there had been made onely a Paction concerning a future Estate in gene-

ral, whencesoever it should come, it might have been of Force, because there was no appearance of thinking of the Death of any one Person. So a Society was wont to be rightly contracted, that if any just Inheritance should happen, it might be common. And so Fustinian elsewhere doth extend an Hypotheca, or tacite Obligation to fuch Estates as should happen by Succession. But where a Convention is specially directed to a certain fort of a fingle Inheritance, it seems to be intentupon the Death of fome fingle Person, though by a Condition this wicked design, and present thought be covered and dissembled. "Justinian onely faith, the Pact shall be null; but whereas he addes according to the ancient Laws, he fignifies that 'the Penalty formerly mentioned is to be inflicted. Which is to hold if the thing was done Craftily by them, that knew the man to be alive; for if they thought him dead, and by that Errour were drawn into a Compact concerning an Estate as faln, the Pact indeed should be null, but there should be no Penalty. 'One 'exception Justinian makes, which is, the Confent concerning whose Goods the *Compact is made; and this, faith he, he hath also from the ancient Laws. Baldwin yet affirms, that there is no mention made of it, in those Laws that are extant, however the Reason is plain, for this Consent removes the Suspicion, for which fuch a Pact otherwise is rejected. Such a Consentor shews the Compact to be made Bona Fide, and yet he is not obliged, but he may if he please change his mind before his Death. If he change not, the Pact obliges the Parties. In like manner, if two Persons agree to succeed each other in their own Inheritances, the one thinks of the other's Death, both lyes at catch, but neither purposes to give to the other; and therefore such a Pact is also rejected, especially amongst Pagani, or such as are no Souldiers. But where there is a fimple and liberal Confent, there is no Sufpicion of Treachery, and the Pact is esteemed honest, especially if made by otherwise Legitimate Heirs, concerning the dividing of an Inheritance, when faln. As if the owner Consenting, an Agreement be made betwixt the Brother and Sons of In Capita non in another Brother, that they should succeed by Poll, and not altogether as repre-stinger. fenting their Father. But without the Confent of the Owner, the Agreement were against good manners, and made too much haste.

73. He made Answer to the same Advocates upon another Question this same Vide Baldainum day, which is not much material to mention; but fo much in short. It was how Writings were to be Credited, which attested the Presence of a Party, and his return was, that they were to fland to them, till the contrary was proved. 'This fame

day he also decreed, that no temporal Prescription but of the largest time should Lalt. in quibus operate against a Minor, or one under the Age of five and twenty. At the same gran Resimination took away a Legacy from a Legatee, that should conceal or sup-managhran, press a Testament, and assigned it, not to the Treasury as formerly had been me eff. Cod. lib. 'done, but to the Heir. The Lawyers in the Pandects often say, that a Legatee who opposed a Testament, affirming it to be void or false, and was cast in the L. penult. de Le-Suit, should obtain nothing by the faid Testament, but what should have belong in 37. ed to him, fell to the Treasury; but this Justinian doth not assign to the Heir, which he might have done as well as the other, and wanted some Heir to put him in mind of it. However, though he had not as yet made his new Law, for taking away the Caduca, yet he had begun to take away many things from his Exchequer, Irealury, and and to leave them to private Men. He was so favourable to the Cause of Women, as to the Dos or Portion they brought to their Husbands, that whereas formerly

he had given them a certain tacite Obligation upon the Estates of their Husbands, for the repaying of it; 'Now on the fifth before the Calends of December, he preferred the Cause of them, before that of others, who had such fort of Obligations.

Yet in this the Treasury is to be excepted, which having a Cause first in time was L. ult. gai Patter to be preferred to a Dotale Cause that came after. 'In this matter of Favour to res in pignare babeanter, Cod. to be preferred to a *Dotale* Caune that came and the least the height of his Law, that he was diffurbed by the like. H. 18.

C c daily

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Sect. 2. 'daily Applications of those of that Sex, and that he had had Respect to the ancient

Laws, and looked onely at the time to come.

74. Great was the danger which of old an Heir or an Executour underwent. in entring upon an Estate. For, all Hereditary burthens he was loaded with, and flood ingaged, and answerable to Hereditary Creditours in Solidum, even beyond the Estate that came unto him. Neither to free and discharge him, did properly belong the benefit of Separation; for it was rather introduced for the fake of fuch as were Creditours of the Heir before he entred on fuch an Estate. Indeed when a Liberta as Heir entred on an Estate and was insolvent, and had her Patron for her Heir, it was given as an Answer in Law, that it was not unjust that the Patron should be relieved, and not burthened with Debts contracted by his Liberta in that manner, and therefore her own Goods were separated from the Hereditary: But this was a fingular Case. A Miner also, or one under five and twenty was relieved, who had rashly entred on a bad Estate; and in like manner a Souldier. Adrian the Emperour gave relief also to one above five and twenty, when great Debts appeared after an entry made upon the Inheritance which lay concealed at that time; and Justinian had done something to the same purpose. But by all these the Heir seemed little to be relieved: And there being such danger in venturing on an Inheritance, the Right of deliberating was defired, which having formerly been indulged for a few Months, Justinian gave the space of a year. 'But there being found great difficulty in this Deliberation, and no other L 12 Cod & Fruit, for the most part, appearing than a suspending of the Cause of the Inhe- Jure deliberate. ritance to no purpose; at length it seemed good, that the Executour, or Heir should L. penuls. Cod.

'make an Inventary or Repertory of the particulars thereof, and enter upon the de institution. An Heir to make an Inventary of Inchestory of That he should not be obnoxious to the Hereditary stands of the Hereditary Effate with that Condition; I had he mountains of the Inventary, and the Effate it felf did ex. L. at. to fine Coreditours, farther than the Contents of the Inventary, he deliberated. In case the Legatees were absent at the making of the Inventary, he deliberated in the content of the Conte 'would have certain called together, with the Tabularius or Scribe. And how print 2st p. cert folemn the making of it was, he now gave leave to Ceditours and Lega. three in the ' tees to disprove it, if they could make out, that all the Goods of the Deceased

were not therein expressed, Bond fide: Nay they might fetch Evidence from 'the Family of the Deceased, and call Hereditary Slaves to the Question it self; 'upon this Account as had been generally ordained, that such might be put to the 'Torture in Hereditary matters. 75. In Case an Heir, notwithstanding the making of an Inventary, would in-

'fift upon the time of Deliberation, this over Cautious humour was suspected, and 'odious in Justinian's esteem, and he thought him so much to renounce the be-'nefit of an Inventary, that it should be esteemed as none; and notwithstanding 'it, he should be obnoxious in Solidum, to the Hereditary Creditours even above ' the value of the Estate. If one would not make an Inventary, he lost his Claim The penalty of 'to the Lex Falcidia, and could deduct nothing from Legatees: Nay Justinian ornot making and dained afterwards, that Legacies should be paid intirely, as Debts were, without 'Respect to the quantity of the Estate. By the benefit of an Inventary, a Confusion of Obligations was prevented, in case a Creditour became Heir to the Debtour. 'If in the Inventary with the Goods he described and collated Debts, he should reckon also his own Debt, and should be numbred amongst the Creditours. But on the other fide Baldwin is of Opinion, that if a Debtour succeeded as Heir, or Executour to a Creditour, his Name is to be put into the Inventary amongst Debtours, and amongst such he is to be reckoned: That as there ought to be no Confusion to the defrauding of an Heir, where the Creditour succeeds the Debtour. and makes an Inventary, so there ought to be no defrauding of the Creditours of the Deceased, when a Debtour is Heir. Nay, both Lawyers and Princes of old time answered, that as to the Lex Falcidia; such things should be reckoned as in time of Death were owing, either by the Deceased to the Heir, or by the Heir to the Deceased. 'Justinian farther in some fort Infringed the right of an Hy-'potheca; that if any one buy a thing of an Executour, who hath duely made an Inventary, he shall have that thing free, and stand in fear of no Hypothecary Actions. So much doth our Legislatour commend all manner of ways, with many Privileges adorn, and almost obtrude the Benefit of the Inventary upon Heirs. even against their minds, it being of his own invention.

76. The following Year, or the second after the Consulthip of Lampadius and Orefles was turbulent, and when Justinian was in danger at the beginning thereof, to be deposed by the Nica, and Sedition of the People about the Nephews of Anastasius, he must needs have been put upon other thoughts, than the making of

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Laws. But all being quiet, he returned to his former Course, and on the last of Sect. 2. April made a Decision, which Baldwin thinks needless, as having formerly been done. It was, that a Condition which a Legatee could not perform, should be taken for none; especially when Liberty was bequeathed. From the end of A Common be taken for none; especially when Liberty was bequeather. From the end of impediate to be april, Baldwin paties without thinking it fit, to take notice of any Laws, till the taken of the control of the cont beginning of September. On the first of this Month was dated a Constitution Condit. infert. not ignoble, whereby he confirmed the old Law concerning the Testaments of Souldiers, who were in the Power of their Fathers: Such Sons might by Military Right make Testaments concerning their Castrense Peculium, neither could such Testaments be called Inospicious. And when they left the Wars, they might also make Testaments concerning the same things, Jure Communi, against which no Querela of Inofficious should lye; but this latter Privilege Justinian will not have extended L. ult. de Inostito Sons Emancipated. Now as Sons that were Souldiers had their Peculium Castrense, sign Issuan Cad. which they got by their Labours and Dangers in the Wars, so others by their pains obtained Wealth, which Princes thought fit also to appropriate to them, and what was fo gotten was called, quafi Castrense Peculium. Such was that got by the Palatines Officers, and such as served at Court; by Prosessours of liberal Sciences, Archiatri and others. Of old to Proconfuls, Presidents of Provinces, and some others, it was permitted to make Testaments concerning such a Peculium, which

make Testa-ments of the

'Privilege now Justinian extended to all that had Wealth so acquired. And as he had formerly given the Privilege to Clerks, that against their Testaments made of their Peculium, no Querela should lye, so now he grants it to all in General for Testam. Cod. Although what he formerly gave to Clerks in a special manner, he seemed by a Novel Constitution in a special manner to take away; commanding them 123. absolutely to leave a Legitimate to their Parents or Children, as being obliged to

give Example of greater Piety and Duty, than others were.

77. It is not to be forgotten, 'That this year Justinian directed another Constitu- L. 27. de Napt. 'tion to John the Prefect, whereby he forbad a Marriage should be prohibited Cod betwixt a Man older than fixty, and a Woman than fifty, as had been discounte-' nanced by the Lex Julia and Papia. Now this Law did not absolutely forbid the Marriage of fuch a Man, with fuch a Woman; but it judged it not fitting, nor fufficient to prevent the pain of Celibate, because it was late and barren; it imagined it a Marriage without Marriage. Afterward it was thought fit, that a Man of fixty might Marry, but not a Woman of fifty; which was approved by the Senatufconsultum Claudianum, and the reason was setch'd from Nature, and declared by Arifotle, a Man being by him supposed to be able to Generate till seventy, and a Woman but till fifty; to which Opinion the Lawyers were ready to subscribe. 'But · Justinian thought Nature might be fruitfull beyond these bounds, and he consider-'ed that Procreation was not onely the honest end of Matrimony; and therefore as he found other Heads of that Law to be repealed before his time, fo in Favour of ancient People, he resolved to take this away likewise. And it happening afterward, that a Woman above fifty had brought a Child; and of this being confulted by the Advocates of Cafarea: 'He could not refuse to admit of the Child as Le-Lize de Legit of fifty to mar- ' gimate, though born after the wonted Age of the Mother, but reckoned it amongst 'Legitimate Heirs. And this was a Question rather of Fact, than of Law; it being alledged, that the Birth was Suppolititious as not proceeding from fo ancient

He permits a Man of fixty, and a Woman

Bloud.

a Woman. 'In a matter doubtfull and questionable, yet he pronounced that the 'Cheat was to be proved by him that alledged it, it being no proof to alledge the ordinary Course of Nature, which might sometimes exceed her ordinary Me-' thods, and to be fure it was a thing equitable to Favour the Infant. But when another Question was moved, whether a Child born in the eleventh Month after the death of the Husband was Legitimate; the difficulty was greater, it being not onely a Question concerning the force of Nature, but of the Fidelity of the Woman, who might lye and dissemble the true Father. What else was to be judged in this Case, he prudently and Cautiously determined in a Novel Constitution. As for the Birth of a Child after the fiftieth year of the Mother: Baldwin instanceth in an History, which serves better, than any Gloss to make good Justinian's

Physick, and the Lawyers of Paris speak, in the behalf of a late Prince of their own 78. In

Law. It is this, Constantia the Wife of Henricus Suevus, the fifth Emperour, be-

ing fifty four years old was with Child, and that there might be no Fraud had

Keepers appointed to watch her. And at that Age she brought forth a Son who by

the Name of Frederick the second succeeded his Father, A. D. MCC. As for a Birth

in the eleventh or twelfth Month after the death of the Husband, let the Faculty of

PART III

Tustinian.

Sect. 2.

78. In the seventh year of Justinian's Reign, he himself the third time was Conful in the East, and without a Collegue. For in the Wost he who now Reigned in Italy, was content there should be no Consul in the West; Nay, for the foregoing years there were none in the East, the Emperour not regarding this Title, which had long agoe degenerated into mere Name and Form, and the barbarous Princes esteeming it but as a Badge of the Empire. And now Justinian seems to have intermitted his business of making Laws so practised by him in the five preceding year; there being no new and fingular Constitution published this year, as Baldwin observes, which he doth not attribute to his distraction about Martial Affairs. For the Persian War was dispatched, that of the Vandals in Africk was ended, and the Gothick in Italy was scarce begun. He suspects him and his Lawyers to have been busied in perusing the Pandects, and composing the Institutions, with the Edition of which this year was over and above Ennobled. The Institutions were compiled more lately, and yet published a little before, but obtained not Authority or Force in the Forum, but from the same day the Pandects were publishdecis and Infti. ed. Concerning the Edicts and Prefaces premiled and conjoyned, to both we have fpoken already, and altogether. That of the Institutions is a Book indeed, wherein the Authour much Glories and Prides himself. He pretends it so to be Composed, as to be a fort of Index, of both Laws Ancient and Modern, a Breviate of many Constitutions formerly published by him; and to appertain no less to the Code, than the

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Constitutions, that he affirms not the fourth part of them to be touched, scarcely de June Norm fixty of two hundred and fifty. Yet where the place permitted it, and occasion required, he acknowledges that the Architects of this Epitome were mindfull of their Justinian, and not io exceedingly forgetfull of their New Law as they had been in the Pandects. He owns that the Memory of some Constitutions are herein preserved, which essenad been lost; as those De Jure Patronatus, and De Incertis Perfome Conflitue Jonis, which possibly were written in Greek, and therefore some few hints of them onely tions preferred remain in the Code. As for the Patronage of such as had been Slaves, it has been in the Indiana. spoken to. By the other Constitution it seems, he made it lawfull to leave a Legacy to an uncertain Person, which before could not be done: For Example, a Legacy thus left; Let mine Heir give to him, that shall give his Daughter in Marriage to my Son, &c. For though this uncertain Person became after certain, yet the Legacy was null, because it seemed given rashly, and without good Advice. Amongst the Living, Liberality might be conferred on an uncertain Perfon, as in throwing Money to a multitude; but the Ancients required a more fetled and Composed mind in Testatours. To ones own Posthumous Child, a Legacy they permitted to be left, but not to one of another Man; and though the Pretor was Affishent to the latter, in obtaining an Inheritance, yet he granted no Action for Legacies. This being but too nice and fubtile, was Corrected by Justinian. Indeed it had been lawfull to leave Legacies to the Poor in general before his time,

which he confirmed by a peculiar Constitution: This was a singular Exception

and could not avail, that a Legacy left for the redeeming of Captives could be good,

till Leo the Emperour expresly confirmed it. Him Justinian followed, and after-

79. Now Baldwin will have it so far from comprising the Heads of all his New Quan vide list.

Justinian makes leave Legacies

wards ordained Univerfally, that a Legacy might be left to uncertain Perfons. 80. Though the Constitutions of Justinian, concerning Legata and Fideicommissa be extant; yet a noble Head of this Subject had been wanting, if not mentioned in the Institutions. Concerning Legacies paid by Errour to pious Uses, their being irrevocable. Baldwin farther observes, what Antinomia, or repugnancy in Law had been found in the Pandects, if it had not been for this little Book, which fliews whether of these repugnant Testimonies brought out of Authours, is to be followed. But so great was the Oscitancy of Tribonian, that he wishes he had also made some Notes upon his Pandects, to shew us what to doe in so many disfenting places, and tells us what Opinion we are to follow, and which of them was most liked by Justinian. He declares, that such a Book of Annotations had absolutely been as necessary, as the Institutions. Not to say, that many things are rashly delivered in the Institutions, which upon good Grounds were rejected in the Pandects. But truely these things, saith he, are Cautiously and Considerately to be weighed, that from the thing it felf we may prudently determine, what is to be imputed to the Carelesness, and (if one may say so) to the folly of Tribonian. For his mistake, and to use Cicero his Word, his Heedlesness (non Curantia) ought not to overthrow the Reason and Verity of the Law. The Institutions were published on the eleventh before the Calends of December, and the Pandects on the feventeenth

feventeenth before the Calends of January. But the Institutions were not to be of Sect. 2 Force till this latter day, together with the Pandects. And it is to be observed, The Inflituti-! that the Institutions are to be esteemed the latter, and that consequently they deons derogate from the Panrogate from, and repeal the Pandects upon occasion, and not the Pandects them.

81. Baldwin also is out of Humour, to find in the Title of the Pandects, that they are styled Books, Juris Enucleati, or Kernels of the Law, being Collected from all the ancient Jurisprudentia. Justinian calls the Compilers of them, Compofitores Juris Enucleati, and he wishes they had been such as was Q. Mucius, of whom Cicero testifies, that he did speak Enucleate & Polite. But perhaps, he adds, it would be filly to expect fuch a thing from some Graculi, especially in what concerns the Roman Jurisprudentia. Certainly they who boast, they give us Law in the Kernel, have given us a Kernel inclosed in a very hard Nut; or rather one with the other, so bruised and intermingled, that they can scarcely be discerned. But as for what the Infcription tells us, that ancient Law is gathered together in the Pandects, as Justinian also boasts in his Preface to the Institutions, how this is to be taken, is not obscure. For, as was formerly faid, he would have the Pandects accommodated to the use of his own time and the Forum, and they are so interpolated, as to contain a certain mixt Law, partly Old, and partly New; so they feem to be a Composition of both Laws. And Justinian himself, somewhere calls them a Composition of new Law. But I have, so he concludes, formerly shewn what diligence and fidelity Tribonian used in the patching of them together.

82. In the year following, wherein Justinian was Conful the fourth time, together with Paulinus, though the Roman World was busied in turning over these new Books, yet was it still plyed with hot and new Constitutions; yet these not many, but finuous and mightily pretending to the Civil Law. Augustus Casar indeavouring to bring all Men to marry, as we have feen in our fecond Part, and not able to doe it, after several other Laws called Leges Julia, brought up Lex Papia Poppaa, to punish Celibate, and increase the publick Revenue; that if the Commonwealth could not be supplied with Men, it might with Money. Now a great delign of this Law, was to make Legacies and Estates to be of the Nature of Caduca, and in many Cases to fall to the Treasury for certain Defects, of which it's not fit here to inquire; and Baldwin concerning this Subject hath written large-'These Caduca, some Cases excepted, did Justinian now take away, and let Instinian takes these things fall to Heirs and Legatees, and would not have them to accrew to his Exchequer. This he did by a Constitution directed on the Calends of June,

to the Senate of Constantinople. Besides this Constitution published after the Pandects, on the third before the Nones of July, he gave out another for facilitating lending still more, the making of Testaments, and that in Favour of Pagani, or Countreymen. In the Pagi or Villages, he is content five Witnesses be fufficient where more fit ones are not to be had. In Cities and Castra, or lesser Towns, he will have the ancient Law to be observed. As five Witnesses here are sufficient, so formerly to all Codicills, and in fuch Testaments wherein such Heirs are instituted, as otherwife were to fucceed by Law. Leo the Emperour afterward would have three Witnesses suffice in Cities, and three in the Countrey for making. Testaments. And indeed it was thought fit to depart by degrees from that fcrupulous severity of the Ancients in making Wills, though fome reasons (as lately to shun Perjury)

drive again fometimes a State to a more near observance of them. 83. Now towards this time, Justinian began to bethink himself, what a vast

number of Constitutions he had made, since the first publishing of his Code. They were grown up to near as great a Bulk as it had been: He thought therefore, to put them all together and make a new Edition. Therefore this year on the fixcond Edition of teenth before the Calends of December. The Code in this fort augmented, corrected and interpolated came abroad. Baldwin blames them that reckon onely fifty Decisions to be inferted, there being, he faith, above two hundred new Constitutions added at this new Edition. And here he affirms, according to his Custome, that it had been no less necessary to have had another review, Interpolation and Edition of the Pandects, for making the Law complete and agreeing. Nay, that the Composition of the Code and Pandects, was not onely to be driven to the ninth year, as Justinian faith, but even the Promulgation of them to the time of his Death, that Perfect, Enucleate and Confummate Law, might have been delivered to Posterity, to be constant and perpetual; and so he might have faved the pains of throwing out fo many Edicts, which afterwards he again rejected, according to experience and use of things which Livy affirms, to be the most severe Examiner, and Exploratour of Laws. At the publishing of the Code, he com-

away Caduca.

Sect. 2. manded that out of its Body no Constitutions should be read. He meant such Conflitutions as were already abroad, not those he should afterward publish; for he foresaw there might be occasion from various experience, yet to make others. And he was not deceived. For scarcely had a Month and an half passed from this new Edition, when in the beginning of the following year, he fet upon making Novels. of which he poured out so many that their Volume almost at length exceeded presently after. the Code it self. And as formerly he Composed his Edicts in the Latine Tongue, rather than the Greek, now he made use more of the Greek, than the Latine. For both the Eastern and Western part of the Empire, was to be gratified; and the Gothick War now raging in Italy, it seemed most fit to Consult the East, in the

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The first is severe against Heirs or Lega-Teftatours Will.

lowing Year.

84. In this succeeding Year, wherein Belifarius was Conful, he published twelve Twelve the fol. Novels, whereof the first foon after the coming out of the Code, on the Calends of January. It confirms the severity of the old Laws, against such Heirs and Legatees, as do not fulfill the Will of the Testatour, 'ordaining that such shall receive no benefit by a Testament, who so long defers to doe what therein he is or-'dered, that he continues negligent an whole Year after a Judicial Condemnation. No other way was there to make good the Will of the Dead, and afterward he was a little more severe upon the Score of Religion, depriving one of the Right Nov. 13. of Succession, who being by a Magistrate once and again admonished, did not pay Legacies given to pious Uses, condemning him as to the Fruits and Interest, if he ' made not payment within fix Months after the Testatour's death, whereas the Heir was wont to pay Fruits and Interest of old, for ordinary Legacies from the Contesting of the Suit. But he excepts Parents and Children, so as they shall have their 'Legitimate share which they should have had by Law, or otherwise might have brought the Querela Inofficiosi Testamenti, though they contemn the Commands of the Testatour; this belonging to them, whether the Testatour will or not. By the ancient Law, called Lex Falcidia, fuch Care washad of an Heir, that the fourth part he was inabled to retain of an Estate left by the Testatour, to be deducted if need were, out of Legacies and other burthens imposed on him. 'Now Justinian was ' fo favourable to Legatees that he indeavoured by this Novel, in a manner to remove 'and take away this Falcidian part, leaving it in the Power of the Testatour: If an 'Heir in such a Case would not take to the Estate, he lest it to others that were next 'concerned to doe it. If the Heir omitted to make an Inventary ; to be fure he should have no benefit of this Law, or if he did it not in due form; and here he will not trust a Tabularius, but all the Legatees, or three Witnesses in the Room of them, must be called together. In Conclusion, if the Heir pay a whole Legacy to one of

the Legatees, he shall be obliged to all the rest, and have no benefit of this Law. 85. By another Novel he would have principal Creditours, to be fued before Nov. 4 Fidejuffors, or fuch as were bound with them, and this Constitution he gave out will have Prin this same year, on the fourteenth before the Calends of April. Of these it shall cipal Debrours furfice to have touched, for we must not give an Account of all his Novels, where of feveral have been mentioned, and others nearly relate to the more private Part of the Jus Privatum, and belong to Law, and not to History. Indeed some

that concern the Jus Publicum, History and the Constitution of the State its requifite that we Examine, but first we shall mention at parting with these things, that concern private Law, one Novel which by no means is to be passed by: The reason is given by Baldwin. If there be any new Constitution which abrogates many old Laws, which overthrows the most subtile Mystery of the ancient Doctrine, which delivers the Jurisprudentia from many Ambages and vain Circuitions, which not onely dissolves, but cuts many of its Knots; in Conclusion, which as it were with one Stroke blots out many Pages of the Pandects, this is it. Justinian had formerly taken pains to Model aright this most Noble part of the Law, concerning the Legitimate Succession to Persons dying intestate. But now he perceived all was to no

purpose, except he cut down with one blow, all that wood of the ancient Law, being too acute and precise, beset with so many Thorns, and perplexed with so many Turnings and Windings; and that by reducing the whole matter to some one Form, simple, agreeable to Nature, and the Law of Nations. Great Contests had continued about this Business in the Roman Law, for one thousand and three hundred Years, from the founding of the City, and Justinian had spent sixteen in the Composing of

86. What a difference was made, and how great in the Roman world, betwixt Children in ones own power and Emancipated, betwixt Agnati and Cognati, from the Laws of the twelve Tables till this time for a thousand years, what disturbance

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it made, and in what difficulties it involved the Jurisdiction, the Books of Law Remoff Con- speak aloud. But now our Legislatour commanded it to cease, in Legitimate Inedit some two the interface. To those Inheritances in the first place, he simply Novel. 118. Edite of an In- and naturally calls the Children of the Deceased, whether they were in his power return.

The claims all 'or not, and of whatsoever Degree or Sex. The Law of the twelve Tables first claims to the called onely Children, under the paternal power and such as were in the first Degree. Yet the Prætor also admitted such as were Emancipated, and at length the Senate commanded Sons to be the Legitimate Heirs of their Mothers, though a Woman had not her Children in her power. Therefore a necessity of Children being in power to become legitimate Heirs, was taken away many Ages before Justinian. And for the other point of the first Degree, Grandchildren were also admitted, but rather as Sons than Grandchildren, for they supplied the first Degree, and came to the Inheritance, rather as their Fathers than their Grandfathers, by way of Reprefentation. 'Now Justinian feems not to have altered the Law in this point, for ' he always would have Grandchildren by two Sons not to fucceed in Capita by 'Poll, but in Stirpes by way of Representation. Though had he regarded Natural more than Civil reason, he would have judged in the opinion of Baldwin, that they ought rather to have succeeded in Capita, especially there being onely Grandchildren. But he did not always with fufficient acuteness see what was consequent, the fubtilty of the ancient Law being taken away. As for the Sex, there was of old also some difference betwixt Nephews and Neices. But he had abolished it

87. ' If there were no Children which are called Descendents, then in the second place he called to the legitimate Inheritance Parents termed Ascendents, that is, 'Father and Mother equally, or if there were no fuch, those above them, but so ' as he granted them Stirpes not Capita, that is one half to those of the Father's fide, and another half to them of the Mother's. Now here is no Succession from Degree to Degree, it being contrary to nature that what ought to be in afcending, should be in deleending. Therefore doth the Mother exclude the Grandfather by the Father; for simply and naturally the next Degree in order of Ascendents, ' is preferred by this Constitution. Now the old Law made a long Distinction as to the Father. As whether the Son dying Intestate, was in his power or Emancipated, whether he was Emancipated Contracta fiducia: and fometimes the Father, by virtue of his paternal Power, feized the Goods of his Son as his own, and otherwhile became Heir as a Manumissour by right of Patronage. Hardly at length did the Senate admit the Mother to the Legitimate Inheritance of her Son. Of these things it's fit a remembrance should be had by the Consession of Baldwin, to make us more fenfible of the natural fimplicity of the new Law introduced by

88. 'Our Legislatour together with Parents, admits and joins Brothers and With whom he Sifters of the whole bloud, and gives to each of them, as much as to each of the by Silters of the whole bloud, and gives to capita rather than Stirpes, whereas he distributed wide the Inheritance to Father and Mother by Stirpes, to the Accession of Brothers and Mother by Stirpes, for the Accession of Brothers and Sisters as are ' and Sifters alters the Law of Ascendents. And such Brothers and Sifters as are admitted with Parents, are much more Heirs if no Parents be alive, and it is also to be supposed, that they are to be preferred before those of half bloud onely. The ancient Law when it called Agnati, in the first place called those by the Father's fide, but those by the Mother not at all, for the former fort were Agnati, but the latter not. And because it had respect to Agnation, not to Cognation, it provided for those that were by the Father, onely as much as for Germans, or those of whole Takes notice of Bloud. But Fustinian takes notice of the Natural more than Civil Conjunction, Natural rather and by this one Rule, cuts off infinite Diffractions and Diffractions of the Ancients, and obliterates fo many things in the Digefts, that Baldwin tells us, his Relation would be without end if he should reckon them up. But, what he confers on Bro-

' thers and Sifters, he also gives to their Children, but not so fully and in solidum. When the old Law called the next Agnatus, or those of the Father's fide, to the Inheritance of the Intestate, it called not the Son of one Brother already Dead. together with another Brother, for the Brother being in the nearer Degree excluded the other Brother's Son. Neither did the Ancients grant the Succession, which was given to a Grandson, to succeed with his Uncle by the Father's side, to the Son of a Brother. They gave it to the Grandson, because though he was alone, yet otherwise he could not but be Heir. To the Son of a Brother they granted it not, because by the Law he might from his Degree come to his Inheritance, if there was none nearer than he; but they thought it not Law to joyn him with a nearer,

Tustinian.

Sect. 2. as it were born out by a new Succession. 'But our Legislatour liberally granted the " fuccession which they denied, so as the Son of a Brother German, should exclude Will have the both the Brothers of half bloud, in right of his Father, into whose place and Degree Son of a Brothe fucceeded. But this is consequent, that if there be several Sons of one Brother, Brothers of half who are admitted with a Brother German of the Deceased, the Inheritance shall be divided in Stirpes and not in Capita. Yet if onely Sons of two Brothers succeed without an Uncle, no reason there is, but that they succeed the old way, not in Stirpes, but in Capita or by Poll. 'The fame thing was granted to Sons of Uncles, but not to a Grandson of an Uncle, to have equal right with the Sons. Justinian ' prefers the Son of a Brother before an Uncle, because in the order of De-' scendents, to whom an Inheritance naturally devolves before it returns to Ascen-' dents, of which rank an Uncle is.

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89. As for those who are called to a Succession from a collateral or transverse Line, that Succession is to be measured by the privilege given to the former fort. Justinian in his Institutions saith, an Agnatus is to be admitted to an Inheritance, though he be in the tenth Degree. And the Prator in case of Proximity, would promile possession of an Estate, to those along who were in the fixth Degree, and Gives the same ted the same privilege to the Cognati, as formerly the Agnati had enjoyed. So that it privilege of the may be prefumed, that fuch as are removed no farther than the tenth Degree, may

Novels how

from the seventh to the Children of a Cousin by the Mother's side. Therefore Agnati were admitted at a greater distance than Cognati; but whereas Justinian took away the difference betwixt them as to Inheritances, he feems to have grantenth degree to Legislation and Inheritance; for Justinian easily would admit them before his Exchequer, having waved the concernment of the Caduca. But what difference was made by the Lombards, how they admitted Agnati in infinitum, and denied Ascendents could be Heirs; and by such as have from them imbraced the Feudatary way, is not proper at prefent to be infifted on; it being novelty to what we are now about. Afterwards he made another Novel Constitution, which is as an Appendix or Accession to this, dated on the fifth before the Calends of December, in the feventh year after the Confulship of Basilius. He had formerly granted to the Sons of a Brother, that they might be Heirs with another Brother of the Deceased, by a certain Right of new Succession; yet he had denied, that such Sons of a Brother, could be admitted to inherit together with Parents. But mufing long, and much about it, at length he concluded it was not to be denied them. and for this purpose, he published his Hundred twenty and seventh Novel, which in this matter, should correct and amplifie his Hundred and eighteenth. This Novel was published at Constantinople, the same time that Totilas King of the Goths. took and defaced Rome. 90. We think it not fit to fay much more, concerning the Novels of Justinian.

but give onely farther some few hints. For first, several of them have been spoken of already upon occasion. Then many of them relate to Ecclesiastical matters, and so are not of our Cognisance here. And then there is no order observed in the Disposition of them, as is either in the Digest or the Code, but as occasion was offered of any doubt wherein the Prince his Resolution was necessary to every thing, so it is set down without any other method or form. The Body or collection of them is called the Authenticum, because most of them being written in Greek by the Emperour, they were Translated into Latin, and the Translation was fo good as to be counted Authentical, as also to distinguish them from the Authenticks, which are crept into the Code, and from the Epitome of Julian, which was often called a Book of Novels. Accurfus and the Doctours have commented and glossed onely on ninety eight as Dr. Duck tells us, but Julian in his Epitome, pre- De use feather iently after the Death of Justinian , published one hundred and twenty five. Ho rital published loander published an hundred fixty five, and Cujacius added three. But we ought lis, its 1.44 he faith to follow the opinion of Accursus, and the common and received one of Interpreters, when we speak of that Law, which is received and used amongst

eight, and those illustrated by the Commentaries of the Learned Dionysius Gothofredus and others.

91. The first Latin Version of the Novels, was that of Julian, the Antecessour, The Latin Ver made not long after Julinian, which all Writers commend. The other which Accursius and the Interpreters make use of , Alciate calls barbarous , but Cujacius commends its authority from Antiquity. It was made as Molinaus gueffeth by an uncertain Authour, and one unskilfull in the Latin Tongue; but being received by all Nations, both in their Studies and Judicatories, it hath the Authority of Law;

Christian Nations. However, in our latest Editions, we find one hundred fixty

and if a Controversie arise concerning the Text, recourse is not always to be had Sect. 2. to the Greek Fountain, because Contins thinks, that this Translation was made from a more perfect Copy than now we have: Therefore our lately mentioned Countreyman concludes, that fuch Novels as are not by Custome received. ought not to be admitted, which also is to be faid concerning the Novels of Leo the Emperour, firnamed Philosophus. But we must farther add, that the whole Volume is diffinguished or divided into nine Collations, Constitutions or Sections, The nine Col- as the Novels into Chapters; that is, the Latine Volume is so divided, for the

CHAP. II.

Greek Text acknowledgeth not this Division into Collations. Some are general and concerned all, who had the like cause of Doubt; and some are private and concern onely the place or Person, for whom they were written, some belong to the Jus publicum, and others to the Jus privatum, these being far the greater number. In conclusion, we have been tedious upon this Subject of Justinian's Laws, and still must add something farther, and therefore it will be convenient to dismiss the Novels; especially considering what is added at the bottom of the Titles of all the Collations by Gothofred or some other. What ever Dr. Duck writes, having reckoned them all up he adds, 'Therefore all confent that there are an hundred and fixty eight Novels of Justinian, neither more nor less. But Mathæus Monachus. 'in his Preface to the Collection of Greek Ecclefiaftical Conflitutions, plainly wrote, that Justinian made an hundred and seventy, from whence it appears that 'two are yet wanting, that I may omit, that most above related, are not the 'Constitutions of Justinian himself.

92. Still besides these, we find added in the slater Editions, twelve Edicts so called, or General Laws translated into Latin by Henry Agylæus. Concerning them, the fame is to be faid as of the Novels, in which some of them are included. They belong for the most part to the ordering of the Eastern Provinces, whose-soever they were. And now we suppose we have our whole Number, or all the Constitutions and Laws made by Justinian, if not more than all. Put them then altogether. and we have this Account. In his Code, there are of Ecclesiastical concernment which bear his Name, thirty and eight at the least, and of such as relate to Civil Affairs, three hundred thirty and five, as I have reckoned them. Add to thefe one hundred and feventy Novels, which Matheus Monachus wrote that he published, two being wanting of the number, and twelve Edicts, and they make up five hundred and fifty five Constitutions made by him. Of these, such as are in the Code are undoubtedly his, and therefore in flewing how he introduced new Law, they were to be made use of. And thus we have taken a sufficient survey what Justinian did, as to modelling the old, and bringing up new Law; we see that besides his own Constitutions in the Digest, and in the Code, he has caused to be inferted the opinions of the ancient Lawyers, and the Edicts of the Emperours his Predecessours. But here we find a loud Complaint made, and that not unde-

Five hundred

fervedly, that after the compiling of these his Books, the writings of the ancient Lawyers fo full of Wifedom and Learning were neglected, and indeed perished, little to purpose being left of them. And he is by many accused, together with his Tribonian, of burning or dettroying an thore withing the of greater authorized the wil- Laws of the twelve Tables, that his own Collections might be of greater authorized the min Laws of the twelve Tables, that his own Collections might be of greater authorized the min Laws of the twelve Tables, that his own Collections might be of greater authorized the min Laws of the twelve Tables, that his own Collections might be of greater authorized the min Laws of the twelve Tables, that his own Collections might be of greater authorized the min Laws of the twelve Tables, that his own Collections might be of greater authorized the min Laws of the twelve Tables, that his own Collections might be of greater authorized the min Laws of the twelve Tables, that his own Collections might be of greater authorized the min Laws of the twelve Tables, that his own Collections might be of greater authorized the min Laws of the twelve Tables, that his own Collections might be of greater authorized the min Laws of the twelve Tables, the min Laws of the min Laws of the min Laws of the min Laws of the twelve Tables, the min Laws of the mi his Tribonian, of burning or destroying all those writings of the Ancients, and the mongst learned Lawyers, that they want those clearer lights and more infallible 93. But others are more kind and charitable to his memory, who rather think

Others Vindi-

that these writings perished by misfortune, by the Calamity of the Times, and the Incursions of the Barbarous Nations. For of the three Cities which were the Universities for Law, Berytus perished not long after Justinian by an Earthquake: Rome was often taken and wasted by the Goths, and other Barbarous People; and after many other Calamities, Conftantinople at length became a prey to the Turks. Certainly after Justinian's Death, the whole Roman Empire was overwhelmed by the Goths and other Barbarians, with fo many Calamities, fuch Plunderings, Burnings and Defolations happened, that they attribute it to the fingular providence of Almighty God, that in the Pandects, by the indeavour of Justinian, fuch remains of the ancient Lawyers were preserved. And here it will not be amis, nor besides our purpose to let the Reader know, what Reliques or Remainders there are left of the ancient Law before Justinian, which escaped the Envy, or the Iniquity of the Times. The first Foundation of the Law, were those Ordinances made by the Kings of Rome, called Leges Regiae. These were collected into a Body by Sextus Papirius, and afterward Granius Flaccus wrote a Commentary upon them,

CHAP. II.

Iuftinian.

As of Gaius.

Of Ulpiar.

but both Volumes have milcarried. Yet fragments of them have been collected vide Natition Remains of the viz. Romalus, Nama and Servius Tullius, which last as Dionysus Halicarnasseum Remains of the viz. Romalus, Nama and Servius Tullius, which last as Dionysus Halicarnasseum Religiatements Laws of three writes, made fifty Laws concerning Contracts and Crimes, for no Footleps are million Poster. Kings of Rome. extant of any made by Tullus Hostilius, Ancus Martius, or Priscus Tarquinius, and the much less of Tarquinius Superbus who abolished those of Servius Tullius.

94. Of the Lawes of the twelve Tables, the fecond Body of the Roman Jurispruof the Laws of dentia, fragments have been collected by many, every one using his own methe twelve Ta- thod therein. Of the several methods, that of Francis Pithæus is judged best by Jacobus Gothofredus, who himself hath made Observations concerning Errours committed, Omissions, Interpolations and matters foreign to the thing, hath restored the Fragments that remain into order, added the History, Proofs, Notes and Glossaries in a work published at Geneva, in the year MDCLIII. All Laws afterwards enacted for the use of the People at Rome, at least as much as in them lay, have been collected and catalogues of them exhibited by Ant. Augustinus, Zastus, Mauntius, Hotoman and Charondas. Of these Laws some singular ones have been col-Of other Laws. lected, and illustrated by Commentaries. As the Lex Velleia by Antonius Augustinus, the Lex Julia Majestatis by Contius, and the Lex Julia de Adulteriis by Brisfanius. Baldwin hath collected the Heads of the Lex Voconia Falcidia, Julia, Papia, Poppæa, Rlodia, Aquilia. Curatius, Jacobus Gothofredus, and others have done Of Senatus Confulta, Ant. Augustinus collected such as concerned the Jus Privatum from Tiberius his time till that of Marcus. And Scipio Gentilis hath illustrated with singular Commentaries, Orations of Princes, which were wont to precede the Senatusconsulta. The Edictum Orations of Perpetuum, the third and indeed the cheifest Body of the Roman Jurisprudentia, was indeavoured to be collected by Eguinartius Baro, but with a mixture of other things. A better and pure collection was made by Guil. Ranchinus, onely the Chap-

ters of the Edict are not disposed according to the true method, but that of Justi-95. Of the writings of the ancient Lawyers, fragments and pieces are put into the Pandects, under the feveral Titles of the feveral Subjects. And fome, as Ant. Augustinus, have taken pains to unite those pieces of the same Authours, and exhibite them together with some antecedents and consequents of the same Chapter, so that thereby a shew is made of a Restitution of the Books of those ancient Authours which perished. Some have illustrated with Commentaries those parancient Lawyers ticular Authours, or the particular Books mentioned tobe written by them. And

besides these Fragments in the Pandects, some other Fragments out of them, have come to our Hands which it would be most usefull to put into one Volume, and in part it hath been performed by Peter Pithæus. But particularly some Fragments of Gaius are remaining, which were collected by Anianus the Chancellour of the Gothick King, and mangled out of the four Books of his Institutions; for so many he wrote: and other Fragments of his Institutions might still be added from the Pandects, the Authour of the Collation of the Mosaical Laws, Boetius, Priscian and Diomedes. There are also some remains of the Labours of Ulpian, or twenty nine Titles, collected also by Anianus, and it's thought out of his Book or Body of Rules; and more Fragments still might be added from the Collation of the Mosaick Laws, and Boetins upon the Topicks of Cicero. Besides these there are fome Fragments of an anonymous Writer, concerning the Species of Law and Manumissions. Moreover five Books of the received Sentences of Paulus, written to his Son, or rather pieces taken out of these Books by Anianus, the Collectours of the Pandects and others, but highly usefull for the knowledge of ancient Law. of Modestimus. and the understanding of that of Justinian. One Fragment also of Modestimus still remains, taken out of his third, or rather his ninth Book, bearing title concerning

the Goods of Liberti and Testaments. Intressemmata grees of Agnation, according to which Inheritances descended. A Consultation of an illiorisal an ancient Lawver of the middle Age concerning Definition. 96. Three several Stemmata are also extant, or ancient Descriptions of the De-Narration, concerning the Confirmation of the Rhodian Laws by the Emperours, viz. A Collation of Tiberius, Vespassian, Trajan, Adrian, Antoninus, Pertinax and Severus. A Colthe Mossiek and lation of the Mosaick and Roman Laws, out the intire Books of the ancient Law-

yers, Papinian, Paulus, Ulpian, Gaius, Modestinus and others; as also from the Gregorian, Hermogenian and Theodofian Codes, and distinguished into sixteen Titles. From the Prefaces to the fixth and feventh Titles, fome collect that the Authour was no professed Lawyer, but the Book is usefull in that it shews, what liberty Tribonian and his Collegues took in Hearing, Reading and Altering the writings Sect. 2. of the ancient Lawyers, in that it contains many-Fragments of old Writings, and Constitutions, no where else extant or not so fully; and shews how the Books

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

Answers of Pa- of ancient Lawyers were divided into Titles, especially in Title the fifteenth. A Book of Answers of Papian, is hither also to be reckoned, collected out of the Roman Lawyers and Laws, though it's thought he was a Burgundian, and did it for the Taillisal Notes. fervice of that Nation. Moreover Juridical Notes used in publick Monuments and Books of the Civil Law, before Justinian's Collection. Of these are published se-

veral Treatises of ancient Writers , Volusius Macianus his Book also de Asse and the distribution of it, necessary for knowledge of Institution of Heirs and many other Volufius Mecia nus de Affe. things, and thought fit by Cujacius to be read before the Institutions. To these it's Other Writers. thought fit to add such as have written Books concerning Boundaries, (Finium re-

gendorum,) as Siculus Flaccus, Frontinus and Aggenus Urbicus: And the Notitia Remains of Con- Dignitatum to often mentioned by us. Then in the last place as for Imperial Constitutions, there is a Collection of the short Rescripts of Hadrian left done by Goldastus. A Constitution of Gordian concerning Marriages contracted contrary to Order, and de Dote Caduca published by Cujacius. Some remains also there are of the old Imperial Constitutions, collected in the two Codes Gregorianus and Hermogenianus, to which several might be added out of divers Authours. Of the Theodoffan Code and the Novels, Theodoffus and other Emperours before Justinian, great mention has been made in our fecond Part, and here we need to fay

nothing more concerning them. 97. If Justinian was guilty of destroying the Writings of these ancient Law-The Risque that single that single the was justly punished himself with a certain Lex Talionis. His Books continued in other and the least sold in the Continued in other and the least sold in the Continued in other and the least sold in the Continued in other and the least sold in the Continued in other and the least sold in the Continued in other and the least sold in the least sold ind The Rifque that tinued in efteem and use in the Schools and Forum for forty years, till Phocas the no in the East. Emperour despised all Law and Equity. Afterward they were in a little use and esteem two hundred years, but then Basslius Macedo, out of Envy it's said, did what he could to abolish them, and he and his two Sons, Leo and Constantinus Porphyrogenitus made new Collections, viz. an Epitome of Justinian's Code, and another large work called Bafilica, which continued to be the Standard of Law at Constantinople, till the end of that Empire; Justinian's Books being wholly neglected and forgotten. Yet out of his Books were the Bafilica Composed; and though the faid Books were not known in Italy, and the Western parts, for five hundred years after his Death, yet by chance the Pandects were found at the taking of Amalfi in Italy, in the War betwixt Pope Innocent the second, and Rogerius King of Sicily and Naples, about the year MCXXVII, since which time Juliinian's Law has revived, flourished, and continues to be indeed the general Law of Admired and Christendom, one single Kingdom excepted. Of the Errours committed by the recired in the Compilers enough has been faid; but withall a Necessity of reducing the Law in-

> the loss of the Writings of the Ancients especially, the World is happy that the Collection was made, for so it esteems it self in it, all Nations, as was said, that are governed by Laws, imbracing them as the most exact form of that Nature. 98. We have now done with the Wars, and also the Laws of Justinian. And though from a Man's Actions fo much in publick as these were, an indifferent Character might seem easie to be drawn; yet there is a Book which hath done it to our Hands, though the Pourtraiture be very ugly, and the work it felf very bad. But it is fathered upon no other Pencil than that of Procopius, whose Lines hitherto we have had reason to commend, and it is dressed and presented to the World, with as much advantage as possible, by a very learned hand; we must not be partial, but must open and discover this peice, and then we must be so just withall, as to make Observations upon it, such as it self and other Writings shall suggest;

to narrower bounds, than formerly it was hath been shewed. And considering

to doe right as near as may be, to truth and Persons.

SECT. III.

The Character of Justinian.

1. TN the first place, where the Writer takes him in hand, and considers him as the Heir Apparent of the Empire, in the days of his Uncle, he pronounces this concerning him, that at length he proved the Authour of fo many and fo

Iustinian.

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Sect. 3. great Mischeiss, as never had been heard of in former Ages. That he was prone to invade the Rights and Possessions of other men, and so much to the slaughter The Authour's of them, that he esteemed it but a trifle to destroy many Myriads, which were general charge against Justini not guilty of the least offence. That he never would stick to any thing already determined, but still thirsted after Novelty and Change, and the utter Destruction of whatfoever was excellently constituted. That with the Raging Pestilence, we have formerly described, some men although very sew were Insected, and others though seized with it, yet Conquered it's Malignity. But the ill influence of *Instinuian's* Government, no *Roman* whatsoever but sadly felt, who being ordained by Heaven for a common Scourge and Plague, none escaped him; some being wickedly Murthered, others constrained to lead a Life made miserable by penury , to whom Death would have been a great kindness, and others deprived both of Fortune and Life together. He thought it not enough to destroy the Roman Empire, but would turn his Forces also upon Africk and Italy, that the Nations there Inhabiting, might also perish with those that were subject to his Command. 2. On this fair Text as fairly he Comments by these particular instances,

which amongst others he heaps up against this Prince. Scarcely had he been in Power ten days, when Amantius cheif of the Eunuches, with others, he comman-He caused to be ded to be killed, because they had spoken something sawcily, concerning John the flain Amentus Biflop of the City. Vitalianus the Tyrant he caused to be put to Death, notwith-and Vitalianus. flanding the publick Faith given for his Security, at the Celebration of the Sacred Mysteries. In the Faction of the Citizens he so far incouraged, or rather excited the Veneti to their seditious practices, that thereby the Roman Empire seemed to be shaken from its Basis, and the Cities were made desolate, as by the Invasion of fome Enemy, some terrible Earthquake, or a Contagious Sickness. Yet these horrible Diforders did nothing fo much perplex the minds of good People, as his Carriage in reference to such a Mischeif. For when men suffer never so much from violent or unjust Oppressours, yet still they are comforted with the thoughts of Justice, which they expect from the Hands of Magistrates, and such as ought to In the Factions demean themselves as maintainers of the Laws. But Justinian was so far from giravoured the ve-neti in an extra- ving them any Redress, that he manifestly favoured both by word and deed those vagant manner. Riotous Persons, giving great gifts to some of them, and conferring upon others Offices of Magistracy, and places of Dignity. Therefore this Mischief, like a Gangreen, spread over the whole Empire, not one City being free from the Factions of those two Parties. And as for the Emperour, he never regarded how matters went, nor in the least did such things affect him, as were done under his own Eyes in the Circus. For he was unspeakably dull and senseless, most like to a slow and flupid Ass, following which way foever he was drawn by the Bridle, and moving also his Ears when he lifted, as that and other Animals are wont 3. After he came to manage Affairs upon his own fole Concernment; whereas

He exhausts his set himself by all means possible to exhaust it. The Hunnes and other Barbarous

Nations, by bribing them to quit the Territores of the Empire, he irritated and provoked to make more Incursions; for after each Invasion, they still presumed they should not fare worse than they had formerly done. Vast Sums he drowned in the Sea, thinking to give bounds unto that Element, and by great heaps of stones and Rubbish to oppose its natural force and motion. Yet the Estates of Private men he greedily devoured, objecting to some feigned Crimes, and pretending that o-And is rapacious there had freely bequeathed to him their Fortunes. Most that were guilty of Paricide and other heinous Offences, redeemed their Lives by all they were worth. Such as were at Law with their Neighbours, about any Lands or Possessions, and had no good Title, made it over, fuch as it was, to the Emperour, whose Relation to it took away prefently all flaws. Here our Authour, though contrary to all method and order, cannot dispence with a fancy come into his Head, but must needs compare our Emperour with Domitian. First, as to the form and lineaments of his Body. For he was of a middle Stature, indifferently Fat, of a beautifull Countenance, though fomething long Vifaged; his Complexion being Ruddy, after he had fasted two days together. Then as to his Disposition, he was absolutely "O" N purpose as ill Conditioned, and as apt to be deceived, being both a Knave and a Fool equal- xouth manufacture.

it should have behoved him to have special regard to his Treasury, he as it were

Like to Domi-

ly with the other. Yet though he lay exposed to the tricks and artifices of other men, was he the greatest dissembler in the World, speaking nothing but upon defign, and his Heart and Tongue never agreing. He was the most perfect in But very cunthe Art of Diffimulation that ever was man, covering his Deceit, hiding his

Indignation, and concealing his Refolutions with the greatest craft imaginable. Sect. 3. 4. He could laugh or cry according to the present occasion. His breach of Faith was not fingle, but accompanied with violation of all facred Obligations. In his Friendship he was utterly uncertain, and in his Enmity inexorable. Gold and Bloud he equally thirsted after, with a kind of infatiableness. Nothing did he more delight in than Contentions and Innovations. Eafily was he perswaded to whatfoever was naught, but to what was good could not be drawn by any motives. Subtile and dex- In devising and executing what was wicked, he was very subtile and dextrous; but the very Name of Honesty he could not endure. These and very many other vices abounded in him, above the proportion of humane Pravity; for Nature had as it were taken them by parcels from other men, and with them patched up his Disposition. Accusations he readily admitted, and as readily punished. For he never heard a Cause thoroughly, but as soon as the Accuser had done, immediately gave Judgment, and by his rash decrees, ordered the Destruction of Places, the burning of Cities, and Plundring of Nations of whatsoever they had. All these things considered, our Historian doubts not to affirm, that if any one will well More Calamities Confider what Mischeiss formerly happened to the Romans, and compare them with under him than the Calamities suffered under this Prince, he will find greater slaughter of men, to ear before him. have been made by this one man, than in all ages which went before him put together. Then repeats he again, what he had formerly faid concerning his spoiling private Persons of their Estates. And that he may finish all in a word, he assures us that this Emperour neither had any money himfelf, nor suffered his Subjects to have any; as if he did not so much deprive them of what they had out of Covetousness, as envy at their prosperous Condition, for he exhausted and made beggerly the whole Empire. Such was his Disposition and temper, the pretended Procopius tells us, as near as he could reach it. Then he comes to his Wife, to describe her Original and Education, and how in Conjunction with such an Husband. fhe utterly ruined the Roman State.

CHAP. II.

5. At Constantinople lived one Acacius, whose Calling and Employment it was to feed and look to the Beafts which belonged to the Faction of the Prasini, and were wont to be baited on the Amphilheatre, being commonly from the Bears called The Original of Arctotrophus or Vrfarius, as we use to say the Bearward. He dying in the time of Anaflafus left three Daughters, Comitona, Theodora and Anaflafua, whereof the Eldeft was fcarcely then feven years old. Their Mother married a fcond Husband, but Afterius Master of the Orchestra, who by virtue of his Office had the disposal of the Place, fold it to another, and so turned out the Mother, her Husband and Daughters. She being reduced to a great strait, when she saw the People flock thick to the Shews, put Garlands upon the Heads and Hands of her Daughters, thereby presenting them as humble Supplicants. The Prosini rejected both them and their Petition; but the Veneti at that time wanting a Bearward, readily entertained them. Being thus provided of a Livelyhood, and very handfome, yet their Mother as they grew up, put each of them upon the Stage. Comitons the Eldeft was accounted one of the eminentest Courtisants of her time, on whom Theodora when young waited in Quality and Habit of a Servant, carrying after her on her Shoulders the folding Stool, on which the was wont to fit in the places where Company reforted. But as foon as she came to Womans Estate, she also put her upon the Stage, and she became presently a Strumpet, such as the Ancients called Planipedes, pretending neither to Musick, Singing, nor Dancing, but profittuting her felf to every one as she had opportunity. After this she Acted with the Mimicks or Clowns, all forts of Farses, being so ready of her Tongue, that she was presently taken notice of, and of such a demeanour, that she more and more attracted the Eyes of the beholders. For she was complainant throughout, not taking ill any word or gesture how obscene soever; however men behaved themfelves to her, she would fet up a Laughter, and that was all.

6. Therefore all fober Persons esteemed her no better than a Plague-sore, and whoso whites to He ever met her in the morning, accounted it a fign of ill luck. Afterward Hecebolius the * Eam intelliging online to the ever thet her in the morning, accounted it a light of ill fluck. Afterward recepoints the and intermediation of Tyrian, Governour of * Pentapolis, carried her down into his Provinceas his Mistress; we ab Alexandra of the second of the secon but presently taking some Conceit against her, he cast her off again, and so to yet aria decen dis-Bread she was constrained to prostitute her self as formerly. She first tried her sten. Fortune at Alexandria, and thence passing through all the East, returned to Conflantinople, where she drove such a trade, as no man ought to name who would have Almighty God his Friend; it's certain that the Devils fo provided, that no place should be free from her Impure practices, and so she was born and bred as one that was to be the most famous of all Whores, of what Ages soever. Indeed

the Authour of the Antiquity of the City of Conflantinople writes, that Theodora, the Wife of Jufinian, after her Return from Paphlagonia, lived in Embolus, where she spun Wool for her living, and after she came to be Empress, built a Church, which she dedicated to St. Pantaleon. Now in this part of the City, called Embolus, as formerly on the Bank side in Southwark, and in the Lapell Street at Antiwerp, lived the most common and poorest sort of Strumpets; therefore is to be found in Pliny, Mulier Embolaria, concerning which the Criticks have wasted to tound in runy, Mutter Emouraria, concerning Manuel, fignifies the fame with much paper. For the word Emboli, in the plural number, fignifies the fame with much paper. For the word Emboli, in the plural number, fignifies the fame with much paper. Porticus in Latin, from the Fornices or Arches of which, Women being called For alias eju vair nicariae, and confequently the word Fornication coming; so from the Porticus or acceptions for Galleries themselves, in Greek Emboli, those Strumpets were also named Embo-chia Milloria

PART III.

flamitimen men:

Byceniti praintiffe ait usque ad Tymadunes Euchhous, Porticus Troadenses vocat Autor Antiquissimus Descriptimis urbis Constantinopsis.

Alemani. ad pag. 42-7. But Theodora had not been very long at Constantinople, eer Justinian fell most

Justinian falls in love with her.

passionately in love with her. At first he conversed with her as his Mistress, being promoted to the degree of a Patritian, and she fo far made use of her time, and his fondness, as to heap up a great deal of Wealth. Yet so long as Euphemia the Empress lived, who was otherwise indulgent enough to him, he never could ob-Being his Mi-ftress he makes tain Licence to marry her; but she dying, and Justin the Emperour, her Husband, doating, through the extremity of his Age; he who had all the power in his uoaung, unougu me eared on all fides, and refolved to improve his interest and * Refinition Opportunity to the accomplishing of the Marriage. But there was a great rub in Conflamin at

Opportunity to the accompaning of the way, which must necessarily be removed. This was an * ancient Law which forgother, Cal forbad Men of Senatorian Rank to marry Strumpets, or any other of fuch bale or nat. Fylan. unlawfull Callings, which by a cross Constitution he caused the Emperour, his simily Manis-Having made it Uncle, to repeal, which done, he married Theodora, and opened the way for other and I will, lawfull, Perfons of Quality, to beflow themselves in such unequal and disparaging Matches. Mail. Map. 1.5. The Constitution is yet extant in the Code, but these four Letters JUST, being c.de Manches prefixed to it in ancient Manuscripts, gave occasion of mistake to learned men, Imp. Joshinas who therefore have thought it made by Juftinian, as the Title shews in the very A. Doesshei who therefore have thought it made by Juftinian, as the Title shews in the very A. Doesshei who therefore have thought it made by Juftinian, as the Title shews in the very A. Doesshei who there's no doubt but Juftin was the Authour; for into the Code P.P.C. 6.84, last Edition. But there's no doubt but Juftin was the Authour; for into the Code in A. Last

have crept several other salse Inscriptions, and Subscriptions also, as Alemannus fhews in many particulars. And there was another Constitution of Justinian, of the same subject, quite different from this, containing not onely more Chapters, Hacadainta but also some contrary matter, which though it be not now extant, yet is there similarly the summand substance of it in a Rescript to the Bishops, written to the same purpole. This Constitution of his Uncle, Justinian did not onely confirm, by this has Justinian pole. This Constitution of his Uncle, Justinian did not onely confirm, by this has Justinian pole. This Constitution of his Uncle, Justinian did not onely confirm, by this has Justinian pole. The Land of the Land express Laws about the Marriage of Senatours, (as the Julian, that of Constantine weir risk about the Marriage of Senatours, (as the Fulian, that of Constantine weir risk about and of Martianus,) it was now first heard of in the Roman World, that they rest about the saids happened to the control of the saids happened to the control of the saids happened to the control of the saids happened to the said happened to the and of treatments,) it was now into this Conflitution of Justin, there is onely true, he trail could marry with base Persons; so in this Conflitution of Justin, there is onely true, he trail could marry with base Persons; such as Theedora was, although in that of Constant Demister at the married married to the conflict of the confli

tine, antiquated by it, several other * sorts be expresly mentioned. edatdia Infirumenta requifivit in illa Juffinianus, non autem Imperatoris Referiptum, in has verò contra Jufinus fancivit. He explain habet in Juffiniani Referipto ad omes Epifopos quad Gracè tibi exhibet ez vuticana Bibliobeca Alemannar in Nes ad árean. Hiji þ4 Ancille, Liberta, Stenica, Tabernaria, Lennum Gr Arenariorum Filia, quaque mercimanis publica prefuerin. Alem

8. Justinian and Theodora now married, began their Reign the third day before He marries her. Easter, when it was not lawfull to falute or with well to any Man. Indeed such was the custome then in the Church, that although in Celebration of Divine Service the Priest prayed for Peace, after the usual manner, yet in memory of the Passion of our Saviour, they abstained from the chearfull Riss of Peace, and from Salutation. The beginning of their Domination falling out on this day, the Authour accounts it an Omen of the Wars, Conspiracies, Plagues, Prodigies and Earthquakes, which fell out in the Reign of Justinian, who having it in his Power to make his choice out of the most beautifull, most rich, and every other way most accomplished Women which the whole Roman Empire afforded, could fix no where but on one of the most vile and filthy Strumpets in the World, and prefer the Embraces of one defiled with many other Villanies, besides the Murther of many abortive Infants, before the Bed of any chafte and pure Virgin whatfoever. Yet was there not one man that opened his Mouth against so foul an Indignity, not a Senatour, not one Churchman; but such as had formerly seen her act upon the Stage,

now, with Hands lift up, protested themselves her Slaves and Vassals; and the Soul- Sect. . 3 diers vowed, they would, for the fake of Theodora, encounter with all Difficulties and Dangers. Indeed the had a lovely Face, and was otherwife also very tempting; She was of little Stature, and had very quick and rowling Eyes. They acted all vide Edypum things with joynt confent, though at first the World believed they were of contra. Imagini illustration with the status to accompany the latter to accompan

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

CHAP. II.

night, and with ry Inclinations; but this they counterfeited by agreement, the better to conceal bat, apad sileand carry on their Deligns. Sometimes he would take the part of the Veneti, and mann. ubi supra, then she would seem to be against them, and they would complain that they were 1.47. difrespected by each other. In Law Suits, and matters of Controversie, the one fided with the Plaintiff, and the other with the Defendant, and to be fure he that had the worst Cause carried it, giving ever one half, or more, to gain the other. Many Persons he pretended to savour, and suffered them to pill the Commonwealth at their pleasure, whom she must accuse and prosecute, fore against his Mind, as he pretended, who would feem to take their part, but in the end they must bleed out their Wealth into his Coffers. By these Arts they carried on their work with much ease, and established their Tyranny, so as it was not to be shaken. 9. Being come to the Administration of Affairs, after his Uncle's death he im-

mediately let himself to overturn the whole frame and posture of all things, as if he had put on the Imperial Enfigns for this very purpose. For, abrogating the or-Rethrogates the dinary forms of Laws, of Magistracy, and the Militia, he brought up new Models of his own Invention, without any shew of Reason, but that every thing might receive a mark from his Name; which also he bestowed upon such things as he could not find a pretence to alter. The vast Treasures which he scraped out of the Ruines of numberless families, he either prodigally spent upon Barbarians, or confumed in extravagant Buildings. Whereas the Romans had Peace one with another, he, impatient of Rest, and thirsting after Bloud, set the Barbarians together by the Ears. He gave vast summs to the Captains of the Hunnes, to procure Peace and a good Understanding, as he said; but they, like Beggars that had fared well at his door, cried Rost-meat, and fent their Neighbours to speed as they had done. who entring, and wasting the Emperour's Dominions, constrained him to purchase Peace from them at the like rates. Hence came it to pass that there was no end of War, but it was handed, as it were, from one to another, there never wanting Commanders amongst Hunnes, Saracens, Sclavi, Persians and other Barbarians, whose mouths were to be stopped as well as those of others, and consequently there was hardly a Mountain or Hole in the Roman territories free from Devastations, many Provinces having been five times, or oftner, wasted in his time. Vast Treasures did he employ in purchasing Peace from Chofroes, the Persian King; but then again, without any reasonable cause, he would break the League, by drawing into a Confederacy of Arms against him Alamundarus, the Hunnes, and other Affociates of that Crown. The Provinces being thus exhausted, and no way replenished, except by great Essusion of Man's Bloud; that he might make the greater spoils, he involved them in farther troubles, upon the Account of Religion.

10. But having filled his Treasury with Confiscations upon this account, and procured the Destruction of more than an hundred thousand Men: he fell upon fuch as he supposed, or would take for granted, to be guilty of Sodomy. He pro-Serene against ceeded against them by making a positive Law, saith our Authour, for that purpose; and indeed there are two several Constitutions of his extant, upon this subject, as Aleman observes, whereof one being made upon another occasion, and the other bearing date of the eighteenth year after the Confulfhip of Bafilius, there is no doubt but that which was made in the beginning of his Reign, as this Procopius hints, and as Theophanes plainly tells in his fecond Year, hath miscarried. The occation of the feverity used against this fort of Offenders, Theophanes writes to have been given by two Bishops, Esaias of Rhodes, and Alexander of Dispolu in Thrace. who being found guilty of this Crime, were put out of their places, and feverely punished, having their Members cut off, and then being led through the City, with a Crier before them, making this Proclamation, All ye that are Bishops, beware that ye dishonour not your Reverend Dignity. Wherefore, faith he, the Emperour published severe Laws against those libidinous Persons, and many were punifhed by virtue thereof. There furely are they which this Procopius deresteth as fevere, and inflicting indecent punishment upon the Offenders. He mentions onely loss of their Genitals, and then exposing to open shame; but Cedrenus, and others, farther add, that some were tormented by sharp Reeds, thrust into their privy parts. At first, this Severity was not used towards all, but either such as were of the Faction of the Prasini, or were reputed very rich, or were out of the Prince his

PART III

Sect. 3. favour. But herein appeared his Cruelty and Injuffice, that when no body profecuted, and upon the Teltimony of one fingle Witness, fometimes a Boy, and fometimes a Slave, who was compelled to appear against his Master, he would proceed to Sentence and Condemnation.

11. Aftrologers he could not endure, and upon this account roughly handled certain Magistrates, whose Employment it was to punish and prevent Roberies. Be-Against After ing ancient Men, fober, and of good Repute, he caused them to be set on Camels, to be contumeliously carried through all the City, and lashed on the Shoulders, for no other Crime but being skilfull in Aftrology, and living in the City. For fuch like Reasons as this, a great multitude of men fled their Countrey, betaking themfelves not onely to the neighbouring Barbarians, but to the Nations at greatest distance from the Roman World, and in most Cities you might have seen Strangers come from far to hide their Heads, as if their own Dwellings had been wasted by the Incursions of some Enemy. All the wealthier fort of Senatours, whether living at Constantinople, or other Cities, he outed of their Estates. There was one Zeno, the weathy Se. Nephew of that Anthemius who was Emperour in the West, and him they named Governour of Egypt by design. The Ship, appointed for his Transportation, being laded with his best Moveables, abundance of Money, and vessels of Gold, set with pretious Stones of exceeding great value, the Emperour and his Wife perfuaded those that were intrusted with the Treasure, to convey it into a place appointed, and then to fet fire to the Ship, which he must be made to believe perished by accident. And not long after Zeno dies suddenly, whereupon they seize on all his Estate, producing a certain Testament, which the World verily believed he forged. By virtue of the same trick they made themselves Heirs to Tatianus, and others of eminentest note in the Senate. The Estates of some they invaded by counterfeit Letters, and by that means became Heirs to Dionyfus, that lived in Li- Vide Parage. banus, and to John the Son of Bafilius, the most eminent Man in Edessa, who, fore 133 begura against his mind, was, as we said before, delivered as an Hostage to Chosroes. When he had once got him into his Hands, Chofroes pretended the Conditions were not performed on the Roman part, and refused to set him at liberty without Ransome. This coming to the knowledge of his Grandmother, she sent away two thousand pounds of Silver to redeem him, which being come to Daras, into the Emperour's Hands, he forbad any thing to be concluded with the Persians, lest, as he said, the Wealth of the Romans should inrich the Barbarians. It happens in the mean time.

felves Heirs to many Persons.

last Will and Pleasure.

12. But it's hard to fay, thus our Authour proceedeth, to how many Men they made themselves Heirs. For before the Sedition of Nica happened, they made their choice here and there; but afterward they fold the Goods of the Senatours by heaps, taking out of them what they thought fit, and appropriating to themselves the best Lands; onely out of their abundant Mercy they left some parcels, most obnoxious to Taxes, to the right Owners, who tired with the exactions of the Collectours, and the Importunity of their Creditours, were weary of their miferable Lives. Wherefore to me, and those of my rank, faith this Authour, these two feemed neither Man, nor Woman, but fome pernicious, incarnate Divels, ordained for a Plague to Mankind, confulting how to destroy and root out all Natithought them to ons upon the Face of the Earth, and, like Furies in humane Shape, vexing, diffurbered interesting the whole World. But he makes them worse than Divels in bing and tormenting the whole World. But he makes them worse than Divels in respect of their wicked Tempers and Dispositions. Many there have been in former Ages, faith he, whom either Nature or Occasion have made very terrible to Mankind, who have been the ruine of Cities, Provinces, and some whole Countries; but none like these could ever turn upside down the Frame of the whole World, to whose Councils Fortune always was subservient, and ever at hand, for the destruction of Mortals; for at the same time such desolation was made by Earthquakes, Plagues and Inundations, that they feemed to have been procured by them, in some extraordinary way, beyond the limits and methods of humane Power. Indeed it's reported, he adds, that Justinian's Mother, by some of her most intimate Friends, has been heard to say, that he was neither the Son of Sabbatius, her Husband, nor of any other Man living, but that a certain Damon came and lay with her, whom she onely felt, and could not see, by whose Incubation fhe presently conceived. Some also of his Chamber, watching by him, have feen in the night a certain Spettrum, or Dæmon, appear in his likeness.

that John dies, and then does the Governour of Daras produce a Letter, whereby

the Deceased made the Emperour Heir of all he had, and signified that to be his

CHAP. II.

13. Another affirmed, that he had seen Justinian rise hastily from his Seat, (for Sect. 2 Secretal Stories he never fate long) and as he walked, his Head fuddenly was diffolved into air, the to that perpote truths of his Body fill keeping in motion, and observing the accustomed methods of pullation. of walking; which when he admired, and blamed his Eyes for so deceiving him, presently his Head would return to his Body again. Another related how as he flood by Justinian, he saw his Face turned inflantly into a shapeless piece of Flesh, without the print of any Forehead or Eyes, and then again a refemblance of a Face as speedily returned. Our Authour tells you, he did not see these passages with his own Eyes, but writes those things as were in great seriousness affirmed to be true. Another Report went, that a certain devout Monk, perfuaded by some of his Brethren, came to Constantinople to plead the cause of the neighbouring Countries, which were very much burthened, contrary to all Law and Equity. Being eafily admitted, when he came to the Threshold he still retired back again, which the Eunuch that brought him in, and other by-standers, admiring, asked him feriously what the matter was, and why he went not forward, but he, like a mad Man, in filence returned to his Cell, where being importuned to tell the true Reason, he assirmed, that he saw the Prince of the Divels sitting on a Throne, and Juffinian whom no Man could well defire either to go or speak to. And why may not this farredy did ever Man feem a Dæmon, who never did eat, or drink, or fleep, to fpeak on, or, drink or but onely tasting of the meat set before him, presently rose from the Table, and fpent the night in walking about the Court, being also devilishly inclined to the

And was leache-

fin of Leachery?

14. As for Theodora, while she was yet a Player, her Gallants reported, that Spirits were wont to spend a great part of the night in her company. As she returned to Constantinople from Egypt and Africk, being much perplexed with the ill usage she had received from the Hands of Hecebolius, one Macedonia, a Woman of the same Profession, comforted her, and bad her not despair of better fortune. which would be able to give her great Wealth, and make her a fufficient compenfation for her present penury. To this she answered, that as for Wealth she was not at all folicitous, being the last night bidden in a dream to take no thought about it; for when she was come to Constantinople, she should be preferred to the Bed of the Prince of the Dæmons, or Genii, and being by the power of Art once married to him, should be instantly possessed of the greatest Riches the World could assord. These things were credibly reported, and believed by many. But fustion nian, however otherwise qualified, yet carried himself with great gentleness and affability to all. No man was denied access to his presence, neither would he be offended with any Indecorum that happened, either in word or gesture. He never shewed any sense or compassion at the Sufferings and Miseries of his People, yet against such as had offended him would he carry himself with that calmness and evenness of Temper, that with a pleasant look, and a low voice, would he give order for the destruction of an infinite number of innocent Persons, the devastation of Cities, and the fetting of their Goods to fale. But in case any one petitioned him in their behalf, or implored his Clemency and Compassion, then would be frown and swell, and pertinaciously adhere to his former Sentence. Such Churchmen as increached upon their Neighbours, he would protect, esteeming it a choice piece of Piety fo to doe. When any fuch Causes came before him, he thought himself obliged by Religion to give the Victory to fuch as had got any thing into their Much of ill-got. hands, though never fo unjuftly, upon that account. Much of his ill-gotten Goods ton Goods he he gave to Churches, to cover his Crimes with a Veil of Piety, and that they gave to Churches, and why, might never any more return to the right Owners. 15. By this prepoflerous fort of Picty, he defiled himself with infinite Murthers.

Except impor-tuned to thew

Tribmian's flat-

And he laboured with all his might, to bring all men to be of the same Opinion concerning Christ, under which Religious Pretext he deprived many of their Cruel upon the Lives, not accounting that Murther, which was acted upon men of a contrary Judgment. He had a mind as light and unstable as dust in the Wind, easie to be drawn to any thing but Humanity, and from any thing but Covetous defires. With flatteries he was much taken, whom he eafily believed that he should be taken up into the Air, Tribonian his Assessour earnestly affirming that he was in great Fear, lest for his fingular Piety he should suddenly be rapt up into Heaven. This piece of flattery or Jeer he firmly believed. If Theodora at any time found him averse to any of her Proposals, she had nothing more to doe than to bait her Hook with hope of Profit, and she might lead him whither she pleased. Therefore did he make no difficulty at all, to enact and repeal Laws, if there were any Money to be got by it; neither would he hold the Judges to the meaning and intent of his

own Constitutions. In his time, there was no constant or firm Opinion concerning Almighty God; no Faith nor stable Law, Covenant or any thing else that was in sengion, or other matters in prized, and hated such as shewed any Humanity, which caused some to make a slist sine. thew of Naughtinels, who otherwise were Vertuously inclined. He often abstained from meat for two days together, especially in the Holy Week, or that preceding Easter, drinking onely a little Water, eating a very few Herbs, and sleeping the ipace of an hour; the rest of his time he spent in walking. Had he employed his Talent all this while in the Affairs of the Commonwealth, it would have been most happy under him; but ufing these natural Abilities, and improving his Watchings, Labours and Indeavours, to the disquiet of his Subjects, especially being of a most sharp Wit, to invent and put Mischief in Execution, the natural Parts and He was or annarp Endowments he had proved the Plague of the Commonwealth. There was no chief in Execu- incouragement under him, for doing any business. Neither was there any Footstep or shadow of Antiquity. But here saith the Writer of these Accusations, lest I should be tedious, I will explain my meaning in a few things, and pass over the greater part; how truly let the Reader judge.

16. In the first place he neither did any thing, nor cared for any thing which

was becoming imperial Majesty, accommodating himself to the Manners and Cu-

floms of the Barbarians in his Speech, Habit and Disposition. The Answers which

of Course he was to make in writing to any Consultations, he did not commit to the Care and Discretion of the Quaffor, as the Custome was, but he himself for All his Answers the most part spake and pronounced them, although he spake very bad Greek. in point of Law, Many Persons therefore came and required Justice, but had no Judges, before whom he himself dithey could proceed. The Secretaries, who of old time were intrufted to write things never so private, now would not he admit to any such business; but dispatched all himself, and dictated the very Judgments of the Magistrates of the Municipia, allowing to no Body the Liberty of declaring what was Law, but arrogating all things to himfelf, and deciding Causes upon hearing of one Party. Through this covetous humour of his, oftentimes it came to pass, that he and The Senate fig. the Senate made contrary Decrees concerning the fame thing; although indeed the nifed nothing. Senate now fignified nothing at all, onely affembled of Courfe, because it was an ancient Custome so to doe, having no Power at all to doe Right or Justice to any man, but what the Emperour and Empress before resolved, that ever passing and concluding. If any one doubted of his Caufe, for a fum of Money he could procure the Prince to antiquate all former Laws, and make a new Constitution for his very purpose. But if again it happened, that any could receive benefit from the abrogated Law, for the same Cause and Consideration, he could recall it as

it were from Banishment, Tanquam ex postliminio. 17. The Referendarii were hardly permitted to present Petitions according to the Nature of their employment, or to declare their Judgment concerning them, yet making use of the time, and of the disposition of the Emperour, who was apt enough to be deceived, they put false Colours upon things, and Cheating him first, abused also their Clients by false Representations, and squeezed out of them great fums of Money. The Pratorian Guards in the Court, forced the Judges to give Sentence as they pleased; fo that there was no Order, nor any certain Course or Government, every one acting what he lifted in despight of the Laws, and all things being deformed and broken, not fo much as their Names intire and fafe, fo that the Commonwealth at this time refembled a wanton Queen of Children. But the Emperour was persuaded to this Trade of selling Justice by one Leo a Cilician, a man of infatiable Avarice, and as great Flattery, by whom being inftructed in the Myslery he never after left it off; but Couzened as well the Plaintiff as the Defendant. To be fure there was nothing to be obtained by Force of any Law, Promife, Bill, Stipulation or any Contract, but onely by Money given to Leo and Cafar. Theodora, on the other hand, had a mind fo prone to Gruelty, that she seldom acted by direction of any one whomfoever; but with Pride and Violence, did whatever came into her Head. No Prayers, Petitions, or Intreaties could ever stop or Theodora Prodi- allay her Fury. Not onely did she retain, as her Husband did, Malice to the death of the Party, against whom she had once conceived hatred, but trampled and infulted upon their very Ashes, the Children together with the Inheritance, receiving her Indignation and transmitting it to those that came after them. Her Body she had special Care of, though not so much as she defired. Early in the Morning she entred her Bath, wherein having spent considerable time she went to Breakfast, and thence to fleep. At Dinner and Supper she had all plenty and variety of Meats

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. CHAP. II. lustinian.

> imaginable. She flept both very long and often, and fo using all manner of In- Sect. 3 temperance, the small time she had to spare she thought to be sufficient for the Government of the Roman Empire.

18. If any fought for employment without addressing themselves to her, they were fure to be dismissed with Disgrace. Justinian was by Nature sit for speedy dispatch of business, both by reason of his Watchfulness, the readiness of his Wit. and that easie access to his Person which all men found. But the greatest Nobles were forced to dance attendance, and could get hardly any admittance to the Empress. standing by troops, like Slaves, in an hot and little Lobby, and glad still to stand, lest any mischief should come by their absence. And they stood with their Necks and Shoulders erected, and their Faces bearing out, so to be seen by the Eunuchs Hard of access. Which passed out. After many days waiting they were hardly admitted, and that one after another, and these but such and such neither. Being come into her prefence, they stood as astonished, and presently withdrew, having first worshipped her, and killed both her Feet, not daring fo much as to speak, much less to ask any thing, except commanded to to doe; to to fervile flattery was the Senate it felf degeneraand infufferably ted, Theodora being fovereign Lady of the Roman Empire, which now went wholly to wreck, partly through the incredible levity of the Tyrant himself, and partly by reason of her difficult humour, which put a stop to all business. Her manner was, if any, with whom she was offended, were accused of the least Crime, to lay heinous things to their charge, and then calling fuch Judges as were fit for her purpose, to cause their Estates to be sold, then to have them most cruelly lashed. though they were descended from most noble Ancestours, and after this preparative. either to be banished, or put to death. On the contrary, if such as she favoured

were guilty of Murther, or any other heinous Crime, the would fometimes plea-

fantly, fometimes with indignation, divert their Adversaries from farther profecu-

tion. Such matters as were most grave, and of the deepest consequence, she

would turn into ridicule, with laughter and a jest, as if she had still thought her felf to be upon the Stage.

19. A certain Patritian there was, both deserving respect for his Age, and the long time he had been employed in Offices of Magiltracy. This Man (our Authour tells us he is obliged to conceal his name, lest so great an affront should be transmitted to Posterity) having a Debtour who was a great Consident of Theodora's, and had been often folicited in vain to pay him his Money, he was refolved now to profecute him, and came to the Empress to beg the favour, that he might be indifferently dealt withall, and as the merits of his Cause might require. Theodora having warning of his coming, commanded her Eunuchs to compass him about, to have an Eye upon her felf, and to echo out a Song, or company of Verses, which the would fing. The Patritian introduced, as the manner was, cast himself at her Feet, and being ready to weep, told her, that the case of a Patritian, who wanted Money, was very hard, because that thing which to other Men procured pity and compassion, to Persons of his Rank brought Disgrace and Misery. For if a Man of inferiour condition were in debt, he might but reveal his case, and he had some relief; but a Patritian, though he could not pay his debts, yet to confess so much, was a shame, if he did confess it, no body would believe him, it being thought impossible that any Patritian should fall into Poverty, and if so be that credit should be given him, he were ruined in his Fame and Dignity for ever. Now truly, Madam, faith he, I am both in debt, and have others indebted to me; I do not defraud my Creditours, which would tend to the disparagement of Men of my Quality, yet others indeavour to defraud me; wherefore I humbly intreat you would affil me in so just a Cause, and deliver me out of my present troubles.

20. He making this his Complaint, Theodora fung the word Patritian, and then the Chorus of Eunuchs added, Thou art troubled with a Tumour or Hernia. He continued still his Complaints, and she persevered in the same Tune; the Eunuchs keeping time as formerly, wherewith being much troubled he got him home, having according to the Custome done his Obeisance to the insulting Empress. The greater part of the Year she passed in the Emperour's Houses, situate near the City, and upon the Sea; but especially in that called Heraum, to the great damage of her Attendants, who following her thither in great multitudes were straitned of Provisions, and exposed to the Inconveniences of passing by Water, of Tempests and the Whale or Porphyrion, formerly mentioned. Here it will not be amis, to The Emperour's let the Reader know, that the Emperours had several Houses of Pleasure near Con-Houses near con- flant inople; as the Hebdomum, or Septimum, seven miles distant, and not the se-

venth Region of the City, as some have imagined. Besides this, there were o. Aleman.

Sect. 3. thers which received their Names from their distance to Constantinople, Broia, Pege, or Fountains, first beautified by Justinian, as the certain Procopius writes in Hola Strales, another Work. Then Eria or Sepulchres, where the Citizens were of old time another Work. Then Eric on Occupations and Suidas write; but Procopius chuses rather "Hestings, wont to be buried, for so Cedrenus and Suidas write; but Procopius chuses rather "Hestings, which is received from the Chapel of "the life" to call the Place by its old Name Heraum, which is received from the Chapel of "the life" of the life of t Juno there flanding. This place, which Justinian and Theodora chose for their Re-planding, tirement, was so well furnished with every thing tending to Neatness and Pleasure, listosleit, that several Poets, as Agathias (the Historian also) and Paul the Silentiary con-Viel dem. ceived it a fit object of their Wit. But besides, Justinian and Theodora, in their Ambili.4 first Years were wont for their Pleasure to pass the time at Chalcedon, as appears by several Rescripts. And once for the recovery of her Health, she went as far as to the Baths of the Pythii; wherever she went or staid, carrying with her a mind implacable towards those, against whom she had conceived any Displeasure, or apprehended the least cause of Jealousie.

21. After that Amalasuntha, as Procopius declares in other Books, had resolved to quit the Government of the Goths, and thought of spending her days at Constantinople, Theodora presently began to bethink her self, that she might possibly have fuch a Rival, as by the Nobility of her Birth, her Royal Dignity, her singular Beauty, and sharpness of Wit, might so work upon the Levity and Inconstancy of her Husband's humour, as to bring her no fmall Displeasure, and therefore resolved to prevent her Journey, by fending her farther off, to another World. She perfuadbut having picked him out for the purpose, fecretly injoyned him to make her the distance away, promising him great matters if he did it speedily. He overcome with Mon 123 113. away, proliming into grant mater, and by reasons unknown to others, persuaded Personnia. There destructions passed into Italy, and by reasons unknown to others, persuaded Personnia. Theodatus to put her to Death, and was rewarded with the Office of Magiller managing in Junion of the control wherewith he received great Power, but with it the Indignation and Hatred of all rum. the World. This Office was that of Magister divinorum Officiorum, as appears bello Gulh. L. from two Novel Constitutions, directed to him under that Title. He was born at cassis. var. lb. The salonica in Illyrium, was one of the ordinary Advocates of Constantinople, be- 10. 4.19.6 ing a Man of singular Prudence, powerfull Eloquence, and excellent Temper, but Suidam in va excessively Covetous. After his return from Italy, and his Preferment, he was sent Am- 767,951 & in bassadour to Chofroes. He wrote a Book De Republica and an History, the Fragments Republication whereof Alemannus saw in the Vatican Library. His Son Theodorus, called Conto De his combia. cheres, because one of his hands was shorter than the other, was accused of Treason vide Alem. in the thirty fourth year of Justinian.

22. There was one Priscus Secretary to Justinian for his Letters, a Paphlagonian born, and of an Humour very well fuiting with his Master's Temper, whom he much loved, and doubted not but he was beloved by him again, and by his Favour arrived at great Wealth. But Theodora not brooking his high and flighting demeanour, accused him of we know not what to her Husband, which for the present did not take; but not long after, she makes him be carried aboard a Ship, and whither she was pleased to order, there to be shaven, and fore against his mind to be made Priest. Justinian in the mean time taking no notice of it, nor, as if he had been feized with a Lethargy, ever asking what was become of him, onely he fo far remembred himself as to seize on that small Estate which was lest him. Theophanes, Alemannus tells, in Confirmation of this flory writes (and it feems he had it not from Procopius) that Priscus was made Deacon of Cyzicum. And the Reader must know (what otherwise the Course of this History will teach him) that it was an ordinary Practice of the Eastern Emperours, to cause such as to rours, to flave whom they would ftop all Access to Worldly Honours, to enter into Orders fuch as they would not have though quite contrary to their Inclinations. Theodofius Junior is the first that's would not have though quite contrary to their Inclinations. known to have begun this no-way laudable Custome, compelling Cyrus the Prafettus Prætorio, of whom he had conceived some Jealousie, to be Bishop of Smyrna. But after the later Greek Emperours, there were few that did not Practife it toward their Friends, Relations or others. But to pursue the story; there was one Areabindus a Barbarian born, but very beautifull, and of Theodora's Ward-robe, against whom, though she was to be thought to be passionately in Love with him, she conceived a deep Displeasure. Having first caused him to be cruelly Whipt, she afterward so disposed of him, as no body ever knew where he was. For whatfoever she would have kept secret, she so terrified her Instruments that they never blabbed it out, being herein more fuccessfull, than ever was any Tyrant living; on the contrary, the had so many, and so faithfull Spies abroad, that

nothing could be faid or done by her Adverfaries that came not to her knowledge.

cures Amala-funtha to be

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Theodora conthey were ne-

lustinian.

Whom she had a mind to punish without the Worlds taking notice, she would fend for him if he were a Patritian, and she alone would deliver him into the hands of her Officer, who should in the dead of the Night cover his Head, bind him fast and carrying him aboard, Transport him some whither into the utmost bounds of the Roman World, where he should languish till either her hard Heart relented, or Death made an end of him, and his Mifery both together.

Her horrible Cruelty against Balianus.

23. Basianus a young Nobleman, of the Faction of the Prasini, had spoken some Words of the Empress; and understanding she would be even with him, betook himself to the Church of St. Michael. She bade the Prætor pull him out thence, and accuse him not of Contumelious Language against her Person, but of Sodomitical Practices. The young man was taken out of the Church by the Magistrate, and cruelly tortured. The multitude at the fight of his tender and beautifull Body made Exclamations, and required he might be dismissed; but this cruel Woman perfifled in her Resolution, and causing his Privities to be cut off, destroyed him unheard and uncondemned, and then was his Estate confiscate to the publick Treasury. For if she was in a rage and set upon it, neither the Sanctuaries, nor Laws, nor the Prayers and Intreaties of the whole City could appeale her, nor rescue that which she had appointed to Destruction. This farther appeared in the Case of Diogenes, a man well beloved and savoured by Casar himself, as addicted to the Faction of the Prasini. But concerning a Displeasure against him, she laid the Crime of Sodomy to his Charge, and endeavoured to suborn two of his own Slaves, both as Accusers and Witnesses against him. But this device not taking, by reason that the Dignity of the man required, that many and eminent Judges appeared upon the Bench, and the Testimony of the Slaves was rendred invalid, for want of Competency of Age, the got one Theodorus into her Clutches, a familiar acquaintance of Diogenes, and him she attacked both by fair Words and Tortures. For, perceiving she could make nothing of it, she caused a Leather Thong to be tyed about him, from the Forehead to the Ears, and to be twitched fo strait together, till she hoped his Eyes would gush out of his Head, yet would not he lye for the matter, and the Judges dismissed the Cause, which had no matter of Proof, to the great Satisfaction of the People, which highly applauded them. What this Woman Practifed against Belisarius, Photius, and Buzes has been already shewn. Callinicus Presect of the second Cilicia, for putting to Death two of that Countrey, who being of the Faction of the Veneti had attempted his Death, and killed his Servant, she caused to be Crucified at their Graves. The Emperour upon the News shed Crocodiles tears, grunted in his Palace, and threatned the Executioners; but so far received Comfort, as to seize on the Estate of the deceased. Euagrius makes mention of this Act of Cruelty, and fays farther, that the Names Lib. 4.c. 31. of the men were Paulus and Festinus; whence it appears, that he had not the particulars out of the fecret History, as Hubertus Giphanius did imagine.

24. Farther, Theodora as if she intended thereby to hide the filthiness of her former Age, fet her felf to punish all fuch Women, as prostituted their Bodies. Five hundred common Strumpets or thereabout she sent by Troops beyond the Bosphorus, and shut them up in a Monastery, compelling them to lead strict and severe Nomen Monts She punisheth Lives, which some of them not able to bear cast themselves down Headlong in the sterio fait Miral-Night. Two young Widows of the very chief Nobility, pretending they lived panitemia in incontinently, she compelled to take Husbands out of the very dregs of the Peo- quo firmina de ple, such as they could not but abominate, though they were of her chusing. They serint quas aware of her purpose, fled to the Church of St. Sophia, hid themselves in the Baptiste- punimisser. rium and grafped about the Font: But no Sanctuary was so Sacred as to be inviolable, Procedur, 110. where her Passions were ingaged. Their Mother to her great Grief was present at he prosequit the Nuptials, and Theodora (though it was a wonder) at last detested what she had landing Justidone, and to make them some amends got Preserment for both their Husbands. rapietatem, ut But this proved no Satisfaction to them, their Husbands raging with intolerable notal Alem. Cruelty, against those that were under their Jurisdiction, as I shall hereafter declare faith our Authour; for as for Theodora, the had neither Respect to Magistracy, Commonwealth, nor any Office in the State whatfoever, not caring how things went, so she could but have her Will and fulfill her Humour.

25. Another thing there was, which happened to her whilst she was yet a Player, and must not be forgotten. She proved with Child by one of her Lovers, Of the state of the Lovers, Of the state of the lovers, of the state of the lovers of the l and as her Custome was endeavoured all manner of ways to procure Abortion; but and as her Custome was endeavoured all manner of ways to procure Abortion;

Iustinian.

Sect. 3. ming John, he carried with him into Arabia. Being at the point of Death, he opened to his Son now grown up, the whole matter concerning his Mother, who having buried his Father comes up to Constantinople; where he tells the story to her Servants, that he might get Admission. They thinking no harm, and rather with joy told her, her Son John was come. She fearing the Report might reach her Husband, fent for him in, and delivered him into the hands of one of her Domewhom the fent sticks, whom the was wont to employ on fuch like Errands, who so disposed of was never heard him, that the wretched Youth was never after heard of, nor no man ever faw him fince her Death. At this time the manners of almost all Women were corrupted, with all Impunity and Liberty injuring their Husbands; for when they were ac-

cufed of Adultery, by her means they elcaped, and their Husbands as a punishment of false Accusation were condemned to give them double Dower; some were ignomiwomen Gene- niously Whipped, and others imprisoned, and then again saw their Beds defiled, by rally corrupted. fuch as were rewarded with Dignities and Employments for fo doing. For this reafon most Husbands dissembled the dishonesty of the Wives, and lest they should be discovered, gave them all opportunities of playing the Whore. 26. All matters concerning Marriage, the would have wholly in her Power. The

Case of Romans was now worse than that of the very worst Barbarians, who mar-

wholly of Mar-

And ordereth

ried according to their own Inclinations; but here it was not, who liked her or him, but whom Theodora pleased to put together. Often did she take away the Bridegroom out of the Arms, if not out of the Bed of the Bride, denying with Choler, that she ever gave her Consent to the Match. One Saturninus she thus used, and compelled him to marry the Daughter of one Chrysomalla, who had been once a publick Dancer and then a common Strumpet; yet together with Indara, another of the same Profession, was now taken from the Stage, and the Stews, into the Court to fit at the Helm of the Commonwealth. But Saturninus found his new Wife corrupted, and told a Friend that he perceived he had not married a Maid. which coming to the Ears of Theodora, the commanded her Servants to take him up as they use to do Boys at School, and Whip him foundly for his Tatling, the looking on and as he received the strokes, bidding him beware next time, and learn to keep a good Tongue in his Head. How the punished John the Cappadocian, we have faid, faith this Procopius in other Books; the did not herein defire to revenge the Part of the Commonwealth upon him, but onely gratified her private Malice; for the Truth was, he feared not to accuse her to Casar, and almost had brought her out of his Favour. Now the ftory of her revenge we must here

relate out of the first Book of Procopius, concerning the Persian War; having pur-

posely hitherto omitted it, and referred it to this as a more proper place.

27. The Empress of all men living hated this John for Plotting against her, and accusing her to Justinian; and desired to kill him, but could not, the Emperour fo much esteemed him. He knowing her mind, was deadly afraid, suspecting every Night to be murthered by some Barbarian in his Bed, so that he could not fleep; but was still peeping out, and fearching the Entries, though he had about him some Thousands of Lanciers and Targetiers, a thing never used by any Presect. But no fooner was it day, but again forgetting all fear, both of God and Man, he became a Plague to all Romans, frequented Sorcerers, and harkned after im-Though a wick- pious Southfayings, vainly foretelling to him the imperial Dignity. Of his wicked Course of Life, he bated nothing, nor was God in all his Thoughts. If he went to Church, or watched all Night, he observed not the Christian Rites; but having on a course Garment like a Heathen Priest, mumbled all the Night some ungodly Spells, to captivate more the Emperour's mind, and to preserve himself from mischief. To Belisarius he was very harsh, and still Plotted against him, because of all men he was most Renowned, and he himself by all men hated; but Belifarius being to goe for Persia, left his Wife Antonina behind him at Constantinople, where being the ablest Woman alive to Essect, and bring about hard things, to gratifie the Empress she had this Device. John had a Daughter, his onely Child, named Euphemia, very modest, but young, and so easily caught. Her having by much Soothing, gained to her lure, and having her on a time above in her Chamber, she seigned to lament to her, her own Fortune; saying, that Belisarius found the Emperour ungratefull, and in other things accusing the Government as

28. Euphemia over-joyed at her Discourse, as troubled with the Government and fear of the Empress, told her that they (meaning her Husband and her) were the Causes; who having the Power in their hands, would not use it. Antonina replied, that they were not able to ftir in the Camp, if some in the Court con-

curred not in the Action, but told her that if her Father would, they might easi- Sect. 3 ly effect the matter. Euphemia promised the thing should be done, and departing related the matter to her Father; who pleased with it, and conceiving it led the way to the fulfilling of his Prophecies, and the Empire, without any pauling upon it consented, willing his Daughter to treat for a meeting the next day, that he might give her his Oath. Antonina desirous to prevent his Suspicion, said that to give him a meeting now would cause a Jealousie, and hinder all; but she being to follow Belifarius, when she had lest Constantinople and was in her House in the Suburbs, thither he might come to take leave and bring her on her way, where He aims at the they might confer, and both give an Oath and take it. The Night before she

was to begin her Journey he came accordingly, and the Emperour being informed by his Wife of his Attempts to usurp, fent thither Narses the Eunuch, and Marcellus, who commanded the Palatine Guards, with many Souldiers, and direction, to search out the business, and if they found John in any Plot to kill him, and so return. It was reported, that the Emperour advertised of this Course of proceeding, ient to John that he should not meet with Antonina secretly, but he neglected the Advice, it being his fate to be ruined; and about Midnight met Antonina under an Hedge, behind which she had placed Narses and Marcellus, to hear what was said. There did he in plain Words confent to the Conspiracy, and confirmed it with most terrible Oaths. 29. Then did Narses and Marcellus break in upon him, but at the Noise, John's

Lanciers came presently in, and he escaped and ran to the City. If he had had

the Heart to repair presently to the Emperour, Procopius verily believes he had

received no harm, but by taking Sanctuary in a Church, he gave full scope to the Empress to advance her Design against him. Therefore of a Prefect he was made a private man, and being removed out of that to another Church, standing in a He is compelled Suburb of Cyzicum called Artace, was compelled to enter into the Orders of Priesthood, and named himself Peter. Yet did he not execute the Function of a Priest, lest it should hinder his promotion to greater Offices, being unwilling to quit his hopes. His Estate was Confiscated, but the Emperour remitted much of it, and was still inclined to spare him. And he had opportunity to use his pleasures without Controll, and with moderation to esteem his Estate happy, at which all men repined, that being the wickedest Devil in the world, he should thus live happier than he did before. But God would not suffer his punishment to rest here, but prepared this greater scourge for him. Eusebius Bishop of Cyzicum was as harsh a man as John himself, and was accused to the Emperour by the Citizens, but having the better of it, fome young men way-laid, and killed him in the Forum. John having great differences with this Eufebius, was suspected to be guilty of the Fact, and some Senatours being sent to inquire into it, put him in the common Prison, and stript him naked like a common Thief, who had been so powerfull a Prefect, inrolled amongst the Patritians, and had fate in the Confuls Chair, than which dignity none was greater in the Roman State. Tearing his Back with many stripes, they forced him to reveal his own Life, of the guilt of the Murther there was no great argument, but the Justice of God made him suffer for abusing the whole world. Depriving him of all he had, they put him into a Ship naked, fave that he had on Forced to beg one courie Coat that coft not much. Those that had the charge of him, wherefoever the Ship put in, made him beg his Bread, and small monies for his subsistence; and so begging all the way, was he brought to Antinee in Ægypt, where in all this Affliction he quitted not his hope of the Empire, but fell to accuse some Alexandrians, for Arrears to the Treasury. Thus much writes Procopius concerning this John, in the first Book of his Persian History. In the Secret we are told farther as to Theodora, that though she had thus got him into Agypt, yet would she never make an end of perfecuting him, nor of suborning witnesses for that purpose. In the fourth year after his Banishment, she got into her power two young men of Cyzicum, of the Faction of the Prasini, and thought to be of their Number that killed Eusebius. Upon these she set both by bad and good Usage, and one of them out of fear accused him of Paricide; but the other though so cruelly handled, that he was in danger of Death, refused to lye. Being therefore not able to doe any thing more against John by their Testimony, she cut off both their right Hands, because one refused to bear false witness, and lest her Villany should be revealed by the other, defiring to keep close those things, which were done publickly in the Forum. Thus much concerning John.

30. Next our Authour refumes his confused Declamation against Justinian, saying, the mischiess brought by him upon Mankind, sufficiently made him appear

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Sect. 3. not a man, but a Dæmon in humane shape, as he said before. None but God himfelf was able to give an account of the men destroyed by him, or to affign their Number, no more than that of the Sand. Yet considering all those Countries.

which he had made Defolate, and without an Inhabitant; he affirms, two hundred Valt numbers of and ten times an hundred thousand men to have perished by his means. To make and ten times an hundred thouland men to have perilhed by his means. To make men deflroyed this out, he gives you that account concerning Africk we formerly mentioned, finding after the Regaining of that Province. And what extravagance he committed in Africk, the same he saith was he guilty of in Italy, where he spoiled all by the Imposers and Gatherers of Taxes which he sent into that Countrey. Before the Italian War, the Dominion of the Goths extended from the seats of the Galls, as far as the Borders of Dacia and the City Sirmium. But when the Roman Forces were in Italy, the Germans seized on a great part of the Gallican and Venetian Territories; and Sirmium with the adjoyning Countrey, was possessed by the Gepidæ. All this Tract of ground, faith he, is utterly unpeopled, partly by War, partly by And vast Regi the Plague and other Diseases incident to Armies. Illyricum, all Thrace, together with Greece, the Chersonesius and all the Regions lying from the Bay of the Ionian Sea, as far as the Suburbs of Constantinople, after that Justinian came to the Government, were depopulated by the Incursions of Hunnes, Sclabeni and Anta, so that I believe above two hundred thousand Romans either perished by those Irruptions, or were led away Captive, and the places appear like the Defarts of Scythia.

Besides, all this while, the Saracens in the East harasted all from Ægypt, as far as the borders of Persia, so that in this space of ground men are very thin, and the flain cannot possibly be numbred. Three times have Chofroes and the Persians invaded the Empire, and made the Provinces thereof Desolate, but in the time they entred Colches, as well the Lazians as Romans and other Nations received much Damage, for neither did the Persians, nor Saracens, nor Hunnes, nor Sclabeni, nor other Barbarians, carry home their Armies again intire as they brought them. So that not onely Romans but Barbarians also, felt the effect of the bloudy fury of this Emperour Justinian.

31. Chofroes indeed, as was faid in a more proper place, was a man of a naughty Disposition; but Justinian perpetually gave the occasion and kindled the Wars. For in doing business, he never had respect to time or place, but did all things unfeasonably. In the time of Peace and Truce, he would give matter of Jeasousse to his Neighbours; War being denounced, he would fall back again, and out of Covetousness make flow Preparations. Instead of those matters proper to his Sphere, he buffed his head with things transcending his Capacity, too curiously fearching and prying into the Nature of Almighty God. His Cruel and Tyrannical disposition still ingaged him in War, and his Covetousness in preparations hindered him from fuccess. During his Reign therefore, the whole world as it were swam with the bloud both of Barbarians and Romans. For not onely did the Wars procure the Destruction of Mandkind, but those desperate Factions of the Veneti and Prasini which raged for two and thirty years, to the time that the Authour wrote this Treatife. Neither did the Empire shed less bloud upon the account of the Samaritans and Hereticks, who were put to Death. Such were the mischiess which happened to Mankind, this man or Damon being Emperour and Authour thereof. These Evils that follow, he effected by a certain fecret power and Demoniacal Nature, fome ascribing them to the mischievous Genius or Dæmon which accompanied him, though others to the Divine Power which was angry with the Roman Empire. The River Scirtus running by the City of Edessa, overflowed and much indamaged the flowing of Ri Inhabitants. The Nile also did such mischief to the Ægyptians, as we have formerly related. The River Cydnus rose to such an height, that the City Tarsus continued many days in water. Antioch the principal City of the East, Seleucia its Neighbour and famous Anazarbus in Cilicia, were overturned by Earthquakes,

and the Ruine and miferies of the Citizens who is able to relate? 32. Besides, at this time Ibera, Amasia the cheif City of Pontus, Polybotus in Phrygia, Philomida in Pisidia, Lychnidus in Epirus, and Corinth all populous and flourishing Cities were destroyed together with almost all their Inhabitants. Then happened that dreadfull Petitilence, which confumed well nigh half of those men that out lived the former Calamities. But to speak more concerning the exactions and oppressions of Justinian. His Uncle, when he came to the Government, found the Treasury very full. For, Anastasius the most provident of all Emperours, fearing that his Successour might burthen the People, had by this supply as he thought prevented that Inconvenience. All this did Justinian presently consume, partly upon fortifications of Banks and Havens, partly in gaining the friendship and His lavilhments. Alliance of the Barbarians. He wasted so much money, as it hardly could be ima- Sect. 2. gined, that any the most dissolute Nephew of an Emperour could make an end of in an hundred years time. For, the Officers of the Revenue affirmed, that in the space of about twenty seven years, so long as Anastasius lived, were laid up in Bank, three hundred and twenty thousand pounds of Gold, of which he left not a farthing before his Uncle Justin Died. Now what horrid courses he took to supply the want and Debts he contracted is impossible to be related, the Wealth of his Subjects being all swallowed up by him, which he presently vomited forth upon Barbarians. Such as were Rich, he caused to be accused of feigned Crimes, as Paganism, Heto refie, Sodomy, Incest, Sedition, adhering to the Faction of the Prasini, or Treafon, and feized on all they had.

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33. There were other courses he took to get money. He invented a fort of Magistrate, which at certain Rates should give licence to sell such and such Wares. And there the People was compelled to buy, though three times dearer than formerly; neither was there any remedy to be had for any exactions, part of the profit coming to the Emperour's Coffers, and part to the purse of the Magistrate. He fet up many Monopolies. And whereas the Prefect (a) of the City, had anciently fole authority to examine and Judge Malefactours, he made other two Officers, Graco ii To Nyua that he might have more Acculations, and confequently greater opportunity of feisission diperior in the Effacts of innocent Persons. One of these he named Prater (b) Plebu, hirrestances the properties of the who was to prevent and punish Roberies. The Romans called him Præfectus vigi-vero in unbe lum, and the Greeks Νυκτέπαςχ, and before the time of Justinian, this Office habere Justinian was performed by the Vicomagistri and Collegiati, who had the care of the several nus vocat in Regions of the City, having received their Institution from Augustus Casar. The Kriel. 13 main other he called Quastitor (not Quastor, as some (c) eminent Lawyers have missaken raine attention and main and it;) to whom was committed the Cognifance of Sodomy, Whoredom, Herefie and Tallinganus ibid. Superfittion. The Prætor daily brought floin Goods to the Emperour, pretending Exergy to there was none that owned them. The Quefitor proceeded without examination of the Caufe be it what it would, and Condemned the Parties unheard, whole Ethates for difficulties the reason of the Caufe be it what it would, and Condemned the Parties unheard, whole Ethates for the reason of the Caufe be it what it would, and Condemned the Parties unheard, whole Ethates for the reason of the Caufe be it what it would, and Condemned the Parties unheard, whole Ethates for the reason of the Caufe be it what it would, and Condemned the Parties unheard, whole Ethates for the Emperour, pretending Exercise for the Emperour for the Emp and Fortunes were then prefently conficated to the use of Caefar. Thus this wicked The parties man committed to those two, and the Presect of the City, all Causes without any rilling per excel-Discrimination, commanding them to destroy as many men, and as soon as possible, Authoribus vocaand to strive who should doe most. Being asked whose Sentence should stand, in the stanged case the matter should come before all three; he answered His, who should give despitable. Judgement before his Fellows. equitation vid.

(c) Antonius Angultinus ad Novel. 80. & Cajacius, fed infe Juftinianus remerincis, Novel. 80. Vide Aleman. in Natis pag. 3 de his vebus, quas obfervat.

34. The Questorship of which all good Emperours had ever a mighty care, to Principia and to place learned and honest men in this Office, which had so great influence into the form passing vo-State, he exceedingly abused. His first Quastor was Tribonianus, of whom much cat Procopius, quit has been already spoken. He being Dead (about the twenty sirst year of Justinian,) and ex legon and part of his Estate consticated, though he left a Son and many Grandchildren, alm gife Prin-Hurilus Apher fucceeded him, a man to whom the Lawswere not as much as known tipen moneter.

by hearfay, that never was matriculated amongfit the Gown-men; and though he seem prints if the prints if the control confianunderstood Latine, yet never learnt Greek, which he so odly pronounced, as his sinus si fides Zo-Servants could not forbear laughing. So Griping and Coverous, that he fet the transmit have Emperour's Letters publickly to Sale, and for a Golden Stater would doe any thing. diam ments for He dying after he had difgraced his Employment feven years, Conflantinus procu- de quedam qui red it, one not unskilfull in the Laws, but very young, that had never practifed at ordinam impethe Bar, and the most thievish and arrogant of all men. But to Justinian he was ratari in Senatu most dear, being the Presect of his Rapines and his Judge, by which means he got a nunciavit, under bundance of money. The Præfectus Prætorio besides the usual Revenue paid into Question, square the Treasury above three * thousand pounds of Gold every year, without any Law Bankas dice or Custome, but as if it came out of the Air, which made him call it Aereum, as Alii sunt Question our Authour believes, whereas he ought rather to have named it the work of his caproli, areni own Dishonesty. By this and other means, those that in his time obtained this profess. Sunt

fo much as they were ready to burst, he could then give it a vent, and let it all run flores or magelis Cappadecia, emellis Ijauria, Preturis Pifidia, ég aliorum in Novellis. Precepius ipfe Belifarii fait. Alem. * Fortagis genus ilbad quod jam olim abolitum revocavit deinde Michael Pophlags Imperatur, de quo videndas Cedernus ut Alemanus innuit.

Dignity, grew on a sudden to vast Wealth, which he permitted, till being swoln on a sudden to vast Wealth, which he permitted, till being swoln on a sudden to vast Wealth, which he permitted, till being swoln on a sudden to vast Wealth, which he permitted, till being swoln on a sudden to vast Wealth, which he permitted, till being swoln on a sudden to vast Wealth, which he permitted, till being swoln on a sudden to vast Wealth, which he permitted, till being swoln on a sudden to vast Wealth, which he permitted, till being swoln on a sudden to vast Wealth, which he permitted, till being swoln on a sudden to vast Wealth, which he permitted, till being swoln on the sudden to vast which we see that the sudden to vast with the sudden to vast which we see that the sudden to vast with the sudden to vast which we see that the sudden to vast which we see that

Sect. 3. into his own Coffers. † But out of this Number are to be excepted Phocas, and † Nomina Pie Ballus his Successour, men of too good Conscience to keep their Office any consider fellowam being

ac tota Coff. ...
gesta proponit tibi Alemannut, in Nais. p. 95. Illarum certa rotitia multam & huic historia lucem affert & Justiniani Constituinibes, qu nonnullarum sum ejus tum Justini falsa Inscriptiones observantur.

35. So dealt he with all the Magistrates of Constantinople. Throughout other Cities he fold Offices and Employments to the worst of men, and having received his money, delivered into their hands the Provinces to be handled at their pleafure. They flood in no fear of the Laws, but hoped to get greater Glory by the Immanity of their Slaughters and Rapines. He had made a Law, that Magistrates when they entred their Offices or Provinces, should take an Oath that they would not be Rapacious, nor give nor take any thing for, or by virtue of, their Places, who so did they used great Imprecations against them. But scarcely had one year passed from the making of this Law, but he forgetting, at least neglecting both his own Decree, the Imprecations and all Modesty, not obscurely, but openly in the Forum, and with the greatest Impudence imaginable, fold Dignities, to fuch as with greater licentiousness than ever offered money for them, not He fold Offices confidering how they could dispence with the Oath. The Law here mentioned by

contrary to his this Writer is his eighth Novel, in publishing whereof he much applauds himself, ordering it to be exposed to view in the Feast of Easter, as a most gratefull object of the Peoples Eyes, and to be cut in stone to remain in the Walks of the Churches. as a perpetual monument. The Copy of it he will have kept amongst the Vestments of Churches, and excites all People to give thanks for it to Almighty God, adding a Reproof of his Predecessours, for their solicitude about money in this Affair; whereas Theodofius made a Law concerning this very matter, and fo did Martianus as some do testify, and Anastasius also practised the very same thing, Theodorus Lie. conferring these Offices gratis which had been formerly wont to be exposed to Sale. 101. Vide Altmen. But as for the Oath, the forme of it is expressed in the said Novel concluding thus: 940 sayra. Which if I do not observe, may I receive both here and hereafter, the terrible Judgment of the Great Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, and let me have part with Judas, the Leprosie of Giezi and the trembling of Cain.

36. Another thing Justinian devised, which is almost impossible to be believed. He grew weary of felling the chiefest Offices about Constantinople and other places, Hires men to and hired certain Fellows to discharge them, who receiving certain wages, all the execute Offices. Profits should redound to the Emperour. This he held as his greatest Maxim, to confer Offices on as great Knaves as himfelf, and so it happened, that feldom or never came better, but those that succeeded were far worse than their Predecessours. It often happened, that the Hunnes invading the Roman Territories, instead of being beaten back as they eafily might have been, were Courted and fent away with rich presents, and the Title of Allies, besides the Booty they had gotten; and such Countreymen as could not endure to see their Goods taken away, and their Wives and Children led Captives, but purfued them, and feized upon their Carriage-Beafts, that they might have wherewith to redeem their own, were cruelly beaten and wounded, and constrained to make Restitution to the Barbarians of what they had taken from them. After the fall of John the Cappadocian, Justinian and Theodora were at a loss to find a man fit enough for their purpose to succeed him, and in the mean time employed (a) Theodotus who was none of the best, but not so bad (a) Ad Theoas fully to comply with their humour. At last, having in their thoughts observed dotum extant a all men, and fearched all Corners, they met with one (b) Peter a Syrian by birth, Novelmentett firnamed Barfames the Numularius, who fitting at the Receit of money, often by de linguistre's the lightness of his Fingers, cheated the Collectours at their Payments, and that date sont Fast. with fuch Industry and Impudence, that he would face them down, and outswear Aug. Am. 19.
them when he was caught, and boldly ascribe it as an accident to a mistake, excu-Ballis (Code fill. 48
fing the fault of his Fingers, by more than a slip of his Tongue. But the Ladder James in callby which he ascended to this Dignity, was his egregious flattery of Theodora, and son puller of at her hand fait tecimal specific the second specific tecimal s being her Instrument in the execution of her wicked Designs.

plutima İnstiniani Rescripta habemus. Bis Prasellam Pratorio, bis Comitem Lagsitomum faisse diversi Novellarum tituli demmistan. Pie-sessum Abrati cum administrasse pudo post Procosius commemrats. Veterem Ecclesiam Sandi Petri adssicut ut ex marzelass, C. P. dust

37. For a proof of his future deportment, he endeavoured to defraud the Souldiers of their Pay, and more shamefully than ever, exposed the places of Trust and Dignity to Sale, abating fomething in the price to those who would undertake any

impious or unconscionable Employment. To the Lust of these Creatures he ex- Sect. 3 poled the Lives and Fortunes of the Provincials, and the Bargain being once made, they were fent down under the Name of Collectours, to tear in pieces the Bowels of the poor People, and to rage with implacable cruelty against them, that they might have wherewithall first to reimburse themselves, and then to spend upon their Lusts, or heap up Treasure for the occasions of Casar, when he should be pleased to call. But, not onely he, but the Prefects before him, and all other Officers under this Tyrant, employed under them the greatest Knaves they could procure. It hapned that the greatest part of the Corn that was brought to Constantinople, was putrified and naught; yet this did he compell the Cities of the East to purchase at dearer rates than they were wont to buy that which was good, and the Citizens having it delivered, after the payment of their Money, cast it either into the Sea, or the Sinks and Chanels. That which was good, and kept up in great quantities at Constantinople, he sold to such places as were in want, for double the Tribute which was imposed upon the Corn Countries. When a lesser Fleet than usual arrived, he caused Corn to be brought by the Husbandmen themselves out of Bithynia, Phrygia and Thrace, and constrained them to accept so mean and inconsiderable prices, that they had better have given away the Corn, and paid double as much as it was worth to boot. This burthen was known by the Name of Annona. But fo much Corn as this way was imported, not answering the Necessities of the City, great Complaints were made to the Emperour against Peter, and he purpofed to deprive him of his Office, and more, understanding that he was grown very wealthy; till Theodora, his Wife, took him off, being exceedingly enamoured of Peter for his Charms and magical Tricks, whereby, as was reported, the wrought more upon Justinian, than by any other means. And he was very easie thus to be wrought upon, for Reasons formerly mentioned, which this Authour here again repeats, to the trouble and distaste of his Reader, who cannot but be wearied with his endless Tautologies, and confused Allegations. 38. Yet did the Emperour at length, and with much difficulty, remove Peter

from his Pretorian Prefectship; but then set him over the Treasury, through the He is temored, importunity of Theodors, having put out of that Employment one John, a Man of traday. great Integrity, whom the People much esteemed upon this account. Peter being placed in his new Power, caused as much mischief as ever, making away the Money which was affigned to many uses, so that those concerned in it were ready to flarve, which, fo long as the Prince had what belonged to him, and the Treasurer could but fill his own Coffers, was never regarded. The Coin also he caused to be made less than formerly. Farther, whereas it was a very ancient Custome for the Emperours to remit the small Remainders of publick Taxes, lest such as were not able to pay, should be oppressed, and opportunity given to the Collectours to ex-Justinian never act more than was due. Justinian, in the space of thirty two years, never vouchremits Arrears. fased his Subjects such a grace and savour, which, as it destroyed the poor, so such as were as yet able to pay, being never at reft, and not fo much grieving to pay new Levies, as fearing to be unjustly persecuted for pretended Arrears of vast long continuance, choic rather to forfake their Grounds. Notwithstanding all the Havock that was made in a great part of Afia, by the Persians and Saracens, and in Europe, by the Inrodes of the Hunnes, Sclabeni, and the Gothick War, the Inhabitants being reduced to the greatest extremity, yet would be remit nothing to them of the ancient Impolitions, except to those that dwelt in Cities taken by the Ene-

my, and that but onely for a year. 39. And yet had he, as Anastasius formerly did (he means to the Citizens of Amida) remitted all publick payments for feven years, he had done little in respect of the great Calamities they underwent; for Cabades retired, leaving Houses, and Churches, and all standing and intire, whereas Chofroes wasted all before him with Fire and Sword. But the miserable People found Justinian worse than the Barbarians themselves; for no sooner was the Enemy gone, but he would come with his Annona, and his Decrees of Impolitions and Taxes, after this manner. The Polleflours of Lands were, according to their proportion, to find Provisions for the Roman Souldiers at a certain Rate, and fuch as had not of their own, both for Man and Horse, were forced to buy, and fetch out of other Countries, and fatisfie the Optiones, De Optionibus ex-

(Officers of the Army fo called) who often were very unreasonable in their exactierctinu vide Norellam 130. Dions: This was the Annona. This Imposition was a sudden and unexpected Plague, finguendi sunt ab

G ab Optionibus Domesticis quorum ex Procepii, lib. 1. Belli Vandal. antea mentionem fecimus. Optionibus qui Annonam militibus eroga bant жыл е 3, длеаны цайдал, quintam decimam partem constituit Justinianus, ut est in Novella 130. Alem.

Sect. 3. falling on the Possessions of Lands, whom it deprived utterly, as it were, of all hope of Life. For on the grounds whose Owners or Tillers were flain, or had fled their Countrey, and now were desolate, and over-grown with Weeds, Justinian was fo mercifull as to lay it. The Descriptions or Taxes were laid also upon the Countrey, for repairing those Cities that were spoiled or walled by the accidents of War, the Causes and Events whereof, our Authour tells us, it would be infinite in this place to describe. But the mischief slaid not here. For the Pestilence having confumed the Husbandmen, and Owners of the Lands which lay untilled and out of order, the Tax thereto belonging was exacted of the next Neighbours, who were also forced to lodge and entertain the Souldier in the best Rooms and Appartments they had, while they themselves must be content to thrust their Heads into any hole or corner.

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

40. But forasmuch as mention is made of Houses and Lodgings, our Authour esteems it a thing not to be past by in silence, that sometimes no fewer than seventy Thousand Barbarians have been quartered at Constantinople, in receiving and lodging of whom the Citizens have been extraordinarily straitned. Neither is to be past over what Justinian did against Souldiers. He set over them certain Offi-

He oppressed the cers, named Censitores, or, as in Greek they called them, Logotheta, who were Apparia in Souldiers by the cers, named Censitores, or, empowered to fleece them of as much Money as possible, of which, for their pains, 190 feet they were to have the twelfth part. And whereas by Custome, and the Laws of 190 feet and 190 fee the Camp, all Souldiers had not equal pay, but those newly listed had less, those of qui publicarum common a middle standing more, and the Veterani, or old Souldiers, greatest of all, that af-grit Lagabean ter their Mission they might have fomething to live on, and reap some fruit of all Graco windship their labours, now it was so ordered, that when the Emeriti went out, others that Process bell Gash were next them did not succeed, nor were admitted to their Privileges, as the man- 1.3. Alem. ner had been; but the Censitores forbad the Names of such as were slain to be omitted in the Roll, or any new Rolls to be made. Hence it came to pass that the Armies were exceedingly lessened, and the Souldiers utterly discouraged, the Emperour treasuring up that Money, which they of course ought to have received as an augmentation of their Wages. Several other ways were the Military Men injured, and reduced to that meannels, that the Nant of Grecian became difhonourable, as if Greece brought not forth any flout or valiant Man. Here by Greeks he feems to mean all that spoke that Language. And the Reader may take notice, that now in Justinian's time the Roman Empire began to be called the Empire of the Greeks by the Romans themselves, who stomached at, and disdained the Domination and Pride of that People.

41. Some Souldiers were cashiered, as being listed without any order from the Prince, the Commissions of others were laid to be counterfeit, others were blamed for being from their colours, and certain Searchers were fent into all the Provinces, to see what Souldiers were unfit for War. Some Aged Men, who deserved good rewards' for all their time and strength spent in service, were turned out, and forced to beg their Bread openly in the Forum of Religious Persons, affording a lamentable Spectacle to all that passed by. Others, to save themselves, were constrained to bribe the Searchers, and so was the Souldier weakned, and destitute of Necessaries, and so much aliened in his Mind from his Employment, that the Roman Affairs generally all over, but especially in Italy, were much indamaged. Alexander, whom we faid formerly to have been nicknamed Forficula, being the great Instrument of this Oppression, laid many frivolous things to the charge of the Souldiers in Italy, and the Inhabitants themselves he sleeced of great store of Wealth, under pretence of revenging the Injuries offered by Theodorich and the Goths. In times past the Emperours were wont to place certain Bands and Companies of Souldiers upon the Frontiers and Limits, who were thence called Limitanei, especially in the Eastern parts, to prevent the Inrodes of the Persians and Saracens. These Justinian presently so slighted, and neglected, that their four or five years pay was shuffled off by the Questors, and whereas during the Truce betwixt the Romans and Perfians, they ought to have enjoyed the benefit of the Cessation, with their whole Wages, Justinian most injuriously disbanded them, by the same Fact exposing the Souldiers to penury and begging, and the Frontiers to the iniolence of Invaders. Souldiers to penury and begging, and the Frontiers to the indicate of the segment of the Emperour's Court in former times was wont to be guarded by Three thous and fand five hundred Men, whom they called Scholarii, who had more pay than other spite transmits from the second of the

Horum in Palatis usi munia diverfa, ita & nomina. Alii flipendia merebantur, alii Calisillares. Horum ordines modo appellamu (hii, unde corum Prefellus Magifler Officiorum vocatur, & à Gracis, undre & the manarity rulz 600: modo Stebula, 2010, aque inte 2022. Vide que ex Agushia transcriptimus suprà bojus Cop. Paragr. 234,

Men, in duty, and were wont to be chosen out of the most ancient and sout Sect. 2 Souldiers of the Armenians. But in the time of Zeno, any one was in a capacity to compass this Employment, even Scullions themselves, if they brought but money. When Justin was Emperour, Justinian his Nephew, for great summs of Money paid him, filled up the Rolls, and to the former number added almost Two thouland more, who were called Supernumeraries. These, as soon as he came to the Government, he disbanded, every one, and kept their Money to himself.

42. When there was an Expedition to be made into Africk, Italy or Persia, orders were given out to these Men, though utterly unsit, to march as well as to others. They then must buy off their Service, and be content to be sleeced by Peter, the Magister Officiorum, and the Murtherer of Amalasuntka, a Man of a mild and calm temper, but to be reckoned with the inferiour fort of covetous and rapacious Persons. In the Emperour's Court there were other Souldiers, as they were termed, of an higher Rank, who purchaing their places at a greater rate, had as allo die Pro- answerably greater Salaries allowed them. These they called Protectours, and Donchours and Do mesticks, having no skill in matters belonging to War, but serving to set out the grandeur of the Palace; some of them lay in Constantinople, and others quartered in Galatia, or other Provinces. By the same tricks Justinian frighted these men, and made them quit their pretentions to their stipends. There was an ancient and most certain Law and Custome, that every five Years the Emperours should give a Donative to the Souldiers, for which purpose every fifth Year the Questors were fent about. and paid to every Man five golden Staters. But after Justinian came to the Government, he quite abolished the Custome, infomuch, that in the thirty second Year of his Reign, the time when Procopius is pretended to have written this Secret History, it was almost quite forgotten. Farther, whereas in all Employments, either under the Prince or Magistrates, Men arose by degrees, and succeeded each other, till those that formerly were of the lowest, at length arrived at the highest Rank, and fuch as were come to this pitch of Honour, had large allowance, as a reward of their former diligence, amounting to above Ten thousand pounds of Gold yearly; he took this allowance away, reducing them to want and mifery, as he did all other mortals. So did this Tyrant vex and disquiet these forts of Men. Now I come to shew, faith our Authour, what he did against Merchants, Mariners, Artificers, Men relating to the Law, and other forts of People.

CHAP. II.

43. There are two Straits lying upon each shore of Constantinaple, the one of the Heddlespont, betwixt Sostius and Abydus, and the other at the mouth of the Euxine Heddlings and Sea, where there stood a Church, consecrated to the Mother of God. In the Hel omnibus pane Economic Economic Economics and Scripping Economics and Scr How he opprefe lespone the Emperours permitted no Publicans to receive Toll or Custome, but had despusition Temtheir Prator at Abydus, who watched all Merchandile carried into the Port of By. plan in Blackram, and such as set sail thence without licence of the Officer appointed to mi, the spentime of the officer appointed to mi, the offic grant Pass-ports. This Prætor could not demand any thing of the Mariners. But minime conveni. Justinian placed Publicans upon both the Straits, and two hired Officers, who were and Preson Arean. commanded to have a strict Watch, and raise as much money as possibly they could Hill. p. 15. by way of Custome. At the Haven of Constantinople he appointed a certain Syrian, called Addeus, one of his Creatures, to raife as much as he could out of imported Wares, and he permitted not fuch as came in to return out of the Haven, but constrained the Mariners either to carry goods into Italy or Africk, or pay for the freights to others, that were hired, which burthen some, that they might shun, fet fire to their Vessels, and went their ways. Merchants by this means were constrained to pay three times as much as usual for Transportation of their goods, and to make themselves savers, raised the prices of every Commodity, so that it became a publick grievance and a burthen to all the People.

44. Formerly the Numularii, or Money-Changers, were wont for every Stater of Gold to give two hundred and ten Obuli or Pholes. But Justinian conceiving it would make for his profit, brought down the Exchange to an hundred and eighty, so that the subject lost the sixth part of the value of every golden Stater. Having laid a Monopoly upon every thing but wearing Apparel, at last he devised a way to reduce such as dealt therein to an equal condition with their fellows. In times past the Manufacture of Silks was confined to two Cities of Phenicia, Berytus and Tyre, whence they were transported all the World over. Now the Merchants at Byzantium, and other Cities, who traded in this Commodity, raifed the price, pretending that they paid more than formerly had been usual in Persia, and were burthened with the tenth part in the Roman Territories. He therefore made a Law, that a pound of Silk should be fold for eight Aurel, under pein of Confilcation of Goods, to any one that should offend against it; which burthen the Mer-

Sect. 3. chants not able, or not willing, to bear, gave over the Trade, and what remained of their Wares, passed away privately, and by stealth; of which Theodora getting an inkling, made them pay her down an hundred pounds of Gold, and belides that, to lose their Goods. Afterward this Manufacture was assigned to Peter Barsama, the Ergs Holesensm to lote their Goods. Afterward this inflammatture was anighted to Feter Darjama, the exp filtering the Enperour's Treasurer, who exercised all Villamy in this, as other things under his influence of the Hands. All other Artificers, but such as he constrained to work for himself, he can be plagued by execution of the lately mentioned Law. And not by steath or private by, but publicitly, in the Forum, did he sell an ounce of that Silk, which was dyed missing tailwise with a more ordinary colour, for fix Aurei, and that which had the Royal dye, if althrese with a more ordinary colour, for fix Aurei, and that which had the Royal dye, if althrese with a more ordinary colour, for fix Aurei, and that which had the Royal dye, if all three tooks are the contractions of the contraction of th which they called Holoverum, for above four and twenty, whereby he got great manner.

Wealth for the Emperour, and more for himfelf. 45. By this means multitudes were undone, and all the Artificers of Tyre and Berytus, who had lived upon this Manufacture, were either compelled to flarve, or to beg their Bread; and some of them fled into Persia. Here it will not be amiss to add what Alemannus hinteth, that Silk had been much dearer in former times, than when it was thus fold by Peter. For, as Vopifcus writes in the Life of Aurelian, Gold and Silk, in the days of that Emperour, were exchanged weight for weight, (as was once Verina Tobacco here for Silver) viz. a pound for a pound, 'Ononeus's as the Rhodian Law also witnesseth. Now if a pound of Silk was fold for a pound of ware and restriction. Gold, a pound of Silk must have been worth an hundred Aurei, from which if you fubtract eight and twenty, seventy two will remain, for which a pound was fold in those days of Peter; for so you must reckon, if with this Authour you set every ounce at fix Aurei. But Silk was grown much cheaper in the days of Justinian, in whose time, as the Reader may remember, we formerly told him out of an Authentick Book of Procopius, that Silk-Worms were brought by certain Monks out of India to Constantinople, and other parts of the Empire. But to what an height is the Silk Manufacture now advanced, and what difference is there betwixt our days and the Reign of Aurelian! Silk is now grown nigh as common as Wool, and become the cloathing of those in the Kitchin, as well as the Court; we wear it not onely on our Backs, but of late years on our Legs and Feet, and tread on that which formerly was of the same value with Gold it self. Yet that magnificent and expensive Prince, Henry the Eighth, wore ordinarily Cloth-hose, except there came from Spain, by great chance, a pair of Silk Stockins. K. Edward, his Son, was presented with a pair of long Spanish Silk Stockins by Sr. Thomas Gresham, his Merchant, and the Present was taken much notice of. Queen Elizabeth, in the third Year of her Reign, was presented, by Mrs. Montague, her Silk-woman, with a pair of black knit Silk Stockins, and thenceforth she never wore Cloth any more. Nine and thirty years after was invented the weaving of Silk Stockings, Wastcoats, and divers other things, by Engines, or Steel Looms, by William Lee, Master of Arts of St. John's College in Cambridge, a Native of Notingham, who taught the Art in England and France, as his Servants in Spain, Venice and Ireland, and his Device fo well took, that now in London his Artificers are become a Company, having an Hall and a Master, like as other Societies. But this were an unpardonable Digression, were it our custome to make the like.

46. Next our Authour comes to shew how Justinian endeavoured the subversion of Advocates, Phylicians, and others, profeffing the liberal Sciences; and for proof new omers pro-feffing Sciences, alledges what we have formerly faid of this Subject. The publick Monies of any City or Town, which the Inhabitants, out of good Husbandry had laid up, either for publick payments, or their Recreations, he feared not to feize on, fo that all stipends of Phyficians and Schoolmasters ceased, no care was had of publick Buildings, no lights were fet out in the Streets, and no Merriments, or innocent Divertifements, were now to be thought of; and as for Stage-plays, those of the Circus, and Huntings, amongst which exercises Theodora, his Wife, had been born and bred, they were utterly laid aside. At Constantinople he would have all Spectacula to be left off, that he might spare Money, to the undoing of an infinite multitude that had their livelyhood out of them. Therefore, faith he, all Men now are in fadness, no appearance of any mirth or chearfulness, either publickly or privately; Neighbours and Friends, when they meet, relating onely their Miseries and Calamities, and fome Disaster or other which has lately hapned. Every Year there were wont to be two Consuls created, one at Rome, the other at Constantinople, who were wont to spend each of them above two thousand Pounds of Gold, not of their own, but most bestowed on them by the Emperour. This was laid out upon Shews and poor People, but especially upon Stage-Players, and very much inriched the Cities; but since Justinian became Emperour, there is no time determined for these things,

one keeps the Confulship a long time, and there is hardly any such thing to be Sect. 3 feen as the Comitia Consularia. Now whereas this Authour faith, that every year two Confuls were created, this is to be understood ordinarily, and in course, for often, as we have before hinted, a Conful has been in the East, and in the West, without a Collegue. And this moreover is observable, that the Epistles of the Ancients, and other publick Monuments, are usually signed with the Name but of one Consul, in these years wherein two were created, as appears manifestly from the Fasti; the reason is this; because some considerable space was required to have their Names communicated through the Empire, and in the mean time the Provincials made use of his that first came to their knowledge, as they inhabited nearer to Rome or Constantinople. In the publick Tables mention was made of him whose Name they knew not, in this manner; Marcianus, and he that shall hereaster be declared,

CHAP. II.

47. Upon the very Bread which the poor People and Cripples were compelled to buy, Justinian laid such an Impost, to the value of three Centenaries of Gold, that the lays an Im-postupon Bread, the Sellers made it almost all of Chaff, or Bran at the best; to so great impiety and fordidness did his covetous Humour descend. The Officers herein employed got vast Wealth, and brought a kind of Famine upon the Poor; for it was not lawfull any otherwise to provide themselves, but all their Bread they must buy after this manner. The Watercourses were so broken, that the Inhabitants could not be supplied, and many were every day flain at the Fountains in a contention to Fortalle intelligit get Water, yet was no care taken to repair the Pipes, and all for faving of Money, de Adriana a-The Baths were also stopt up, and yet could the Emperour, in the suburbs, lay mits fut Imperi out a vast deal of Treasure on the Houses seated towards the Sea side, as if that Indinance re-Court were not good enough for him and his Wife, which had given so great JARPARETAIL TO. contentment to the former Princes. But not onely at Constantinople did he thus afflict the Poor, who are nothing but Bread, and drank nothing but Water onely. His cruelty reached those that lived in other Countries. Theodorich having conquered Italy, that some remains of an Empire might appear at Rome, maintained in pay the Pretorian Companies, which were very numerous, as those of the Silentiarii, Domestici and Scholarii, who, if they enjoyed nothing else, to be sure had the privilege of Souldiers, and the Annona, or Provisions, which he permitted to defcend to their Children, and Children's Children. And to the Poor that lived near St. Peter's Church, he yearly gave out of the publick three thousand Medinni of Wheat; all which Alexander Forficula took away, and for that was much commended and esteemed by Justinian.

48. At Thermopylæ, the Greeks that lived thereabout kept a constant Garrison. and for fear the Barbarians should make Inrodes into Peloponnesus, kept watch by their turns, at the Wall built on the top of the Mountains. Alexander, as though he took especial care for the Affairs of the Peloponnesians, affirmed there was no trufting to the Fortresses maintained by Countreymen, and placed there two thousand Souldiers, to be maintained by the several Cities of Hellas, the publick Revenues of which, under pretence of maintaining Garrison-Souldiers, he brought into the Treasury; and by these means it came to pass that neither in Hellas, nor at Athens, were there any publick Buildings, or any publick conveniences of Corporations regarded; and so were matters ordered by Alexander Forficula, to the great contentment of Justinian and his Wife. Things went as ill with the Poor of Alexandria, amongst the Advocates of which was one Hephastus, who, being promoted to the Government of the place, appealed indeed Tumults in the City, but being more favage and cruel than the feditious themselves in effect, brought the Citizens into all forts of Calamities. For by a Monoply exercised by himself, he hindred all others from trading, and fet what rates he pleafed upon all Commodities, as he did upon all Corn transported from Egypt, having obtained the like privilege as to that Countrey. Justinian perceiving the Inhabitants took these oppressions with moderate Patience, resolved to lay on as much burthen as they would carry, and more highly esteemed his formerly beloved Hephastus, who, to bind him more firmly to him, devised yet another way to gratise his Humour. The Emperour Diocletian ordained, that a great quantity of Corn should be yearly given by the People of Alexandria to the Poor, which Custome had continued down unto this time. Of this Corn Hephæstus brought twenty hundred thousand Medimni into the publick Granaries, writing to the Emperour, that the Alexandrians managed the business neither according to Justice nor Discretion. Justinian readily confirmed what he had done, and was mightily pleased with a Minister so proper for his turn.

Particular flo-

49. But so numerous were the wicked Actions of Justinian, that to recount them no time would be sufficient, but out of many I will gather a few Instances, saith our Authour, from which it may evidently appear to Posterity, what an egregious Dissembler he was, how prone to despise Almighty God, the Priests, the Laws and the People, how Loyal foever, having neither respect to Modesty, to the good of the Commonwealth, nor at all regarding to colour his wickedness by any specious pretences, but onely intent how to scrape up Money, and pillage the whole Roman World. The Reader is to know, that he made one Paul Bishop of Alexandria, one Rhodo, a Phænician, being at that time Prefect of the City, to whom he wrote, that upon all occasions he should give assistence to Paul, by whose means he hoped to bring the Primates of that Countrey to establish the Chalcedonian Council. There was a certain Phænician, Arfenius by name, of a most wicked disposition; but a great confident of Theodora, the Empress, by whose countenance he rose to sombotic that Wealth and Authority, that he mounted at last into the Senate. By Religion Christian I. that Wealth and Authority, that he mounted at late in the clear by feeling and Bro- he was a Samaritan, but he complied out of fear, as also did his Father and Bro- nan air highing the was a Samaritan, but he complied out of fear, as a file did his Father and Bro- nan air highing ther, who yet making use of Arsenius his Interest did great mischief to the Chri am narras ont. there, who yet making the or Alfred and the first they put them to be supported to fuch a degree, that they put them to be supported to further the first they put them to be supported to the Inhabitants of Paleftine. Putt applied a cruel death, and thereupon much mischief arose to the Inhabitants of Paleftine. Putt applied to the Inhabitants of Paleftine. a cruei death, and therefore the occasion of all these missemeanours, was no other tree fully and Arsenius though he had been the occasion of all these missements. wise punished than by a single banishment from the Court, and that because of dam a the importunity of Christians. But as intending to doe the Emperour special Service he went down, not long after, with Paul to Alexandria, the Inhabitants whereof he hoped to draw to his purpose, and during his absence from Court, he busied himself in Christian Controversies; and thereby offended Theodora, who drove on a Design that seemed to be contrary to that of her Husband. For Explication of this we shall onely hint to the Reader, an Opinion which in it's proper place may be more largely discussed, that as Justinian stood stifly for the Council of Chalcedon; fo Theodora seemed to reject it, imbracing with great kindness the Acephali. Monophysitæ, Theopaschitæ, and other Hereticks of that time.

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

50. But Paul coming to Alexandria, procured Rhodo the Prefect to kill Pfors a Deacon, alledging that he was the onely man, that hindred him in the Execution of the Emperour's commands; and by frequent Letters indeed Justinian com-bernaum in Ber. on of the emperour's commands, and which Nature not able to bear he dyed viant, skiror manded him to be beaten, the Torments of which Nature not able to bear he dyed viant, skiror manded him to be beaten, the Torments of which Nature not able to bear he dyed viant, skiror manded him to be beaten, the Torments of which Nature not able to bear he dyed viant, skiror manded him to be beaten, the Torments of which Nature not able to bear he dyed viant, skiror manded him to be beaten, the Torments of which Nature not able to bear he dyed viant, skiror manded him to be beaten, the Torments of which Nature not able to bear he dyed viant, skiror manded him to be beaten, the Torments of which Nature not able to bear he dyed viant, skiror manded him to be beaten, the Torments of which Nature not able to bear he dyed viant, skiror manded him to be beaten, the Torments of which Nature not able to beat he dyed viant, skiror manded him to be beaten, the Torments of which Nature not able to beat he dyed viant, skiror manded him to be beaten, the Torments of which Nature not able to be a state of the torments of the t under the Lash. Yet when the thing was notifed abroad, Justinian being earnestly mait Alens moved so to doe by his Wife, laid all the Load upon Paul, Rhodo, and Arsenius. and constituting Liberius a Patritian of Rome, his Præfellus Augustalis sent several

Prelates down to Alexandria to inquire into the Fact, amongit whom went Pelagius Archdeacon of the Roman Church, who represented the Bishop. Paul being convicted of Murther was deprived. Rhodo flying to Constantinople was there by the Emperour's Command put to Death, and his Goods were fold, notwithstanding he produced no fewer than thirteen of Justinian's Letters, wherein he was again and again with all possible importunity, urged to follow and fully obey the Orders of Paul, without the least Contradiction, as one who had certain Precepts to pursue in point of Religion. Arsenius at the command of Theodora, was by Liberius his Order nailed to a Cross, and her Husband seized on his Estate, pretending no other reason than that he had been intimately acquainted with him. But here was the jeft: It was not long e'er Paul came to Constantinople to Petition the Emperour, and offered feven hundred pounds of Gold to be restored to his Office, of which as he said, he had been unjustly deprived. Julinian took his Money, entertained him with great

Respect, and promised to restore him to his See, though it was already full; and he had lately to severely punished his Complices and Associates in the Murther. He bussed his Head so much about it, that every one expected when it would be done; but Vigilius Bishop of Rome, hapning at this time to be at Constantinople,

flatly refused herein to comply with him, or to reverse that Sentence which he had given by Pelagius. But thus was Justinian intent upon his Grand design, of scra-

51. Another thing gave as ample Demonstration, which he Practifed toward one Faultinus, who though a Samaritan dissembled his Religion, and accommodated himself to that of the times. Being chosen into the Senate, he also obtained the Honour and Employment of Preconful, which once past, he was accused at Constantinople by certain Clergy-men, of being secretly a Samaritan, and of Cruelty and Impiety exercised against the Christians, that had been subject to his Jurisdiction. The Emperour was wonderfully concerned, that the Caufe of Christianity flould fuffer during his Government, and the matter was brought before the Senate,

where at the instance of Cafar he was banished. But see the Ingenuity, and Piety Sect. of the Prince. Justinian corrupted with a great fum of Money (as much as he would ask) rescinds the Judgment given in Senate, and Faustinus maintains himfelf in his accustomed Port, frequents the Court, manages the Affairs of the Emperour in Palestine and Phanicia without Controll, and according to his own Lust and Pleasure. Thus much in short faith our Authour, to give the Reader to understand how Justinian at his Pleasure broke the Sanctions or Canons of definited Sm. Carling Lucre; I come now to declare it, in as few words. There was one Prif-He receined Ec- Christians: As for his rescinding of Laws, out of no other Consideration than for cus amongst the Emeseni, exceedingly dextrous in Counterfeiting another Man's hand. And this must also be remembred, that many years before one Mammianus a man of Patritian Dignity, of great Nobility, and as great Riches, had made the

Church of the faid Emefeni his Heir,

52. Afterward when Justinian came to the Empire, it hapned that this Priscus being to take a Roll of all the Families in that City, observed well such as were Wealthy amongst them, and in those noting their Ancestours, he counterfeited many Bills, as written with their own Hands, whereby they acknowledged that Mammianus had deposited very much Money with them. By this means he scraped together no less than an hundred Centenaries, or ten thousand pounds of Gold; but here was not all. He so counterfeited the Hand of a certain publick Notary of great Repute, and as great desert, who had been wont in the days of Mammianus to draw Instruments for the Citizens, that he delivered those pretended Bonds, into the hands of the Solicitours of the Church, who had bargained with him for part of the Money to be received. But the thing could not take by reason of that Law, which confined all Actions within the Prescription of thirty Years; and as for the Hypothecarii and certain others, it barred them by an Exception which pleaded above forty Years continuance. Pressed with this Insuperable difficulty, they go to Constant inople; they get Admission to the Emperour, whose Authority alone could furmount it, and Prefenting him with a great fum of Gold, beg he would be their Friend, and stand by them in their business. He takes the Money, and pre-The Prescripti- fently makes a new Law, whereby he inlarges the time of prosecuting Actions in ord in hundred years in the Church matters, to the term of one hundred Years; not onely at Emela, but throughout the whole Empire. This being as the Authour relates it, we fee the throughout the whole Empire. This being as the Authour relates it, we fee the occasion of the Centenary Prescription granted by him to Churches; and hence it appears, that it was not onely granted to the Church of Rome, as some would gather from his ninth Novel, but to all others dispersed through the Roman State.

53. According to the Tenour of the new Law, he fends one Longinus an Industrious man, and one of a strong Constitution to act at Emesa, before whom the Procuratours accuse the Emesentans, by the seigned Bonds of owing no less than two hundred pounds of Gold; and being not able to trace the Truth in fo large and dark a space of time, they were presently Condemned. Most of the Citizens were like to be utterly undone by this Course of proceeding, when it pleased Almighty God by his Providence to moderate it. Longinus commands Prifcus the Habes in Ediflo Inventour of this Mischief to bring all his Papers to him, which when he refused to quinto cui fallus doe, he gave him fo found a blow on the Ear, that the man fell down, and in great of titulus de Li-Fear and Astonishment, thinking that Longinus had smelt out his Villany, con-tinuous fessed the whole Cheat, and so a stop was put to their Proceedings. But this we "Execute States must add to this Relation; that Justinian alhamed it seems of his Centenary Pre- ne diagon under fcription, and having it beaten often into his Ears, that the great diffance of time by single exceeding the Age of man rendred it impossible, again revoked it; of which it's not in a desert a wonder our Authour should take no notice. But possibly the Emperour might \(\text{times} \) in the state of the state o

retract his former Edict, after the two and thirtieth year of his Reign, beyond strain assayers which the fecret History doth not extend. 54. Not onely did Justinian handle, almost every day, the Roman Laws in this one rolls address.

manner, but indeavoured also to destroy those which the Hebrews imbrace and Reverence. For in Case their Passover happened before the Christian-Easter, they were not fuffered to perform the Ceremonies at their due and usual time. And most of them were grievously fined for eating Lambs flesh at that time, contrary to the usual Practice, and the Christian Canons. From these Instances, our Historian conceives he hath sufficiently proved the Emperour's naughty disposition; and having now almost tired himself, he talkes of making an end, after he shall have but a little shewn his Crast and Dissimulation. But here before we go any farther, we shall add what Alemannus hints to us, out of Theophanes touching this matter of Changing days, that not onely did Justinian deal thus with the Jews,

Iustinian.

Sect. 3. but with Christians also in the Celebration of Easter. For in the nineteenth year of his Reign, the People began to abstain from Flesh on the fourth day of February. Bytun Ac. on its reign, the reopie began to animal from the first that the first week, and accordingly the Emperour commanded that Flesh should be eaten another Week, and accordingly the Butchers killed and exposed it to sale, but no Body either bought of tafted it. Yet Eafter was begun as the Emperour commanded, and the People fa-amentanana. fted one Week superstuously. Now for Prosecution of the Argument of Dissimute Transfers in the His Diffirmula- lation, we are to know, that Justinian put Liberius the Patritian lately mentioned on the state of the patritian lately mentioned on the state of the patritian lately mentioned on the state of the patritian lately mentioned on t out of his Government, which he bestowed upon John an Ægyptian, Sirnamed

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

Laxarion. This being known by Pelagius, who was a great Friend of Liberius, he desires to be satisfied of the Emperour, if the Report concerning Laxarion were true? He utterly denies it, and gives his Letters into the Hands of Pelagius, whereby was confirmed to Liberius his former Charge, and affirms he had no Intention

at present to displace him.

55. But at this time refided at Conflantinople, one Endemon the Uncle of John, a man of Consular Dignity, very Wealthy and Cafar's Steward, who hearing what had lately passed betwixt the Emperour and Pelagius, demanded of him whether he continued firm in his Resolution as to his Nephew's preferment. Justinian diffembling what he had written to Liberius, fends also his Letters to John, bidding him to look to his Charge and mind his business, for he had nothing otherwise determined concerning him. Hereupon John commands Liberius as a man out of Office, to remove himself out of the Palace, which he denied, shewing also his Commission from Casar. They both arm and fight: Many are slain on both sides, and John falls amongst the rest. Then doth Eudemon importune the Emperour that Liberius may be summoned to give Account of his Nephew's death, which is accordingly done, and the matter being brought before the Senate, he is abfolved, as having done what necessity constrained, and in his own defence; but the Emperour would not acquit him, till he had fleeced him of a round fum of Money, so great a Patron was he of Truth and Friendship. But it happened that not long after, Eudamon dies Intestate, leaving a numerous kindred behind him, and much about the same time, Euphratas chief of the Palatine Eunuchs, leaving also a great Estate, and a Nephew by his Sister; but no Testament. Of both these Jufinian makes himself Heir, not bestowing one Farthing on those, whom the Laws called to the Succession. In like manner did he deal with the Relations of Irenæus, who was dead long before.

56. About the same time, Anatolius chief of the Senatours of Ascalon married his Daughter to Mammilianus the most Noble of all the Cafareans. There was an Ancient Law, that when the Senatours of any City died without Islue-male, the fourth part of their Estate should come to the Senate, and the rest be enjoyed by their Heirs: Now Justinian makes a Law quite contrary, that in such a Case their Heirs should have but a fourth part, and all the rest should remain to the Senate and publick Treasury, although it never had been formerly known, that any Goods of the Senatours came either into the publick Treasury, or that of Casar. But such being now the Law, Anatolius dies and his Daughter pays what was due by the late Law to the Treasury and the Senate, receiving Discharges both from the Emperour and the Senate of Ascalon. At length Mammilianus dies too and leaves a Daughter, which being married to a Noble-man, dies also at length without Issue, leaving her Mother alive. Justinian presently seizeth on all they left, openly saying, that by no means the Daughter of Anatolius being now grown old, ought to enjoy the Fortunes of her Father and Husband: Onely to keep her from begging or starving, he allowed her for her Life a Golden stater a day, adding this in the Instrument of the addingtion and the state of the st of this Rapine; We bestowed on her this Stater, out of our innate Piety and Cle milkes business mency, for by our Actions it is our Custome, to express the Holy and Pious dif- 17, 136 Pour

position of our mind. This is enough, saith our Authour, more would be Irk-only and season the but I believe it impossible for any man to expend the all some; but I believe it impossible for any man to remember all.

57. Yet he cannot make an end, but conceives it material to add that in Respect to his Covetouinels, the very Faction of the Veneti, however addicted to him, were very little regarded. Malthanes a Cilician, Son-in-Law to Leo, a Referendary formerly mentioned, was fent into Cilicia, to Compose all Seditions arising in that Countrey. Taking advantage of the time, he handles unmercifully very many Cilicians, and some of the Money he Charges upon the Tyrant; another part he himself doth own. All others bore the mischief as Persons constrained so to doe: Onely such as were of the Faction, of the Veneti at Tarfus, hoping well from the Affiftence of the Empress, openly reviled Malthanes in the Forum. He having notice of it, gathers together a band of Men, and coming to Tarfus by Night, fends his Souldiers by break of day to plunder the Town. The Sect. 3. Veneti looking upon it no otherwise than as the Invasion of an Enemy, every one stood upon his Guard, and in the dark many being killed, amongst the rest fell Damianus a Senatour, and chief of the Faction of the Veneti at Tarfus. The News of his Death no sooner came to Constantinople, but the Veneti began to make diflurbance throughout the City, and heavily to Rail at Leo and Malthanes, whom they loaded with all Indignities and Threats, which Words could not but offend the Emperour; pretending to be very much displeased, with what was laid to the Charge of Malthanes, by an Edict commanded Inquisition to be made. But Leo by a vast sum of Money extinguished both the violence of the Edict, and the Emperour's Good Will toward the Veneti; who having given Order, that the Process should fall, received Malthanes at his coming to Court, with all possible kindness. Yet the Veneti set upon him, and wounded him as he came out of the Palace : And had certainly flain him, but that Leo hired fome of the Company to stop

the proceedings of their Fellows.

58. A Noble piece of Justice ! To suffer such violence to be committed in his own Court under his Noie, and Sacrifice all things, how pretious foever, to his covetous and fordid Humour. But behold yet farther, what affection he bore, like a true Father of his Countrey, to the publick Good. The former Princes, that they might have a fpeedy Account, what was done or Practifed in each Province, either by their Enemies, or their Turbulent and feditious Subjects; how their Officers behaved themselves; that they might be advertised of any Accident or memorable Occurrence, as also, to convey up quickly and fafely the Annual Tributes and Impositions, ordained certain Posts or Carriers after this manner. Betwixt every stage, or in an whole days Travelling, they caused to be made eight Inns or places of Refreshment; sometimes fewer, but never under five. In each Inn were kept nigh forty Horses fit for Service, and as many Men to manage them, who succeeding to one another, and still taking fresh Horses; sometimes would Letters or any other things be conveyed in one day, as far as ordinarily they could pass in ten. This besides the Convenience of passage, tended much to the Inrichment of the Inland Countries, the Inhabitants whereof put off their Provisions. both for Man and Horse at very good Rates to the Quastors. Such as served the publick in this Employment, brought the Money they received to the Treasury. thence received their Wages, and so the whole business was managed to the great Convenience and advantage of the State. But Justinian took away the Post, that lay between Chalcedon and Dacibiza, and compelled all Passengers in little Boats, to He takes away Pofis. go from Constantinople as far as Helonopolis, though in passing the Straits they were in great Danger to be cast away. The Post lying toward Persia he left as he found. but throughout the other parts of the East, as far as to the Borders of Ægypt, he left not so much as one single Inn, or Stable of Horses in a whole days Journey, but some of Asses. Whereupon the design of Intelligence was almost quite dashed, and Provisions lay upon the Hands of the Countreymen; who as we faid, were

formerly wont to put them off at very good Rates. 59. He dealt in the same manner with the Intelligencers or Spies, who had been wont to be employed, at the publick Charge, under pretence of Merchandizing to pass into the Enemies Countrey, and even into the Court of Persia, where having covered their Intentions, they returned with all Convenient speed. and made Report to the Prince; who by this means was secured from a surprize on all occasions. But he fusfered Chofroes the Persian King, to outdoe him in this point, who giving better Pensions, had ever his Spies relident at Constantinople, and carried it so cunningly, that though they still discovered all to the Persians; yet were the Romans quite in the dark, as to the matter of Lazica, and which way Chofroes would take his Course. A great number of Camels also were wont to be maintained at the publick Charge to follow Armies, and convey the Baggage, that the Souldiers might have all Necessaries, and the Countrey might not be burthened by preffing of Carriages. But Justinian took them all away to the great hindrance of his Expeditions. Now the Authour fays, he will tell you fomething of his Ridiculous Tricks. There was one Evangelus an Advocate of Cafarea, a man of ways N & good Repute, who grew very rich both in Land and Monies, and at last bought Por- when in Land good Repute, who grew very rich both in Land and Profiles, and at last budght 101 - Arcita Hoperphyrio a Maritime Village for three Centenaries, or three hundred prounds of Gold. Accide Stope 311

ruselas breian. Etianfi pagun voct tamen tälis fait ut Epifopi elfer Sedes. Mem Jyfiniani tempore Toodarus cam retit Eclefum, cei facceffit Chriftophorus qui Concilio Conflantingoli à Menna celobrato interfait. In Alis opundici fabferibit, Xespapo C Tepaputio C voir sees seapalies. Unde notas Alemannus feribendum Tepaputaya non Tepaputaira eli nomen advantato. Ils fortufe Tyrii parputat pifabantur.

Justinian

CHAP. II.

Sect. 3. Justinian coming to know it, gave him a very little and inconsiderable piece of Money, and took it from him, faying it was a shame, that Evangelus an Advocate should be Master of so considerable a Village.

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60. At length this Bundle of Accusations, our Authour wraps up in a farther Account of some things, wherein Justinian and Theodora were Innovatours. In times Requires fervile past, the Senatours faluted the Emperour after this manner. Those of Patritian Respect to be Rank bowed down, and did Reverence as low as his right Pap, and Cafar as he fo paid him by Sc- drew back kiffed him on the Head; the rest kneeled down on their right Knee and departed: As for the Empress, there was no certain Course of paying Respect to her. But when they came into the Presence of Justinian and Theodora, as well Patritians as others, presently they fell on their Faces, and with Feet and Hands stretched out, kissed each Foot and so withdrew. She also gave Audience to Ambassadours, a thing never heard of before, and presented them at their Departure. as being Mistress of the Roman Empire. Of old, such as spake to the Emperour or Empress, called them by those Names and no other, and other Princes as their Order, and Dignity required. But fuch as spake with either of these, and called not him Lord, and her Lady, and themselves their Slaves, were accounted Rude and Sawcy, and rejected as Uncivil. Formerly very few, and that rarely came to Court; but now as well as Magistrates, all others spent their time there. And whereas Judges gave Sentence, and business was done for Clients either at home or in the usual places of Judicature without molesting the Prince, who left all to their own Freedom; Justinian and his Wife to the utter undoing of their Subjects, called all their matters before themselves, and tyed them to this slavish Attendance. The Tribunals and the Forum, one might fee almost every day without a man in them, but Cafar's Palace Crowded with perpetual Attendants. Their greatest Familiars there passed all the day, and much of the Night spent with Watching and Hunger. Such as were freed from these Cares, were wont to talk and enquire amongst themselves, what was become of the Wealth of the Romans, and affirm that part of it was taken away by Barbarians, and the rest thrust into Holes and Corners by the Emperour. But when Justinian shall once dye (if so be he be a man) whether the Prince of the Dæmons shall destroy mankind, they that are then alive by experience will find.

61. So concludes at length the pretended Anecdota, or fecret History of Procopius, a work as extravagant in its Form and Composition, as is the matter therein contained. Incredible it is, that a man who had digested his other Histories into very good Order, according to the Variety of their Subjects, should patch up fuch a Fardel of Accusations with the greatest Confusion imaginable, joynting them onely, a Company of Tautologies with trifling Observations, and twenty times repeated Exclamations. The style of it is flanting, and nothing ever was so full of Oftentation. Nothing can the Authour relate, but with a Periphrafis. No Sen- VI 764 miles tence but full of supersituous Particles, nothing becoming the Gravity of an Histo-tuning tence but full of supersituous Particles, nothing becoming the Gravity of an Histo-tuning tence but full of supersituous Particles, nothing becoming the Gravity of an Histo-tuning tence but full of supersituous Particles, nothing becoming the Gravity of an Histo-tuning tence but full of supersituous Particles, nothing becoming the Gravity of an Histo-tuning tence but full of supersituous Particles, nothing becoming the Gravity of an Histo-tuning tence but full of supersituous Particles, nothing becoming the Gravity of an Histo-tuning tence but full of supersituous Particles, nothing becoming the Gravity of an Histo-tuning tence but full of supersituous Particles, nothing becoming the Gravity of an Histo-tuning tence but full of supersituous Particles, nothing becoming the Gravity of an Historitan tence but full of supersituous Particles, nothing becoming the Gravity of an Historitan tence but full of supersituous Particles, nothing becoming the Gravity of an Historitan tence but full of supersituous Particles, nothing becoming the Gravity of the supersituous Particles, nothing tence but full of supersituous Particles P

have one word no feldomer than fix hundred times repeated, to speak of no more; and indeed scarcely is there one story or passage told, with any moderate Art, Care or Circumspection. There are those that excuse him, because he wrote Anecdota, Alemanna, or a secret History, which they accuse as generally Obnoxious to such impertinences and disadvantages, as Tully himself pleaded in his own behalf. But let any one flrew such a Fardel of indigested stuff, Fathered upon any Man, but of tolerable Abilities: Certainly a man of Reasonable parts, though he wrote that which he would have concealed, could not have his thoughts fo broken or difordered, as to observe no Order, Method or Rule whatsoever. His Fears and Jealousies must be mighty high to put him into so much disorder. And he must have been as

that baseness or dejectedness of Mind, upon apprehension of Death. His opportunities else of secrecy must have been very little; his Locks and Bolts very weak, or the Man so poor that he could not purchase any close Cabinet, wherein to lay his Papers as he wrote them. Doubtless his Perturbation of mind was very

Notes make amends for his rude flory) published him out of the Vatican Library, in the fixteen hundred and twenty third year of our Lord. In that Library he found two moth-eaten Copies, the one transcribed from the other; but both of

rian: but the Infinuations of a Sophist. His frequent Transitions, Epilogues, and Transitions an hundred times reiterated Observations upon divers particulars, and those of the flightest moment imaginable, cannot but Nauseate the Reader. In this Libel you Milequent

pufillanimous as Belifarius himfelf, whom he will have to have carried himfelf with

high, or his Art was exceeding mean and despicable. 62. Such as he is, he appeared not in Print, till Alemannus (whose learned them without either Names of the Authour, or Title of the work; both of them Sect. 3.

without beginning, and the more Ancient without Conclusion, and each of them full of Gaps and void places; in which the Authour often promifes he would tell many things, he never tells, and discovers so many Defects, that as it were through the Crannies, you may discover Procopius writing in stealth and haste, or forgetting himself out of Perturbation of mind, faith the Publisher. For to come

to the point, he concludes the Book was written by Procopius, and gives it the τδ gighter Περ-Title of awksorz from Suidus, who fignifies that he wrote a Book under this serie was aken. Name, concerning the matters of Julinium, wherein were contained Accusations TA. and Censures of him, and his Wife Theodora, as also Belifarius, and Antonina his

Wife. He farther informs us, that there were two other Copies of this Book (the use of which in setting forth this of the Vatican, he much wanted and defired) viz. One brought by John Lascaris from Constantinople to Lawrence de Medicis, which as was reported Catharine de Medicis, the Queen, carried with her into France, which yet the French-men enquire after in Foreign Libraries; and another belonging to John Vincentius Pinellus, which was lost at Sea in a Voyage to Naples; but some Fragments were taken out of it by Peter Pithæus, and Guidus 'A. La Jorn, five Pancirollus, who also affirm, that the Title of it was Anecdota. Now by this affirm that the Title of it was Anecdota. name Authours were wont to call, fuch Histories as they intended to conceal from in Abditiffing la-

the Age in which they lived; as Cicero calls his History, which he began of the co Author recon-Roman state (derided by Q. Fustus Calenus, as Dio tells us) wherein he Censured didit, negs ut rethe Actions. Manners and Dispositions of the Great men of his time, and wrote Swarer, Evalgait for his own Satisfaction, and the Information of Pomponius, and Posterity.

63. Nicephorus indeed it's owned, reckoning up the works of Procopius, mentions Nicephorus Calone that was written against Justinian, but he calls it not are Deta, but artispers, lifti. 1.17.6.10: or a Detractation of those Commendations whereby he had formerly so much ex-

tolled him. Hereby, as Alemannus gathers, it sufficiently appears that he never faw this Secret History. Neither, you are to know, did any of the ancient Historians, who though they accuse Justinian of divers things, yet cite nothing out of this Book, nor the later Writers, as Alemannus confesseth, who write things quite contrary to it; onely Suidas, as appears by his Collectanea transcribed the better part of it, and by a Collation of his Collections with the Text of this History, Alemannus would have his Readers believe, that his and the Edition of Suidas were hal other Terminonies are the very fame. To make us of this mind, he endeavours to possess us with as evil guil Julius. an opinion of Justinian as possibly he can, heaping up all the hard sayings he can meet with in all Writers, if not more than all. For example, Euagrius mentions and detefts his excessive Avarice, and Rapine, and the vexing of his Subjects, of all Ages and Conditions by most fecret and most different Arts, and as vile and Impudent Instruments. He adds, that places of Magistracy, Governments, and other Offices he Sold, and built his Churches, Hospitals, and Monasteries out of the Spoils of private men. He affirms that he nourished the Faction of the Veneti, permitting them to make flaughter of the Prasini, and to fill all places with Murthers, Rapines and Devastations. In the beginning of his Reign, he preserved the Grandeur and Dignity of the Roman Empire, to his great Commendation, but when he grew old, he so failed of his Duty or Abilities, that he suffered it to decay, and made it Tributary, as Menander writes, not onely to the Persians, but the Hunnes, Saracens, and other forts of Barbarous People. Hefychius Milesius, an Historian Contemporary with Procopius, derided Justinian's Levity, for believing what Tribonianus flatteringly told him, that he should be taken up alive into Heaven. Concerning his Frauds and Deceits, Agathias hath written more largely than Procopius, instancing in his Tricks, and producing the Copies of his Letters written to the Leaders of the Hunnes, whereby he fet them together by the Ears, and caused them to destroy each other by intestine Wars. He mentions also his cruel. unjust and impious Rapines, committed against both the Children living, and the

> 64. Farther, Gregory the Bishop of Tours, and the Historian of the Franks, tells a very good flory how Juliana Amica, a most choice and Noble Matron, deluded his Avarice. Victor Tunnensts relates, that Vitalianus General of the Army, was made away by his Faction. Liberatus mentions his Cruelty and Tyranny against the Bishops of the East and West, and the Popes of Rome. On the contrary he incouraged the Patriarchs of Constantinople in their ambitious practices, and first of all Emperours gave them the title of Oecumenical or Universal, they arriving at that impious boldness, through his Countenance and favour, as to bear up with the Roman Bilhop, and hardly to give place to the Head of the Church. And to this

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Sect. 3. great wickedness he added this Crime also, that he indeavoured to confirm and establish by his Sanction, the Canons of the Constantinopolitan and Chalcedonian Councils, whereby prerogative was given to the Bishops of that City. As for Theodora his Wife, her wicked practices both against God and Man were so notorious, that Alemannus thinks he needs not cite any Authours for Confirmation of his Affertion, onely brings the Irrefragable Testimony, and Infallible Judgment and Sentence of Cardinal Baronius founded upon the Reports of ancient Historians, though he never law as he confesseth the Anecdota of Procopius. By this Book he affirmeth that the writings of the later Hiltorians are to be corrected. Yet where they speak against Justinian, their Testimonies by all means are to be imbraced. For many though they faw not this Book, yet recite and confirm the report of his wicked Life. Theophanes tells formething, and fo do Ifaurus an Holy man, the Authour of the Alexandrian Chronicle, Johannes Antiochenus and Suidas: Something also Anastasius the Vatican Library-keeper, Paulus Diaconus and Aimoinus : but Zonaras, Cedrenus, Nicephorus, Euphræmius and other Chroniclers give us them by bundles. All these had their materials from those Writers that were the Contemporaries of Procepius, and wrote the same things of Justinian as he did. These were Hesychius, Agathias, Menander Protestor, Euagrius, Johannes Epiphaniensis, Cyrillus Scythopolitanus, Theophilus the School-Matter of Justinian, Innocentius Maronianus, Eustathius Byzantius; and of the Latin Authours, Victor Tunnensis, Flavius Cresconius, Corippus, Gregorius Turonensis, Liberatus Afer, Facundus Hermianensis

> being Domestick witnesses enough to convince the world, that Procopius was no Lyer. These are Justinian himself, Justin his Uncle, and Justin the younger his Sisters Son, who being ready to be destroyed by the Seditious Veneti and Prasini, restrained their Rage by words, which shewed Justinian to have been Authour of all these milchiefs. Behold Citizens, faith he, let an end be put at last to these publick Calamities. Knowye Veneti, that Justinian is Dead as to you; and ye Prafini, that as to you he still liveth. As for the Infamous Courses of Theodora, her Life and Education, there is yet extant a Constitution of Justin the Elder, whereby it is made lawfull for Senatours to marry Women of base Condition. And for the third part of the History concerning Justinian's Crimes, though he himself confess them not, yet he openly acknowledgeth, and ferioully declares the fource of all Hac amits and these mischiefs, owning that he had taken her to be a Partner of his Councils, who his quappartition was given him by God, his most pious Wife. All Writers plainly affirm, that his pen chastile was given him by God, his most pious Wife. Reign had been fortunate, if he had not been Counfelled and Governed by her in funfine tangua 2 Dro date. the management of his Business. But Alemannus farther urgeth, Procopius by his et moin, Po-

65. But there's no need, faith he, of urging their Testimony in this matter, there

he jejunely commends Justinian, but lays large Foundations of centure and reproach, mentioning more and greater Crimes than he lays to his charge in this Treatife, and fufficiently discovering his Cruelty, Avarice, unfaithfulness to his Friends, breach of Faith toward his Enemies; his hatred of good men, his love of wicked men, his violating of all Law, Divine and Humane, and subjecting all things to the Imperious Humour and Lust of Theodora.

other Books, sufficiently establisheth the truth of his Secret History; for therein man Conjugan

66. For instance, he durst not take John the Cappadocian out of her Hands, nor prevent the effects of her Implacable Malice, but though most dear to him , was forced to banish him, and could not restore him till after her Death. Though he had concluded Peace with Chofrees, he hired Alamundarus and the Hunnes to make War upon him, to the great detriment of the Empire. The Garrison Souldiers for want of Pay he caused to Revolt. Besides those at home with him, in the Camp he had two eminent Instruments of his covetous Practices, viz. John the Quastor of his Army, who, to spare the Emperours money, with naughty Bread destroyed a great multitude of Souldiers; and Alexander Forficula, out of harred to whom, they industriously suffered themselves to be worsted in Italy. Out of Covetousness he instituted his Logatheta, and abolished all Degrees of Honours at Rome. He preferred the most wicked of men to places of Trust and Dignity, as Acacius and John Zibus. These things and many others he published in those Volumes, which he gave Justinian himself to reade, who was not offended with them; and afterward he published an eighth Book, in which he no more spared him, than he had done in his former. For he again infifts upon the Souldiers want of Pay, complains that due preparations for War were neglected; again Condemns Justinian's prodigality in the entertainment of Isdigunas, the infolent Persian Ambassadour. Declares that the affairs of the Empire were come to that pass, that a yearly Tribute was paid to the Persians, and great gifts were given to the Humnes, who made Sect. a perpetual excursions into the Roman Territories. And he reprehends Justinian's unseasonable Levity and Indulgence to his Officers, especially to his Commanders, which brought very much prejudice to the Commonwealth. To conclude this point, faith our Publisher, lest we be tedious; Procopius seems so to have composed his Anecdota and his other Books which he presented to Justinian, that scarcely is there any thing in his secret History, which by his own confession you may not prove out of his former works.

67. These are the Arguments by which Alemannus will move us not to question the Authority of this Book. But first it's no small wonder that it should lie concealed fo long, and never appear till almost the other day. That others of the Ancients should not have as good opportunity to see it as Suidas, and that so many that have ransackt the Vatican Library, should never light of it in any Age; for although Baronius was not able to know it, though it lay before his Eyes, he was fo ignorant of the Greek Language, yet it's a matter nigh to a Miracle, that his Holiness should neither have a Library Keeper, nor any other Learned Attendant nor Student, who could understand that Tongue till Alemannus chanced to stumble upon it. Certainly the fortune of the other two Copies was almost Prodigious, that the one should be drown'd, and the other lost and never to be found; that France should be so barren of Learned men in the time of Catharine de Medicis, that none should be sensible of the worth of such a Jewel, but suffer it utterly to perish. Is there not a shrewd suspicion that Cujacius or some other Learned Lawyer met with it, and burnt it as a scandalous Libel against Justinian? But in truth, whoever wrote it, it may be termed a fcandalous Libel against Procopius, doing almost as much prejudice to his Reputation, as it hurts the memory of the Emperour; So pitifull a piece of stuff it is, that the Writer must either have been very weak in his Intellectuals, or not himfelf when he wrote it. And can Alemannus excuse the matter by the Authour's fear and apprehension of Danger? Could his Procopius, a man of such freedom and boldness, who durst present to Justinian himself, Books wherein fo severe censures of his Actions were contained, be guilty of so great pusillanimity ? Could he who durst look a Tyrant (as this Treatise makes him) in the face, and tell him his faults to his teeth, degenerate into fo much Cowardife, as neither to trust to the Justice of his Cause, the goodness of the Fact, nor privacy of his own Cabinet? but as he stories it of Belisarius, at every word to peep and look if any body faw him, and to be feized with fuch perturbation of mind, as not to be Master of his own thoughts, nor to write a Discourse with any tolerable method, or other qualifications except that of bitterness?

68. That which carries most strength with it is, that Suidas mentions a Book written by him under such a name, and that as well he as Euagrius say the same things, as the Authour of this private History doth concerning Justinian. This indeed makes it somewhat probable, that Procopius wrote such a Book, and that if we consider what manner of Book that of Suidas is, its Testimony again will be What Credit is very much weakned. For first, some Copies of it tell us, that Justinian was 'Avanto be given to addraw or void of all Learning, which is most falle, as we shall see hereafter, even the Book of by the Confession of Alemannus. Then if we may credit Possionne the session by the Confession of Alemannus. ry many things are falfely inserted into Suidas, as à Sciolis & Schismaticis, by Smat-suid terers and Schismaticks, and those things are repugnant to Evangelical truth and Historical fincerity. But admit Suidas for the Authour of such Stories, as there we find concerning Justinian, he is in no case of equal Authority and Credit to those Authours, which make contrary Relations to those of his. He was an earnest defender of very gross Errours, and fided with such as were given to Lies and Fables. But rather to give you the Jesuite's Judgment of him, he tells you he was heretical, and that the Book going under his Name is full of Errours, Fables and Lies; as for instance those amongst many others; That the World was made of the Poetical Chaos; that it shall continue twelve hundred thousand years; that the Sun and Stars are fiery Substances, fed and perpetuated by terrestrial humours; that Paradile is *Hortus Penfilis*, or a Garden hanging ir the Air far above the Earth; that Cain was begotten of the Devil; that the Jews worshipped the Head of an Affe, and every feventh year Sacrificed a Stranger: In his Narration in the word Nero, touching Annas and Cajaphas, Peter, Pilate and Simon Magus, he forgeth many things: His story in the word Julianus, he calleth mendacium flagitio-Issum, or a most lewd Lie. As also his flandring Constantine the Great as base born, and his Son Crifpus as Incestuous: His commending of Acatius and Acestus two Hereticks, to which he adds, that he writes many things against the truth of

History.

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69. In his Relation in the word Apollonius, he praifeth many things which are Que comis nonog. In his relation in the word application, he planeth many times and iffoliafact purmonstrous and utterly to be exploded, and feemeth to allow the impious art of Ma-fit exploded. gick and of Divinations. He approves of Apollonius and Danis two wicked Magicians, who are both Condemned to Hell. And to omit very many of this kind of Impieties and Fables which abound in Suidas, his Narration (in verbo fesus), Baronius not onely rejecteth, but Pope Paul the fourth for that cause besides some o- In India lib. pr. thers, exploded the Book of Suidas, and placed it in the Rank and Number of pro- hish. hibited Books. Such a worthy Witness is Suidas, concerning whose reviling Justinioned books. Such a worthy with its boundary, consuming the books and imbra-fine lib. Infl. nian, Gothofrid makes little account, efteeming his words no flander, and imbra-function to the lib. Infl. cing the quite contrary Opinion. As for Euagrius, where he follows Authours of nie me fincerina better Note, he is not to be Contemned; but in very many things he is too cre-fequenum. dulous, fabulous and utterly to be rejected. As what Credit can be given to his Lib. 4.632. story of the Monk Barlanuphius, whom he reports to have lived in his Cell, wherein he had mewed himself up for the space of above fifty years, and neither to have been feen by any, nor to have received any Nourishment? What a worthy Saint doth he describe Simeon Moros, or Saint Fool to have been? How doth he commend Synesius who as was formerly shewed, though he was perswaded to be baptized and enter into Orders, yet would not believe the Resurrection was possible. We might farther inflance in the bloud of Euphemia, and several other idle stories; but two there are especially which demonstrate him, either to have been extremely negligent in the fearch of truth, or very malitious in perverting it. One is that, Maximianus succeeded in the Bishoprick after the Death of Nestorius; an untruth fo palpable, that none can think Eugerius to have been ignorant of these manifold and undoubted Records which testifie the contrary. The other concerns the Fable touching the Epistle and Image of Christ, sent to Abgarus, which Euagrius points out at large, and commends the Epiftle as a true writing of Christ, and celebrated by the Ancients, of these two passages in their proper places. Here it fufficeth to fay that Pope Gelafins, and with him the whole Roman Council, having made a long Catalogue of fabulous Writings, and particularly this Epiflle of Christ to Abgarus, passeth this censure on them all: These and all like unto them, we confess to have been not onely refused, but cast out of the Church, by the whole Roman Catholick and Apostolick Church, and we confess as well these Writings, as the Authours and the followers also of them, to be Eternally condemned under the Indistoluble bond of an Anathema. Such an untrue and fabulous, yea, according to his own Principles, miferable and accurfed winness hath Alemannus chosen, to confirm the Authority of his secret History in conjunction with Suidas. 70. But besides the invalidating the Testimony of these Witnesses, by making

them appear infamous upon Record in his own Court, it's easie to bring others in behalf of Justinian, who in point of fame and estimation even with Alemannus are without exception, and do with a loud and consenting Voice proclaim that Faith, Piety, Prudence, Juftice, Clemency, Bounty, and all other Heroical and Princely Vertues were resplendent in him: Many of these being Ecclesiastical, we may produce them in a more proper place, where are to be considered the Calumnies of Baronius against this Emperour; for upon several accounts there to be mentioned, those of that party labour with all their strength to blast his memory, and make him appear odious to Posterity. Yet their Pope Gregory and others, in whose days the same Interest and Reasons which now prevail were unknown, give him vast Commendations. Gregory often calls him a man of Pious memory, and the Legates of Otho of Divine memory: fo doth Constantine the Emperour, and the Lib.2. Individual. whole fixth General Council, which a dozen times or more calls him a person of the 10. 6 112.3 pious or Divine memory, and most Holy Justinian. But here Alemannus excepts cent. 6. All. 3. and tells you in his Notes, how in that respectfull manner of speech all Writers are two wont to mention the Christian Emperours. They speak in the same terms of A-73 malfassus, who was a notorious Heretick. The Fathers of the fixth Council give the same respect to Theodora. Andrew the Bishop of Ephesus in the tenth Act of the Chalcedonian Council, adds to the name of Theodofius Junior en arious, and the Authour of the Life of St. Nilus, to that of Theodofius Senior en appeals, besides the Roman Council to Theodorich King of the Goths, though an Arian, gives the addition of Sanctus Princeps. The Emperours all ever are called Sacratissimi, and Divinissimi. They of themselves use these phrases Numen Nosirum; their Letters are called Sacræ, Divinæ Literæ, their Court Sacrum Palatium, Domus Divina, and their very Footsteps Sacra Vestigia. That round kind of Ray or Diadem which Gentiles put about their Gods, and later Christians about the Heads of Saints, are to be seen also about the Heads of Emperours in their Coins, as a Prerogative not

of Merit but of Imperial and Royal Dignity. Nay that most Holy Martyr Diony- Sect. 3. sus of Alexandria, as Eusebius tells us, gave to Valerianus and Gratianus both Pagan Princes, the very appellation of Santtiffimi.

71. It must not be denied, but such terms of Respect and Honour were given to Emperours, who were wont to assume those and such like to themselves, viz. Divinitas nostra, & Numen nostrum, which though some later Authours so much dislike and reprehend, yet our Bishop Mountague in consideration of their high Place and Office, (in which respect, he, who best may, hath said they are Gods,) excuseth the Custome. But will Alemannus say it was a thing of course also, when Councils or other prudent Persons would exhort Princes to sollow the ways of Deceased Emperours, who by flattery could neither be obliged nor disobliged by downright dealing, to propound to them fuch base and profligate Persons as this History makes fullinian; or when they would commend their Emperours, to compare them with those who for all manner of Villanies could not but be odious, and feemed Devils Incarnate, (fuch did this Authour think Justinian really to be,) rather than men? Now the fixth General Council to express the great Honour they had for Constantine the Emperour then present with them, Proclaimed him to be a new Constantine, a new Theodosius, a new Martian, and a new Justinian, wishing Nova Tallimiano him eternal memory, or praife under this Name. A most miserable Praise and seems memoris. Commendation had this been, had *Justinian* been so notorious a Villain; for then Alt. 16, 17, 18. the whole General Council had not onely dishonoured Constantine, but had wished Honour and Immortal Glory to Tyrants and the Devil himself, which kind of Praifing and Praying as Dr. Crackenthorp observes, is not very suitable to the Pietv and Faith of that General Council. If it be faid that the Council meant onely in Religious matters, it's easie to answer that Alemannus, Baronius and the rest of that Party, condemn him as much in relation to Church business, as that of the State, and most loud Complaints do they make of great Injuries offered by him to Prelates and their Popes especially, which the Authour of their secret History as one concerned, now and then Inculcates and promifes he would declare in particulars; but either the Consternation of his mind, or Consciousness that he had already done too much, or want of matter was the cause that he proved not so good as his word. Had Instinian been so infamous in either respect, the smell of his memory must have been too strong and Rank in the time of the fixth Council, to have made a perfume wherewith the Fathers intended to make themselves acceptable to Constantine there present in their Assembly.

72. But if Councils be fallible, let us come to Popes, and let Alemannus and Baronius put both forts of Testimonies together. Pope Agatho one of their Canonized Saints, in his Epistle to the Emperour Constantine Pogonatus, to prove out of the Fathers, that two Natures are in Christ, adds; And above all these, Justinian Pro committees a the Emperour of Holy memory, a zealous Defender of the true and Apostolical Faith Apostolica fide the Emperour of Holy memory, a zenowa Defended the Christian Commonwealth, pismamuria Juteacheth this, whose Integrity of Faith did as much exalt the Christian Commonwealth, pismamuria Juteacheth this, whose Integrity of Faith did as much exalt the Christian was a findamuria findamuria for the Christian was a findamuria findamuria for the Christian was a findamuria for the Christian was a findamuria for the Christian for t as by the fincerity thereof it was pleasing unto God: and whole Religious memory is sure.

estimated by all Nations worthy of Veneration, seeing the Integrity of his Faith set out Estat apal Ass. by his Imperial Editis, is spread abroad and praised in the whole World. So Agatho 4. Concil. Genewith whom consented and joyned the whole Roman Synod, consisting of one hundred twenty five Bishops, in a Synodal Letter written to the same Emperour Constan- Ibid. p. 21. tine, wherein they exhort him to imitate the Piety and Vertue of Constantine, The Extremi quiden adossus, of Martian and Justinian the Great, the last indeed but the most excellent of postunnismi tathem all, whose Piety and Vertue restored all things into better order. Thus is Justi- men omnium. nian fet forth in the Letters of Agatho and his Synod, which the fixth General nian let forth in the Letters of Agatho and his sylved, which the fixth deficial approved in these words: Peter spake by the mouth of Agatho: We profit. all consent to the dogmatical Letters of Agatho, and to the suggestion of the Holy Synon and under him, consisting of one hundred twenty five Bishops. Constantine in the name Es As. 1, 8, 6, of the whole Council saith, We all with one heart and voice believe and prosess, and As. 18, p. 93. admire the Relation of Agatho, as the Divine voice of St. Peter. And of his Epistles
Domitius Bishop of Prusas adds. I receive and imbrace the suggestions of the most Ass. 8. p. 29. blessed Agatho, as inspired by the Holy Ghost, as uttered by the mouth of St. Peter, and written with the fingers of Agatho. Thus by the Testimony of Pope Agatho, and an whole Roman Synod, confirmed by the fixth General Council, to be as certain and true as if St. Peter or the Holy Ghost had uttered the same; Justinian is declared to have been not onely for Faith Orthodox, but for Vertue and Piety renowned, and held in veneration by all Nations, and praised of all the World; and to have been more excellent than even Constantine, Theodosius and Martian. It's an even wager those Fathers had never seen our Secret History.

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73. Of Authours who wrote in later times Aimonius giveth him this farther te-Degofiu France Sect. 3. stimony, that He was for Faith Orthodox, for Piety renowned, a marvellous lover of rum, lib. 3.4.8. Equity, and therefore all things co-operated to his Good, and he governed the Empire in an happy manner. The true Paulus Diaconus faith to the same purpose, that fusting Lugar nian governed the Empire in an happy fort, and was a Prince for his Faith Catholick, bardonem, L. in his Actions upright, and just in Judgment; and therefore all things concurred to his Good. Others (that we may not be too tedious) give him large Epithets for Piety and Vertue, but Wernerus his words are to be taken notice of, who writes, that He Ann. 504. was in all things most excellent, for in him concurred three things which make a Prince truly glorious, viz. Power, by which he overcame his Enemics; Wifedom, by which he governed the World with just Laws; and a Religious Mind towards God's Worship, by which he glorified God, and beautified the Churches. Platina speaking of Justinus his Successour, faith, He was in nothing like to Justinian, for he was covetous, wicked, ravenous, and a Contemner both of God and Men; Whence it must follow that according to him Justinian was bountifull, just, religious, and one that had regard both to God and good Men. The Chronicon Reichspergense testifies, that He performed ma- Ann. 565. ny things profitable to the Commonwealth, and fo ended his Life. Munster writes of commer. b. 4. him, that He was a just and upright Man, and in finding out matters ingenious. And in Justinian. we shall conclude with Sigonius, a man as diligent in searching out truth, and as industrious in turning over the Libraries of Italy, as the best of Justinian's Ill-willers, who ends the Story of his Life, and of the Western Empire, with this testimony of him, that He was a Man deservedly to be reckoned amongst a few, (or, that there were him, that He was a man aejervealy to be reckoned among for you, (et, that there were but few fuch Men) for he was a Prince renowned both for War and Peace, a famous merits managed. but few fuch Men) for he was a time to the last as well of the Good as day engineers, restorer of the ancient Roman Glory, and without doubt the last as well of the Good as day engineers, and without doubt the last as well of the Good as day engineers. the Valiant Emperours of the East.

ria Instaurator eximius, ac sine dubio bonorum simulac fortium Imperatorum Orientu extremu

74. And yet his Friends must not deny, but that many Faults were committed during his Government. His Dominions were so vast, that various Accidents must needs fall out, and his Reign fo long, that often necessarily must they have been repeated. Those that see by the Eyes, and hear by the Ears of others, have the least ground to pretend to Infallibility. Therefore no very great wonder it is, if one go about to reconcile the passages, which at first seem to have been very diffonant, if not contradictory. He might be good himself, and yet have the fortune amongst so many various Employments as the Empire afforded, to be ill served. His inclinations might be right and just, but diverted by the importunities and petulancy of an evil Wife, even good men, who are unfortunate in that kind, yielding often to that for quietness sake, which, if left to themselves, they would never have practifed. At fuch distance it's impossible to assign and mention those particular Causes and Reasons of his Actions, which might possibly be justified, were they known. And for other Authours, whose Testimonies Alemannus produceth to strengthen the Character given by this Secret History, Suidas and Euagrius. most of them wrote after, and received their Intelligence from them. Agathias doth industriously apologize for Julinian, and affirmeth, that the decay of Discipline amongst the Scholarii, or Pretorian Bands, began before his time, in the Reign of Zeno the Isaurian. Whereas the Secret Historian talks so much of his savage Cruelty, it appears rather, that he was too mercifull, from the Authentick Writings of Procopius, who affirms, that he suffered the ill Officers of his Armies to go unpunished, and relates how Artabanes and his Complices, though they had conspired against his very Life, were dismissed without any great harm received. As for Theodora, he tells us, that she was alway inclinable to affift distressed Women. Gath. Hill. 1.3 And that she was so beautifull, that no skill of Man was able to set it forth in words, nor by any Image or Resemblance to declare it. If therefore Justinian was over-'H win side come with her Beauty, and sometimes let her reign as the Mistress of his Affections, day of Barness he is to be blamed, but no man will fay he submitted to her humour out of malice, along my street or for want of good Nature.

ουτήσαια ή inddaματι Στομημέδη ανθήσαρ γι όντι παιτάπατο άδυνατιν. Procep. Edific. L.t. de flatua Tecedora à θητ iii posta

75. These things may justly move some doubt, whether indeed Procopius was Authour of this Secret History. We have little for it but the Testimony of Suidas, fuch as it is. There is neither Name nor Title to encourage us to believe it. Ni-

cephorus indeed faith, he wrote a Retractation of some things, wherein he had too Sect. lavishly commended Justinian; but this is ten times more than a Retractation, such a streightning of his Pen as makes it more crooked on the other side. Such a rude, unpolithed and disorderly piece of stuff, seems rather the brat of some Sciolus, and Pretender of those times, some Corner-creeper that was very much displeased with the Emperour. Upon the account of Religion, and the three Chapters elsewhere to be spoken of, some learned and judicious Men do conclude, that Euagrius bespattered him in that manner, as we find in his History. And here we find our Writer fometimes complaining of Justinian's siding in Religion with the adverse Party, his sticking to the Council of Chalcedon, and persecuting those that were not of his Opinion. But be the Authour of it Procopius, or any other, this Actuater of particular Censure following must slick to the Book. Part of the matter therein the Scoret Hillo Contained (of the manner or contexture we have already spoken) is true, and inexcusable. Part of it is true, and may admit of Excuse. Some of it is utterly false, fome of it inconfistent and contradictory, and some of it extravagant, and out of all measure ridiculous. For the first, it may be granted that Justinian was too much addicted to his Wife, and that he too much favoured the Faction of the Veneti. What in private Men may be called indulgence, in this kind, in Princes is great Injuffice, when the Paffions of Women come to have influence into Affairs of State. That he suffered Theodora to persecute John the Cappadocian in that manner, he is to be blamed, because possibly he did it more out of compliance with her defires, than for the merit of the Man; and yet this is the centorious Judgment of Procopius, and we must take his word for it, who though he grants the Man did deserve as much or more than he suffered, yet affirms Justinian to have had a more than ordinary kindness for him. His too much siding with the factious Veneti cannot be excused, although it was the custome of his Predecessours to addict themfelves to one of the Parties. Vitellius was of the fame Humour, who flew feveral Sueronius in Viof the common fort, because they had cursed the Venetian Faction, taking for gran- real. ted that they did it in contempt of himself, and out of hope of success of some new

Delign. On the contrary, Caligula as much favoured the Prasini. 76. Besides, the demeanour of the Prasini was sufficiently petulant and provo- Harrier Gallery king. Tumultuoufly and faucily they demanded Justice against Calopodius and Spa- Ex 98 Mapon Bitharius in the open Cirque, as appears by what Theophanes wrote concerning the Se-15 nor 13 nes tharius in the open cirque, as appears by the the value of the Vatican Library. And the dition called Nica, which Alemannus hath published out of the Vatican Library. And the published out of the Vatican Library. And the published out of the Vatican Library. His lavish expences of the publick Treasure both upon Buildings and the Barbarous Banka zarah. Minima's Buil. Nations, feem defervedly to be censured. His Buildings were vast, and highly 200 of Hedonia.

magnificent, and could not be the product of fo base and ignoble a Spirit, as the *Vide Aleman. in Secret Historian makes his to have been, however it be very true, that great Spen milt, p. 61, &c. ders must be one way or other great Scrapers, for nothing is more deceitfull than Building, wherein we see it commonly happen, and even to wise Men themselves, that the Expences at length double or treble the value of what they first defigned. Indeed he left infinite Monuments, either of Piety or Magnificence, in this kind, and that first in Building new, or repairing old Churches decayed: The Church and that in a manage at Conftantinople, was the mirrour of all Ages. Of this De Adif. Jufticalled Sophia, built by him at Conftantinople, was the mirrour of all Ages. Procopius, fo great an Historical Saint with Alemannus, for his Liberty, Veracity mani, I. and Hatred of Flattery, as an Eye-witness, tellifieth, That the Magnificence thereof Gillias Amed.

amazed all that faw it, and was incredible to those that saw it not. That the Height pan. 4 of it mounted up to Heaven, the Splendour of it was such, as if it received not light from Templum be dethe Sun, but had it in it self; the Roof was decked with Gold. The Pavement beset Padius, Own, with Pearl. The Silver of the Choire alone amounted to four Myriads, and it was selment while. with reart. The Siever of the Courte mone amounted to be built every where without thought to have excelled the Temple of Solomon. Besides this, he built every where without Again. throughout the Empire fo many Houses, to the Honour of the Blessed Virgin, so as, lib, ver. stately and sumptuous, that Procopius tells you, should you but view and consider onely one of them, you would think his whole Reign to have been employed in building that alone. At Constantinople he built three of this fort, one in Blacherius, formerly mentioned, another in Pege, and a third in Hierio; besides others, built in Honour of Anna, of Zoa, of St. Michael, of St. Peter, and Paul, and of Sergius, and Bacchus, (both of which, in the brightness of Gemms, excelled the Sun) of Andrew, Luke, Timothy, Acatius, Mocius, Thirfis, Theodorus, Of Tecla, and Theodota, all which he raifed from the very Foundations, with that at Conflantinople, the Beauty and Dignity of which cannot by words be expressed, nor by the Eye sufficient-

77. He built like magnificent Churches also in other Cities, as at Antioch, Sebastia, Nicopolis, Theodofia, Tzani, Justinianea, where he was born, at Ephefus, Helena,

Hospitals.

Sect. 3. Nice, at Fythia, and one at Jerufalem, so wonderfull rich and stately, that none other might compare with it; besides, at Jericho, Mount Gerizim, Mount Sinai, at Theopolis, at Agila, (where even to that time they had facrificed to Jupiter Hammon and Alexander the Great,) at Boreion, Tripolis, at Carthage and Gades, or Hercules Pillars, the utmost border of the known World, in those days. We should be too tedious, if to these we added the many Xenodochies, Nosodochies, and other like Hospitals, which he not onely erected, but enriched with large Revenues, being for number equal, and for Expences, it may be supposed, greater than the former, the particulars whereof the Reader may at his leisure perule, and confider, in the Books of Procopius, written on this Subject, who, meditating on these and other Works, affirms of Justinian, That He was never weary or satiate with honouring God; quite contrary to what the Secret Historian alledgeth, that he was never fatiate with tormenting, persecuting and destroying of Mankind, for which yet as it appears, he took great care in providing Hospitals and places of Refreshment for the diffressed. But besides the vast expences made in these Buildings, certainly whatever the Secret Hillory alledgeth of his starving his Wars, the recovery of those great Nations the Empire had loft, put him to infinite charge.

78. For he built and repaired their ruinated Cities, erected Castles, Forts and places of Munition, which he furnished with the Commodities of Water, Walls, Promontories, Havens, Bridges, Baths, goodly buildings, and other matters, ferving either for the necessity or pleasure of Habitation. In Media he fortified Daras,

in Persta Sisauranon, in Mesopotamia Baros, in Syria Edessa and Callinicum, in Commagena Zenobia, in Armenia Martyropolis, in the other Armenia Theodofiopelis, in vide Proco, ali Tzani Burgunocia. He made, as Procopius tells us, all Europe inaccessible or uncon-supa, lib. 2, 3, querable by Enemies. Tauresium, where he was born, he exceedingly inlarged 4. Gr. beautified and fortified, calling it Justinianea; the like he did to Ulpiana, which he called Justinianea secunda, and near to it built Justinopolis. He repaired all Epirus, Ætolia, Acarnania, and fortified all Greece, as he did Theffalia and Eubaa, which he made absolutely inexpugnable and unconquerable, as our Authour affirmeth. The like he did in Thrace, Misia, Scythia, Libya, Numidia, and at the very Gades; in the recounting of which, and other Buildings, time would fail; but they may be read in Procopius, who concludes, that None ought to doubt, but that Justinian fortified the Roman State with Forts and strong Holds, from the East to the West, and the very utmost borders of the Empire. In admiration of these works he calls him, The Repairer of the World, and adds this remarkable faying, that There bath not been in any Age, nor among all Men, one more provident and more carefull for the publick good than Justinian, unto whom nothing was difficult, no not to bridle and confine the Seas, to levell the Mountains, and overcome those things which seem impossible unto Man. Euagrius who upon the Account of the three Chapters, is rationally thought to have born him malice, fumms up all thus: It's reported of him that he restored an Lib 4 6.18. hundred and fifty Cities, which were either wholly overthrown, or exceedingly decayed, and that he beautified them with such and so great Ornaments, with Houses both pri-

vate and publick, with goodly Walls, fair and sumptuous Buildings and Churches, that

nothing possibly could be more magnificent.

79. The other great Expences he made were the Gifts bestowed on the Barba-BOT inexcusable rous Nations, and this the Authour of the Secret History exceedingly urgeth, as a demonstration of his mad Prodigality, Cowardise and Baseness of Mind. But Agathias looks upon it as a good expedient, for faving both Treasure and the Lives of his People. And whereas that Authour exclaims fo much against his Custome of fetting them together by the Ears, and making them fufficient work at home, he feems to pretend not onely to wonderfull accurateness and refinedness in Piety, but in Policy also, which he would have so strait laced, as no Princes or Souldiers would ever endure the like. He might have known this was no new Invention of Justinian. Tacitus, that judicious Historian, long before him, affirmed, that the Duret genilbur best way to conquer the Germans, the Nations beyond the Rhine, was to set them in an amir Riat odds amongst themselves, and their quarrelling would be the preservation of the manner at certification of the manner at Roman Empire in its greatest difficulties. What our Corner-creeper so much incul- adom so cates of his unnatural cruelty, and a venomous or pestiferous Nature, in being the right with death of fo many People, as well Barbarians, as his own Subjects, nay of excee-prefine death of fo many People, as well Barbarians, as his own Subjects, nay of excee-prefine death of the Earth, raifes at the first majoring displayed the state of the Earth, raises at the first majoring displayed the state of the Earth, raises at the first majoring displayed the state of the Earth, raises at the first majoring displayed the state of the Earth, raises at the first majoring displayed the state of the Earth, raises at the first majoring displayed the state of the Earth, raises at the first majoring displayed the state of the Earth, raises at the first majoring displayed the state of the Earth, raises at the first majoring displayed the state of the Earth, raises at the first majoring displayed the state of the Earth, raises at the first majoring displayed the state of the Earth, raises at the first majoring displayed the state of the Earth, raises at the first majoring displayed the state of the Earth, raises at the first majoring displayed the state of the Earth, raises at the first majoring displayed the state of the Earth, raises at the first majoring displayed the state of the Earth, raises at the first majoring displayed the state of the Earth, raises at the state of the Earth, ding herein all men that ever were upon the face of the Earth, raises at the first hostium a view sufficient censure and indignation. If he procured the Distraction of the am, lib. de Man. Hunnes, was it not the destruction of those Hunnes who endeavoured to destroy German. both him and all his People, and made fuch Slaughters and Devastations in all his Provinces, by their frequent and constant incursions? As for the great Depopulations that were made in Africk and Italy by occasion of his Wars, had it been Sect. 2 any other Prince that had made these Wars, no doubt but our Authour would have in part excused him. These Provinces were lately Members of the Roman Empire, and Justinian is generally extolled and magnified for recovering them to the Body; vide telliminium neither could the Vandals or Goths plead any legal prescription. What he so much Alemannin prerails at in Justinian, he would scarcely have blamed in Alexander the Great, or fat. initio. Julius Casar. If he must be accounted a common Plague, a Damon incarnate, and a bloudy Tyrant, for making such Wars, and upon such grounds and occasions as he did, what would become of the Memories of most of the warlike Princes, that have been fince the World began, upon so severe a scrutiny? Because in all things he was not an accurate Saint, our Writer for this very Reason will have him a perfect Devil.

cret Hiftory.

CHAP. II.

80. If the Nature of our delign permitted us to examine all particulars, though the great distance of time, and want of perfect Intelligence, forces us upon great disadvantages, yet it might be easie to discover the falseness of his Allegations, and the extreme Malice of the Writer; we shall instance in a few. First for Amantius, whom our Authour will have put to death by procurement of Justinian, onely for speaking abusively of John the Patriarch; it appears evidently from others, Marcellinus. that being an Eunuch, and so incapable of the Empire, he endeavoured to compass Enagrins. it for Theocritus, his familiar, and thereupon, as guilty of Treason, was executed n to I Decerius, this familiar, and thereupon, as guilty of Treason, was executed by command of Justimus the Emperour. Some add farther, that he was a notori- Testing ous Manichee, and thereupon by the Tyrians was called the Rebel against the Tri- thouse some time, and by the Inhabitants of Constantinople was sirnamed Zummas, from an emique can be must be sufficiently and the constantinople was firmation to fuffer him but Thome Ends as the must be seed as chronically and the conficience would not suffer him but Thome Ends as the must be sufficiently and the conficience would not suffer him but Thome Ends as the must be sufficiently and the conficience would not suffer him but Thome Ends as the must be sufficiently and the conficience would not suffer him but Thome Ends as the must be sufficiently as the sufficient when the sufficient was a sufficient with the sufficient was sufficiently as the sufficient was sufficient was sufficiently as the sufficient was sufficiently as the suff he must needs acknowledge so much, and he onely makes a frivolous excuse, that fuit Constanting at the above the state of perhaps occasion was taken from this injury offered to John to put him to death, as rem Originum if fome words spoken against a Bishop, which could be no Treason, could afford a C.P. & Zonars words upwent to the configuration of a defining of the configuration of the config more warrantable excuse for his death, than the Confipracy of a defigned Usurpadefinance with the death, than the Confipracy of a defigned Usurpadefinance with the definition of the defini rian inculcates, Euggrius lays the whole matter upon Justinus, his Uncle, never 1,22.

The propriety of The cole Rue this was that Visit had a label 6.3. mentioning Justinian in the case. But this was that Vitalianus who had endeavoured to usurp in the days of Anastasius, and therefore Euagrius tells us, he suffered punishment for the heinous offences he had unadvisedly practifed against the Empire of Rome. Theophanes therefore ascribes his death to the People of Constantinople, of whom he had flain many, at fuch time as he rebelled against Anastrasius. Here it cannot feem so impertinent to put in our Perhaps, as the Reader may judge it was for Alemannus. Perhaps he who had once a vehement thirst after Sovereignty and the Imperial Power, might relapse into his former Distemper, and Relapses,

as we fee, are often deadly, and always dangerous. 81. How malitious an Inference our Writer makes in the case of Justinian's falling in love with, and marrying Theodora, let any man judge, especially such as have been themselves subject unto that Passion. To grant she was a Woman of the Profession he makes her, yet, by the Testimony of the undoubted Procopius, she was a Woman of unparallel'd Beauty and excellent Wit, which the Secret Writer cannot but confess, though, good Man, as modestly as possible. But is the extravagancy of that Passion incident to none but the worst of Natures, to the most profligate Dispositions? If a Man cannot conquer that, must be needs be the slave of all other the most brutish whatsoever? So he, like a great Philosopher, concludes, that 'And of paris' this sufficiently declared Julinian's Mind and Disposition, without any other token. Say illustrations For whosever, faith he, refuseth not so to disgrace himself, and is content to appear so odious to the World, is in the ready rode to all villany, and having got a brazen Face, rusheth headlong into the greatest wickedness. But one would think and the reflexion of the Rays of Theodora's Beauty could not have necessarily produced to the second of the Rays of Theodora's Beauty could not have necessarily produced to the second of the Rays of Theodora's Beauty could not have necessarily produced to the second of the Rays of Theodora's Beauty could not have necessarily produced to the second of the Rays of Theodora's Beauty could not have necessarily produced to the second of the Rays of Theodora's Beauty could not have necessarily produced to the second of the Rays of Theodora's Beauty could not have necessarily produced to the second of the Rays of Theodora's Beauty could not have necessarily produced to the second of the Rays of Theodora's Beauty could not have necessarily produced to the second of the Rays of Theodora's Beauty could not have necessarily produced to the second of the Rays of Theodora's Beauty could not have necessarily produced to the second of the Rays of Theodora's Beauty could not have necessarily produced to the second of the Rays of Theodora's Beauty could not have necessarily produced to the second of the Rays of Theodora's Beauty could not have necessarily produced to the second of fuch an effect upon the Face of Justinian, though possibly they might have dazled the Eyes of as vertuous a Person as the Writer, without any such malignant Influence, if what Procepius (so severe an Authour) writeth of her be true, that he must End about ? have been more than a Man (perhaps full inin, who was an incarnate Demon, evidence Night have done it,) that could either in words express her Beauty, or fet it forth in the country of t by any Image or Representation. The Man's Malice is as great in laying the Ερί- μιμέδις ἀνθιάbole, or Impolition, upon Justinian, as if he had been the Inventour and first Impoler many about of it, whereas other Emperours had used it long before, and Anastasius being once me inclined by the Intreaties of Sabas to remit it, was again persuaded to continue it by Marines, the Præfellus Prætorie. Of this we have written abundantly in our Second Part.

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82. The Reader is farther to understand, that in this Tribute, (which was laid upon the Neighbouring parts, when any place by reason of Depopulation or adverse Fortune, was disabled to pay it's own share in the publick Taxes) Churches were also concerned. It happened about Anastasius his time, that the Col-Netscheid. lectours of Palestine wanting an hundred pounds of Gold of their wonted fum, by Cyrillem Sq. which was to be raifed of fuch indigent Perfons, as were not able to pay it, were displications which was to be raifed of fuch indigent Perfons, and the Church of the Holy Re- in Nati., p. 102. furrection, as well as other Religious Houses was constrained to bear it's share. But in the Reign of the pious Emperour Justin, faith the Authour, at the Intreaties of Sabas and others, part of the Tribute was remitted. And at length the Residue was fully forgiven, through the Intercession of Eusebius the Priest, by Justinian the

Emperour now Reigning. A Notorious piece of Injustice both for our fecret Writer at first, and Suidas his Ape from him, as Alemannus believeth, to infinuate, as if the Epibole was never practifed till the Government of Justinian. The Writer yet in Conclusion tells us, that this fort of Imposition most prevailed in the time of Jufinian, and fo fecretly must grant that he was not the Authour of it, though he had faid plainly, that in this Respect he was more cruel to his Subjects, than the very Barbarous Nations. Alemannus his Annotatour sensible of the Injury, and convinced that in this particular he was rather more mercifull than the other Emperours, (as appears in what he remitted to the places of Ferufalem, though he had much more Religious occasion for Money than they) strives yet to mince the matter, and diminish his Reputation in point of Clemency; alledging that the Epibole was remitted to the Ecclesiasticks of Jerusalem onely. And how knows he this? No Authour affirms it. Onely because no Writer mentions any other place or Person, to which it was remitted; therefore he worthily concludes, there was no fuch thing. But what if the Writings of Cyrillus Scythopolitanus had been loft, or he had never mentioned this particular of Ferufalem, would Alemannus thence have concluded that, because Justi- Lege Kanell. 17. nian in general doth inculcate the Payment of the Epibole, therefore he never re- 6 128.

mitted it to any place or Person whatsoever? It seems he would. 83. We shall onely instance in another thing of this Nature which joyned with others, shews the falleness and Malice of this Corner-creeper, and that is, Justinian's neglect of the Aqueducts, which gave occasion to the many Slaughters which were com-Month Naturality mitted while the People contended about Water. He ascribes the want of Water to affer you make the decay of the Pipes, and the Covteousness of the Emperour, or rather his Cruelty, Liebsano, Sa the decay of the Pipes, and the Coverence of the Employees. But Theophanes, problems, and and the delight he took in the Death and Deftruction of his People. But Theophanes, problems and tells us another Tale, and writes expresly; that Water failed through want of Rain or not object. in the Month of November, and this caused Fights and Contentions about the darmy of the Fountains, as also that in the same Year (viz. the thirty fixth of fusinian's Reign, Massive the there was such search sign where was such search sign where was fuch search sign as were such search sign where the search sign was were committed at the Fountains. And what if we bring proof, that fusing the search sear ters were committed at the rountains. And what it we bring proof, that Julia the leave, but nian did repair those Pipes? Alemannia produceth it for us, and cites an Anonymus guad Alm.

Authour of a Chronicon, who writes that he made new, or repaired Adrian's Aque, then the duct; which that Prince had made in this City, long before the Seat of the Em. Journal of the Em. Jo yet the secret Historian blaming him for this Fault in general, and making no ex- Banation A. yet the lecret rintorian bianning him to this tank and afterward, cruel feest/feestal ception, but describing him as wicked both in his beginning and afterward, cruel feest and for the feest of the fe as well at the first, as at the last; griping and scraping ever, betrays sufficiently both Cartin 2007

118 want of Charity, and Sincerty.

84. Now a Tafte of his Contradictory Affertions; one will furfice, and that's a 14.69 7 % bout Juftinian's Intellectuals. He affirms, he was wonderfully or fupernaturally foolish, which was added to be led by the Bridle, moving or shaking the bis Ears also, as doth that kind of Animal: Yet all over his Book doth he speak of the his extraordinary Sagacity and sharpness of Wit.

Alemanus comes in at this dead the same has Lift, and to folve the difficulty, diftinguisheth of times, and faith, he means he was fo or wire and the latter and as other Wiscon Landing flupid and foolish toward his latter end, as other Writers do testifie; having in his Youth been sufficiently active and sprightly. But this will not serve his turn: The words of his Writer, who pretends to have written his History, seven years before Justinian's Death, give not the least Ground for this Distinction. On the contrary he fpeaks there in general of his Parts, and Disposition, and upon occasion of his behaviour toward the Prafini and Veneti, betwirt which Factions fell out the great + Hs , S = 1 and Tumults, and Diforders he mentions long before his old Age. And the better to exactly in the him out, he compares him with Domittian, both for his outward Features and invasigns in a linear different him out, he compares him with Domittian, both for his outward Features and invasigns in the linear different him out, he compares him with Domittian, both for his outward Features and invasigns in ward Diffortion. He adds, that he was both wicked and eafie to be guilted, Foolih from seasons and naughtily difforfed, the greatest Differentler alive, and yet exposed to the France. and Deceits of all Men. Then again after his confused Custome, he inculcates that Sect. 2 this was his Temper, mixed of Folly and Naughtiness, being that which he knows not what Peripatetick Philosopher of old described, when he affirmed that as in the tempering of Colours, so in the Nature of man, things quite contrary might meet and be united. He affirms, that he was the most absolute Artist alive, in diffembling the Truth, concealing his Frauds, his fecret Indignation, his double dealing, and his private Opinion, having Tears at command, upon any present occasion. And he had need call a Philosopher he knows not who to his Affistence, and to mix he knows not what, Stupidity or Stolidity with Sagacity, and the highest Art of diffembling imaginable: Certainly the humour of a Proteus, and the Temper of an Ass are no way agreeing. This Disposition of a Creature so dull, is not pliant enough for fuch turnings and windings, fit onely for a beaten Path, and a flow dreaming Pace. But can black and white both be mixed, and yet in the same parts, the fame thing continue both Black and White, to as intense a Degree, as the Colours were before their mixture? By what Peripatetick Philosophy? It seems Stupidity and Sagacity, Sottishness and sharpness of Wit both flowed in the Brain of Justinian, as feveral forts of Waters are faid to do in some Rivers, without any mingling or Communication. For a man to be very Wife and very Foolish, very Prudent and very Imprudent; as to his Habit and Disposition, of very good natural parts. and very pityfull, mean, ordinary parts, half Witted like an Ass, or almost a natural Fool; is fuch Philosophy, as could proceed from no Brain, but one so confuscil, and immethodical, as was that of our great Justiniano-Mastix, or the Secret Historiano

CHAP. II.

85. But it feems, he never Traded with the more fublime parts of Peripatetick Philosophy; else he had better understood the nature of Intelligences. So are wont to be flyled, what others call Dæmons or Spirits, fuch as our Writer thought Jufinian the Emperour to be Incarnate. Now possibly one may have heard of a wicked, but feldom of dull and stupid Intelligences: It's to be feared, that the Incubus begat him not all, but Sabbatius had also his share in the Generation, and that one part of his Brain was to be Fathered upon one, and the other part upon the other, which caused two so contrary Qualities in his Intellectuals. Had he been Prince of the Dæmons, as the pretty story of the Monk, and of Theodora's dream, would make him, certainly they would never have chosen such a Log to their King, if the Election had been at their Disposal. A Prodigy indeed that an Head of Air (as it feems his was, for he walkt often without any on his Shoulders) should have so much of Earthly Dregs and Dross in it: And that a Dæmon who had Power to change his own shape, and order his assumed Body as he pleafed (fo it feems he did his Face and Countenance) should fo frame the Organs thereof, as to hinder the Operations of the understanding. And the wonder is increafed if we confider his high place and calling; for furely that Dæmon who was condemned to fit at the Helm of the World, and enjoy the Sovereignty, and Magnificence of the Roman Empire, could not be of any of the lower Ranks, but an Arch-Damon, as our Writers fine stories tell us, or one of Aristotle's Intelligences, which turn about the Orbs, and with the Heavens give motion also to all sublunary Bodies. To be ferious, Reader, although the Subject merits nothing but Laughter, and Merriment, it's evident enough, that our Writer thought him an Evil Damon, or Devil incarnate, a Fury, an Evil Genius, and that Plagues, Earthquakes, and Inundations he procured by some kind of supernatural Power, and Malignant influence; judge therefore of the Extravagancy, and Confequently of the Worth, Credit and Estimation of his writing, compare it with the Authentick Books of *Procopius*, and see if thou canst allow it to be his, in thy most inward and retired Thoughts. The Afiatick and flanting style indeed, shews it composed by one that lived either near his time, or by fome other, very able in the Art of Imitation, but compared with that of his other Books, demonstrates, that if it was his, he either doated for Age, or was transported with Anger, and other unseemly Passions. There's Ground enough to suspect it the work of some Person incensed against Justinian, upon the Account of the three Chapters, which raifed him many Enemies, as we shall see when we come to handle the Ecclesiastical matters of these times. If Procopius was the Authour of it: I shall not onely fay with Alemannus, that methinks I fee him through a Cranny writing in great Fear, starting and looking about him at the end of every Sentence, left any body should see him; but before that, in the Habit of a Patritian proftrate at the Feet of Theodora, and befeeching her to afford him Justice in a matter of Debt, owing him by one of her Familiars. Then methinks I fee her flouting him, and her felf faying, Patritian, I hear her Eunuchs

Chara MI.

Sect. 3. finging out, Thou arithroubled with an Hernia, as the had appointed them : after , which he retires home in discontent, breaths nothing but Anger and hery, and not Reper Hilliam being able to doe any thing elfe, takes this Course to be revenged both on her, 2 p. p. 69, 70. and Justinian her Husband, who it's probable, did also some other way disoblige num.in over the control of the Book; from his Malice; and the limit of the Book; from his Malice; and the limit

stake sither of Esidas or his Transcriber, another Scandal hath risen concerning Justinian, which milk by no means be passed over in silence. As he malitiously commards him to an Ais, to he hath been reported for apporant that he was not able to reade, that he knew not to much as his very Alphabet. Several learned Lawyers as Akiate, Budieus, and others have wallowed this down, and Baronius glad of such an advantage against him, without any Examination of the Truth thereof. runs away with it, and improves it to Oftentation such an one as Justinian make Laws of Paith ! An Abcedary Empenour, an illiterates Divine; atterly unlearned; who knew not how to Reade: Who could never reade formuch as the Title of the Bible, no not the very first Elements, not his Alpha Beta. He in a sudden to become a pallinted Theologue of He to preferibe Laws to the Church And fo he goes onein the fame ftrain, But that this is a most lewed Lye, appears, by several particulars. First its evident, that he used constantly the Conversation of the learnedest Bishops, or Priests of his time, it Every Night fitting up late, and Discouring with them + Kd3770 and in his Study concerning the points of Christian Religion; which Conversation could harre and in not leave him to Rude and Illiterate. Then Liberatus who lived about his time, he rearries to

and bore him no Good Will; yet hath recorded that he writ a Book against nis row lighter the Acephali or Entychian Hereticks, in defence of the Council of Chalcedon, and 22 m plant a that Theodorus feeing him to toyl himself in writing against Hereticks, told him, and went in your he should not trouble himself with writing Books, but maintain the Faith by pub. " Abjut and it lifting Edicts. In Ufdore testifies, that he published certain Books concerning the Incarnation of our Lord, and made a Rescript against the Synod of Illyricum, and the African Bishops, wherein he condemned the three Chapters : It would be too tedious to reckon up all the Testimonies of Writers, who speak concerning his Books written, and his Disputations in matters of Religion; and that he wrote himfelf, and used not the hands of other men, the Pontifical acknowledgeth as Apper. Sar. in it is cited by Trifemius in these words: Justinian the Emperour a Religious man, werk Justinians. Sent unto the Apostolick see his Profession of Faith written with his own Hand, testifying his great Love to the Christian Religion. In regard of these (it seems excellent) Writings both Pope Agatho, and the whole Sixth general Council, which fate in the next Age of Justinian, reckon him in the same Rank, as we shewed before; not onely of Ecclefiastical Writers, but of venerable Fathers, with St.

Cyril, St. Chryfostome and others. 87. But not onely was he skilled in Theology, but in the other Arts and Sciences, which are Hand-maids to that Sovereign knowledge. Agapetus Deacon of the Church of Constantinople, and his Contemporary, affirms, That happy time to be In Paranell. fallen out in his days, which one of the Ancients had predifted, when either Philoso. Vide Alemanous phers should be Kings, or Kings turn Philosophers: Then saith he, In respect of your 88,80,04 plin. Philosophy, you are esteemed worthy to Reign, and by Reigning you have not lost your mianum. Philosophy. That this was not mere flattery, other Testimonies make more than Evaluated like. probable. As for Example, to shew that he was skilled in Musick; Theophanes in- rat. stanceth in a Greek Hymn, concerning the Divinity and Oeconomy of Christ, composed by him according to the Church notes, and fung at this day by the Greeks in their Service. In Architecture he was so expert, that as Procopius witnesseth, he himself designed and delineated the Models of many Buildings, and gave Rules and De Ædif. I.1. 5 Directions to the Artificers; as in the Temple of St. Sophia, the Palaces in Heræum, and the Haven at Constantinople; the Church of the Bleffed Virgin at Jerufalem, the City of Daras and others. For his skill in the Laws, not to speak of the Compiling of the Pandects, Code and Institutions, which may be objected was done to his hand by others, he himself composed many of his Novel Conflitutions. This the fecret Historian sufficiently testifieth, though without any Intention of doing him the least right in this Point, affirming that such Rescripts as were to be made in Answer to any Consultation or Petition, he did not commit to the Quafter as the Custome was, but composed himself; and indeed many more Vide querisdo Awere composed, both by himself and others, than are now extant in our Books. bat in Natio 178. That which was made at the instance of Sabas against the Samaritans (mentioned Ur Cyrillus Soin the 129th, as now we have them) he and Tribonian framed at the third hour of bat, the day, in his Palace called Magnaura. Indeed his ftyle is something harsh and sa-

vouring of Illyricum his Countrey; they are full of Words and like the other Con-Attutions made in these times, have not that Elegancy which abounds in the writings of the Ancient Lawyers, yet extant in the Pandects, but have a Tafte of the Affatick flanting kind of Speech, peculiar to these Ages and Places. But although in Compiling other Laws, he used the help and Indultry of learned Men; yet which they offered the Books to him, he faith, E. Legimu & Recognovimus, which the learner of the Books to him, he faith, E. Legimu & Recognovimus, which the learner of the books to him, he faith, E. Legimus & Recognovimus, which the learner of the books to him, he faith, E. Legimus & Recognovimus, which the learner of Gloss explaineth by a Nos ipfi, we our selves have Read and perused them.

88. Therefore Alemannus here forfakes the Caule, and tells you it is a great miflake, that Justinian was an Analphabetus. That this Opinion had obtained for an hundred and twenty years, and no more, after the Milan Impression of Suidas, which yet was amended by Demetrius Chalcondiles, a man who very well deferved of the Greek Tongue. All the Vatican Copies, he faith, have Isthe, and not Isthiages, and indeed there are many and gross mistakes committed in Books, in confounding these Names of Justin and Justinian, as appears from Euggrius, the Epistles of Cassio-Vide Aleman. ed to Justinian his Nephew, who for his excellent Endowments by Theodahatus King Vide Procop. Bell. of the Goths, is deservedly styled Sapientissimus Imperator and Princeps Dottus, and Auth. Hift. Sec. as Alemannus witnesseth in an Ancient Vatican Manuscript, there is this to be Read: 2.20

The fifth Holy Synod of Constantinople in the time of Justinian, Doctisimi Imperatoris, 290 varian lib. The most learned Emperour. To leave this therefore, and come from his inward to Epp. 9. 22. to his outward Lineaments: He was of Stature more Tall than ordinary, of a Ruddy and pleafant Countenance, lookt cunningly, had large Eyes, and used the Razor, ha- Vide forman The ving a fmooth Chin, as all the Pagan Emperours had till Adrian; who, as Dion Cassing straining appropriate the Pagan Emperours and till Adrian; who, as Dion Cassing straining appropriate the Pagan Emperours had till Adrian; who, as Dion Cassing straining the Pagan Emperours had till Adrian; who, as Dion Cassing straining str faith, first began to wear a Beard, as afterward Julian the Apostate again broke the Aleman. in No. Custome, and for that was jeered by the Antiochians, against whom he wrote a "", "," be. Book called Misopogon. Yet after Justinian, the Greek Emperours generally wore Beards. The secret Historian tells us, he was very like the Emperour Domitian, whose Statue was standing in his time. But we know not how to trust him, because he makes the Wife of Domitian very unlike her self. He tells us, she was a good and honest Woman, that she injured or troubled no Man, and never approved the unjust Actions of her Husband, and that being mightily beloved, she was called into the Senate, and bid ask what she pleased: Whereupon she prayed the Fathers. that she might have leave to bury her Husband's body, and erect him one Crown Statue where she thought sit, which was granted her. Now the story of her Goodness, is contrary to what other Authours, both Greek and Latine, have written of her; who affirm her so good Natur'd and Honest, that she was privy to Domitian's her Husband's death, as not onely Dion Caffius, but Sextus Aurelius, Philostratus. Georgius, Syncellus and others, of both forts have related. And as for that other passage of her gathering his pieces together, into which the inraged People had torn him, Suetonius making a Narration for his Funeral speaks not one word of these things; but tells us, his Body was carried out in an ordinary Biere by the Ve-Spilones, and buried in the Via Latina, by Phyllis his Nurse, in her own Suburb. But see the Ingenuity of the secret Authour; Domitian, he saith, had a very good Wife that opposed his Villanies, and yet was a cruel Tyrant : Justinian had a very bad Wife, which incouraged him in doing ill, nay provoked him to it; yet fuffinian was as ill as Domitian, nay the cruclest Tyrant, and Monster that ever lived under the Sun.

89. When he figned any thing, he was wont onely to write the Letter I, which thereupon is called Justinianus Apex by Corippus the Poet. Yet his Uncle not able to write his own Name, as the fecret History affureth us, had four Roman Letters cut in Wood, wherewith he was wont to fign, being first moistened with that Colour, which the Emperours used in such Cases. This was purple, called c.1.6.de diven in our Books Sacrum Encaustum (at this day in Italy, Enchrostro) which was kept Rescript in a Standish, in Figure representing a little Dog; from which he that had the Custody of it, and brought it still to the Prince, was faid to be a Caniculo, being or- Vide Alem. dinarily one of his most inward Councellours, and a near Kinsman. But although vna litera, vt. Justin figned with four Letters, as the Ancient Romans, some Names with three, o. M.T. C. duabus thers with two, and some but with one, as Justinian, yet afterwards the Eastern "Fr Emperours usually put to their whole Names; but the Letters thereof were folded in strange and secrets Knots and Implications, as appears in their ancient Diploma's, like to those which our People have lately got upon their Coaches. But to make an end with Justinian, as it's more than time, by his Wife Theodora he had a Daughter, of which was born, as feems from the fecret History, Anastasius whom his

PART III

Sect. 3. Grandmother privately married to Jannina the Daughter of Belifarius, without Con-I fent of her Parents. He had also a base Son called Theodorus Zirus, born after the What issue he death of Theodora, if we may believe Theophanes a Byzantine Hiltorian in Photius: and yet Constantinus Manasses hath written, that he neither had Sons nor Daughters, nor any to succeed him. He was born on the fifth of the Ides of May, in what year is uncertain, as also how long he lived, but the most probable Opinion is, that Vide Alm ga he died about eighty. His death fell out on the Ides of November, after he had fint in Reigned nine and thirty Years, feven Months and thirteen Days, reckoned from the Calends of April, in the Confulship of Mabortius, when he was declared Augustus by his Uncle, and his Collegue in the Empire. Concerning the manner of his by his Uncle, and his Collegue in the culpute. Concerning the mannet of his Sabellian & Death, there is nothing extant in any ancient Authour. Some later Writers tell a Sabellian & Othersin in the Collegue in the culpute. flory, that he died diffracted; but the Ancient Hiltorians affirm the same thing bergh. of Justin his Nephew, and so his Memory is ill treated amongst them, some after bing to him the Ignorance and Dotage of Justin the Elder, and others the Madness Procede in of Justin the younger, by reason of the likeness of their Names. But what he was attain Historic in his Life, we have given an Account more large than we defired, and more out "ut, La. Respect to Truth, and Impartiality than him; although Alemannus thinks Lawyers to be partial to his Memory. His Reign was very full of Action, and the particulars of his Wars fo remarkable, that they were not to be flightly touched. For his Morals, the utmost that can be said, for or against him; the Reader hath before his Eyes, and let him make fuch a Judgment and pass Sentence, as he shall

think most sutable to the Subject. Here with him we are to take leave of Procopius his Historiographer, an Account of whose Person and Writings we deferred to this

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

An Account of Procopius.

place; because of the secret History said to be written by him. 90. Procopius was born at Cafarea a City of Palestine, and came to Constantinople. in the days of Analofus the Emperour, where he was prefently taken notice of Profine is being a Person of very good parts, general learning, and of singular Prudence. it as Sec. 18th. Justin the Elder being in great straits, by reason of the Persian War, preserved him as a Councellour to Belifarius the General. Suidas styles him his Secretary, but he himself who had best reason to know his own Employment, faith he, was his Affessour. Of what Profession he was, for he arrived at this and other Hapely .. places of Trust and Honour, Writers do not agree. Blondus and Sabellicus of later Phintel times, have fanfied him a Phylician. But Euagrius, Agathias and Photius call him a Rhetour, an Oratour, or a Pleader of Causes; and indeed he was a Lawyer, Ille off Latinit Men of this Profession being usually preferred to be Councellours or Assessions to orator qui cossas Men of this Profession being multip preserved to be Continenous or Alterious to state a case Generals of Armies and others of the greater fort of Magilirates. Juliana coming in contine to the Government continued him in his Employment, being hardly permitted the print State to remove from the Elbow of Belifarius, either in the Expeditions of Africk or get in States of the Continued him to the Continued him to the Expeditions of Africk or get in States of the Continued him to the Continued him to the Expeditions of Africk or get in States of the Continued him to the Expeditions of Africk or get in States of the Continued him to the Expeditions of the States of the States of the Continued him to the Expeditions of the States of the Stat Italy, so highly was he valued. No sooner was the General recalled out of Africk, toriam at bent but he was fent to Carthage to Solomon, the then Commander in chief, to secure immit Holder and fettle the late Conquests. How he was particularly employed in Persa and line. Italy, at Rome, and Naples, he himself tells us; though indeed very modestly and onely as by the way, yet these and other Managements of Affairs purchased him fuch Repute in the Commonwealth, that being first made Illustrious, and then a Senatour, at length having published his Histories of the Wars, he arrived at the Prefectihip of the City, in the five and thirtieth Year of Justinian's Reign.

91. It hath been the fate of his Writings in later times, to be exposed naked and maimed to the World, though doubtless Correct enough when he first presented them to the view of Justinian and his Subjects, who received and Read them with extraordinary Favour and Applause. The first that committed any of them to the Press, was Leonardus Aretinus, who published his History of the Gothick Wars, but put a Trick upon the World very much unbecoming a Learned man. For he suppressed the Greek Copy, and concealing the Authour's name, set forth a Latin Translation of his own, pretending it was a Collection made by himself out of many Authours, and flyled it De bello Italico, dedicating it to Julianus Casarinus. The Greek Copy, Blondus Flavius saith, was by his Industry first brought into Italy. But it wants some Passages, which have been since supplied, and he inveighs against some which are now found to be accurate and justifiable, and therefore was imposed on either by the old Manuscript, or by the Person that Translated it for him; and his Censure he might well have spared, seeing, as he Confesses himself, he was altogether Ignorant in the Greek Tongue. Christophorus Persona conceiving great Indignation at the Carriage of Aretinus, translated the History out of the Original, and did Justice to the Authour in publishing his Name; but his Edition is very Lame and out of Order. After them Raphael

Volateran published in Latine, the remaining Books of the Persian and Vandal Wars. but from as imperfect a Copy as Persona; for neither of them, though they were Library Reepers of the Vatican, made their Translations out of the Vatican Copy, which as Alemanne, tells us, it complete it all negrees.

92. In what years the feven Books concerning the Perfian, Vandal and Gothick Wars were published by the Authour himself is not certain, although he tells us, they were commonly known throughout the Roman Empires. Yer that a good part of their were thing abroad, before the twantdintenties fearth Individue and the Death of Monogorais evident, and all of them before his fix and twentiern year as he himself relates at the beginning of the eighth Book, which he wrote in the twenty several, 10 But the eighth Book, tonaherouthussin; called a finde Gubick War, hath no proper Title; for in it he comprizeth whatfoever happened to the Romans, as well from the Perfians and Vandals, as the Goths; and therefore it delerweth rather the Name of a Miscellaneous or various History, as he styleth it. He tunba-published it well nigh as soon as it was sinished, and afterward as Alemannus will have it, fet his mind to Writing his Secret History; which yet for what cause we nave it, ter his finite to writing his octre ratios,; which yes to what came we had subject know not, he deferred till the two and thirtieth year of Inflinion, in which was he will be might) and kept it concealed till the Death of the miph a manner of the way our full text years. But Juliana being much delighted with the Hitteness of amount the Wars, enjoyined him to Write another. Treatife concerning the Busilings, which he did at the latter end of his Reign, and wonderfully celebrates have for union, the his Magnificence therein; however the Secret History doth befratter him. These are the Books of Processus now extant, of which Niceptons, his Retition as to be blamed, and it were to be wifeed, we had had Phoriss his reconnect them in his

blamed, and it were to be withed, we had had Protine file Accounted them In the Bibliotheca concerning his Religion, and his heterodox Opinions, the Reader if he pleafe may confluit Alemainus in his Notes upon the Secret Hittory, on which he hath made a very good Comment, and thereby deletived well of Potterity, be the Textwhat it will.

33. But fee where are we now? What a Propect doth live prefer it felf. What a vaff Empire have we beheld, what large Provinces, what Variety of Affairs relating both to Peace and War Forest Armies, great Performances, Stategens and Variety of Accidents, by which the Grandeur and Glory of the Robins Empire hath been revived. Behold what a Precipice! We are defetfiding into low, mean and natrow Tracts, and shall find the Empire but short, and our selves straigned: the farther we pass, little of Action. and fest of Performance. ned; the farther we pass, little of Action, and less of Performatice. Whatever thou wast, the Greatness of Empire, the Glory of Majesty; the Power of Arms, the Efficacy of Laws, the Renown and Splendour of the Roman Name, in a substitution and splendour of the Roman Name, in a substitution and splendour of the Roman Name, in a substitution and splendour of the Roman Name, in a substitution of the Roman Name, in a substitut

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C. H. A Parolli su sie i sa con calcul (ne) i C. H. A Parolli su sie i samunde en 1897 Jun 1897 (1885) nevel en sur grytin (1886)

From the Death of Justinian the Great, and the Promotion of Justin the Second, to the Death of Heraclius, when the Saracens began to grow terrible to the World.

The space of seventy five years.

USTINIAN being Dead, Justin succeeded Hitt, the Soit of Vigilatia villante norm STINIAN being Dead, Juftin fucceeded Hith, the Son or Vigitania recomme non his Sifter, and Dulciffring; in the fourteenth Indiction, the fewenth of latter information that Remain Patriatch, in the fifty first of Cibiaria King of the measure in the manual of the measure of the first, and for the first of the measure of the first, and formation of the first of the fir Justin Succeeds 1.

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2. His Uncle dying about midnight, he was railed out of his Bed by Callinicus the Prapofitus Exoubitorum, and advised to bestir himself for the Imperial Diadem. Coming then to Court, he found the Senate very ready to accept him for their Prince, and took immediately the Government upon him, while in the mean time his Relations take care of the dead Body of his Predecessour. Sophia the Neice of Theodora and her succession also in the Imperial Dignity, as the Wife of Justin, covers it with a very rich Cloth, wherein are imbroidered the Actions of the Deceased Emperour, and at length it's carried forth to Burial, with miraculous pomp, as Corippus the Poet phraseth it, who hath excellently described the manner thereof. But e'er the Body was Buried, Justin had taken the Enfigns of Majesty which Ponifican he performed in a Religious manner, first making his Prayers to his Saviour, and famous their receiving the Benediction of John the Patriarch of Constantinople, with the subm Crown from his Hands. This Ceremony over, and the Acclamations made, he Affantante Crown from his Hands. own from the frames. This Equation over, and the Accumentation made in making an email team, and perceiving some a lique parame mongst them to make complaint of the Debts owing them by his Uncle, ordered Expenditure them presently to be paid. He appeased the factious Veneti and Prassin with a declarate source outsignous Messages believe the Mandator (who was the Emperour's Officer in Augstonie the Cirque, as the Quastor was in the Senate,) tell the Veneti that Justinian as to dire cap, in He appeals the them was Dead, and the Prafini that as to them he ftill lived, which having receing the them was Dead, and the Prafini that as to them he ftill lived, which having receing the them was Dead and the Prafini that as to them he ftill lived, which having receing the them was Dead and the Prafini that as to them he ftill lived, which having receing the them was Dead and the Prafini that as to them he ftill lived, which having receing the them was Dead and the Prafini that as to them he ftill lived, which having receing the them was Dead, and the Prafini that as to them he ftill lived, which having receing the them was Dead, and the Prafini that as to them he ftill lived, which having receing the them was Dead, and the Prafini that as to them he ftill lived, which having receing the them was Dead, and the Prafini that as to them he ftill lived, which having receing the them was Dead, and the Prafini that as to them he ftill lived, which having receing the them was Dead, and the Prafini that as to them he ftill lived, which having receing the them was Dead, and the Prafini that as to them he ftill lived, which having receing the them was Dead, and the Prafini that as to them he ftill lived, which having receing the them was Dead, and the Prafini that as to them he ftill lived, which having received the them was Dead, and the Prafini that as to them he ftill lived, which having received the them was Dead, and the Prafini that the them was Dead, and the Pr general, he promifed to restore the Consulship, and accordingly when the first of Alem. January came, he took upon him that Title, and gave a donative to them accor-

ding to the ancient custome, going to Church there to worship Almighty God af-Takes the Con- ter the Christian manner, as the Pagan Consuls were wont to ascend into the

3. Such was the beginning of Justin, who so seemed to have established himself, that he feared not the Incursions of the Barbarous Nations. Not long after his entrance upon the Confulship, he gave audience to the Ambassadours of Gaganus King of the Avari, who came to demand the Pension formerly paid them by Justinian, to purchase the quiet of his Provinces; but Justin slatly refused to pay them any, and fent them home as empty as they came, threatning to chastise their Infolence with War, if they prefumed to offer any violence to his Subjects. This perhaps he might be more bold to fay, because Photius hath it in his Bibliotheca from Theophanes an Historian of Constantinople, that the Turks a people inhabiting the parts lying upon the Tanais toward the East, (of old called Massagetes, but by the Persians in their own Language Chermichicona,) sent their Ambassadours to him with Presents, desiring him that he would not patronise the Avari their greatest Enemies. What success this Courage and Confidence of Justin had we shall see hereafter. His beginning was very good, had he but continued in the same course of Vertue, but he presently began to fall off into a voluptuous fort of Life, and to

maintain and nourish the fire of his Lust and brutish a prefetch the fire to the control of the fire of his Lust and brutish and risking money of all things, and without respect to that God he had at first prefetched to inter to fronce, exceptions of poling to fale the Church preferments, even to the vilet for of the People. And the prelight gave the world a notable fign of his afternormer reopte. And he prelightly gave the world a notable fign of his afternormer reopte. And he prelightly gave the world a notable fign of his afternormer matter him, in publifying in his very first year several Constitutions concerning Martiage? By one he respect form his world find the penal Laws of fulfilm made against unlawfull programmer. Figure 7 phin. Novel. led the penal Laws of fulfilm made against unlawfull programmer. Figure 7 phin. Novel. 12 phin. The penal Laws of fulfilm to feel contact the penal Laws of fulfilm to feel contact the penal Laws of fulfilm to feel contact the penal Laws of the penal Law

4. "In this Conflitution he begins with a commendation of Marriage," as a 've"nerable thing in refrect of the procreation of Children, without which all Count Has confinate
"tries and Cities mult at length turn Defeater and all County Which all Count Has confinate tries and Crites must at length time per always to fortimate; that without jult plant implant mothing. Therefore he withes it were always to fortimate; that without jult plant implant cause it need never be dissolved. But for a mothing the stronger that it must rudge of the plant implant cause it need never be dissolved. But for a furnished a dissolved the stronger that it must rudge of the stronger than people, it's impossible but that some times vehement and irreconcileable differences and must arise, he thinks fit to find out a remedy for this Difference of the state of th means to be found for a Reconciliation. Now the ancient Laws permitted fuch introvinence.

CHAP. III.

means to be found for a reconcusation. Now the afficient Laws permitted inch. 4. abrigata. to be divorced, provided it were done by confent of both Parties. And many New. 17.6.10. fact. Laws there were; such a disfolution of Matrimoniey was allo faid to be Bad graid distinction of matrimonia and the surface of the surfa riages to be diffolved though by confent, which he williesheartify might remain his de though in it's force and vigour. But many he faith had addressed themselves to him, mia, amind spec "and fignified a great hatred and aversion they had to the matritionial bands raine vidential"
"wherewith they were naturally incumbred, and (which is worse and ought series the Matrimonium "oufly to be lamented,) great Bickerings, Quarrels, and Strifes, had already drifen difficient attempts as both Parties complained in way of Acculation, and therefore defired their at 4,65,61,62. " Marriages might be nulled, although they could not alledge any Caufes or Rea-interdum fine fons allowable in Law for fo doing. He tells us, he had formetimes lovingly ad-jula coula in his monified, and formetimes threatned, endeavouring to compose these differences, "and end these distractions in an amicable way, not suddenly condescending to what they desired. But he nothing profited thereby, it being a thing excee-"ding difficult, to reconcile such as have conceived an invererate hatred; for the " breaches grew still wider, and some proceeded from Quarrels to Conspiracies, " and at length it came to poylonings and other mischievous devices; so that some-

" could not reduce them to a good understanding. 5. "Forasmuch therefore, he saith, as these things are not at all convenient for the times wherein he Reigned, he betakes himself to this present Constitution, valuet quasis whereby he decrees and ordains that it be lawfull, as formerly it was, to diffolve de caula permif-Marriages by consent, and Repeals what formerly his Father by his Sanction had from reputium. " ordained against such as so solemnized them. For if mutual affection causeth set vite c. de "Matrimony, with good reason the contrary Inclination by mutual consent diffol- Reput. 1. 8. " veth it; provided this be declared by bills of Divorce ont for the same purpose. " Provided also that what by other Laws, especially by the facred Constitutions of " his Father, had been ordained concerning free Marriages, and the causes by " which it was permitted to diffolve Matrimony, as also concerning them, who " without any cause separated themselves, and the penalties inflicted upon them, " by virtue of this present Constitution, retain their full effect; power and virtue. "Then follows his Epilogue, whereby he enjoyns that, what by this Law he had " declared and published, should after the wonted manner be exposed to the view " of the people in the City of Constantinople, and he dates it on the eighteenth of " the Calends of October. Now the Reader must know, that formerly this Constitution was taken for Justinian's being crowded amongst his Novels, but later Interpreters have discovered the mistake, and Baronius being in a very good mood, tells Al Ann. 365. you he is wronged; forasimuch as Justin testifieth that the contrary to it had been num. XI.

cate Justinian from the Calumnies which some have fastned upon him.

" times it happened, that Children which ought to be Pledges of mutual Love,

decreed by Justinian. He tells you that you may nothing doubt hereof, you have the edition of Julianu the Antecessor, wherein this Constitution being recited is ascribed to Justin and not to his Uncle. And this he was obliged to say, to vindi-

6. How-

6. However Justin pleased the ordinary people by this new Law concerning Marriages, he difgusted all sober Persons by his bloudy Actions the year following, putting to Death feveral men of extraordinary Eminency. The principal of these was Full in his Kiniman, of whom being employed much in the Wars we have often heretofore made mention. Enagrius writes, that Justin the Empergur being in Lib. 5. 6.6.1.2 tangled with two contrary Vices, Foolhardiness and Cowardise, first commanded Justinus his Kinsman to come to his presence, a man of great Honour and Estimation, both for his great Abilities in War, and other rare accomplishments of his Person, who then resided about the River Danubius, to restrain the Incursions of the Abari. These Abari he tells us were a People of Scythia s and part of those called Amaxobii, inhabiting the Regions beyond Caucafus, but being driven out of their Countrey by the Turks their Neighbours , and variously infested by them, Turcas veteres they came first to Bolphorus, and thence quitting the Coasts of the Buxine Sea, (in-maintenance) habited by Barbarians, though the Cities and strong Holds were in the hands of equite seem the Romans,) they held streight on their Voyage, and subdued all Barbarous Nati- & administ plant on before them till they came to the Danube, whence they sent Ambassadours to the mere up to the Emperour. Hence now was Justin recalled to reap the benefit of the substantial plants. Agreement, as was pretended, made formerly betwirt him and Jultin now Emper babitanen, buten rour; for feeming both to be of equal fame, and as well the one as the other; ca- Agathias, lib. 1. pable of the Empire, after long debates had about the Imperial Power, they covenanted betwixt themselves, that whethersoever of them were Crowned Emperour, should make the other the second Person in Honour, and though second in respect of the Emperour, yet he should be first in respect of all others. At first therefore that Fultis who was preferred to the Empire, imbraced the other with' counterfeit kindness, but by little and little forged Crimes against him, took from him his Guard and Train, commanded him to keep his House, and at length ordered him to be hurried away to Alexandria, where about midnight he was cruelly Murthered in his Bed, and received this recompence for the love he bore to the Commonwealth, and the notable Service he had done in the Wars. And yet by this were not the Fury and Rage of the Emperour and his Wife mitigated, but they must see his Head after it was cut from his Shoulders, and kick it with their Feet in an infulting and fcornfull manner.

Puts to Death Addaus.

7. Not long after Justin called to Judgment Addaus and Ætherius two Senatours, and in great place and effect with Justinian, accusing them both of most heinous Crimes. And Ætherius confessed he had designed to Poyson the Emperour, and that Addaus was of his Council herein, and conscious to all his Purposes. But with folemn and dreadfull Oaths, Addaus protested he was altogether Innocent, yet both of them loft their Heads. Addeus at his Execution confessed freely, that though he was not guilty of that Crime for which he was Condemned in the least, yet he had deserved that punishment from the just hand of Almighty God, who both fees and punishes wicked persons; For he had by Inchantments made away Theodotus, Prefect of the Palace. Whether these things were so Euagrius is not able to fay, but affirms that both these were wicked Persons, for Addans was a Sodomite, and Ætherius devised all forts of Calumnies against Innocent men, and under colour of ferving the Emperour in his Office of Prefect of his Court, spoiled both the Living and Dead in the Reign of Justinian. So went matters at Confrantinople, while all things were thought to be in repose in the Western parts, and especially in Italy, where the Goths and Franks had been lately defeated; for that no danger at all feemed to threaten that Countrey, But a great Noise was presently heard of Barbarians, that again were crouding and rushing into its filling all places with terrour and amazement, and putting to filence all other motions, as great Thunders and Concussions are wont to suppress lesser sounds. These were the Lombards who were now making their expedition into Italy; upon what Inducements, and in what manner we come to shew after that we have first made fome fhort Observations concerning the Original of this People, which grew afterward fo confiderable in Italy, and the name and fame of which is not extinct at

The Lombards

this very day, their name sticking to their Countrey. 8. As for their Original then, it may without much difficulty, be gathered out Plinio dictar The Original of of ancient Writers, that the Vandals, Oftrogaths, Westrogaths, the Gepidae; and Lom- Scansinaids, them. bards, all owe their descent to the Island or rather Peninsula of Scanzia. As also that dia, Januali the Goths properly so called, and the Gepida and Vandals were of the same Go-Sanata, Proc thick flock, and that the Longobards, or Lonbards, or Longbeards; (for none doubts for pure her but that from the length of their Reards that had their state of their Reards that had their state pure her but that from the length of their Reards that had their state pure her but that from the length of their state pure her but the state of th but that from the length of their Beards they had their Name, were descended metale of their from the Gepide. These Gepide were so called, because when the Goths made an opan Genatic tension. expedition trahit.

expedition out of Scanzia in three Ships, they failed flower than the reft, and staid Vide Groil Proin an island of the River Viftula. Yet from their roving and wandring abroad were learn in high-they also named Winili, the same as to signification of the word with Wandali, a Gab Vandal & diverse pronunciation of the same word, which usually happeneth in process of Langeborderum. time making it be taken for feveral. These Winili or Langeburds being grown in Paulu Warnefri the Island to such a multitude, that it could not maintain and nourish them alls distilled Disc. may the Hand to true a multitude, in the vided themselves into thee parts, one whereof, on which the Lot shouldfall, mult requisiting a feek themselves out new Habitations. Forced therefore to quit their Native Count of the Lot 1, 2, inde Conduct trey, they choic two Brothers for their Captains Ibor and Ago, the Sons of one Ge. of flor and Age Gambara, a Woman very eminent for her Wifedom, and came into a place called

CHAP. III.

Scoringa, where they remained for some years. At this time it happened, that the Vanidals infelted all the Countries adjoyning, and puffed up with their fuccels, fent to the Winili requiring them either to pay Tribute, or inflantly prepare themselves for War. Iber and Age the two Captains, by the advice of their Mother, returned answer they would fight rather than live in Servitude, confidering that although their followers were not many in number, yet active and courageous, being as themselves in the flower of their Age. Acted by this natural heat and vigour and a confideration of their liberty they fought fo flourly, that they obtained a Victory over the Vandals; but being forely diffressed with Famine, they resolved to quit Scoringa, and find out fome better Seat.

9. Making then for Mauringa, the Affpitti denied them passage through their Territories, at which being much troubled, and fearing their imali Numbers would not be able to make good the Attempt, they betook themselves to a Strategem, and railed a rumour amongst thair Enemies that they had amongst them, Cynoticephali or men with Heads like to Dogs, who fed on Man's bloud, and when an Enemy was wanting, on their own. To strike a greater terrour into the Affipitti, they inlarge their Camp, and kindle many fires, which with the other report fo terrified them, that they had not the Courage to Ingage, but having one amongst them of great esteem for strength and Courage, offered him to fight with any one of the Lambards whom they should pick out; if their Champion overcame, the Passage should be denied, but if the Lombard should be Victour, then should it be granted free and without molestation. When the Lombards considered who to chuse, a certain Slave offered himself, desiring that in case he overcame, the ignominy of Slavery might be taken away both from him and his Family, which granted, he fought and overcame his Adversary. Then did the Lombards pass into Mauringa, where to increase the number of Warriours they manumitted many Slaves, and making no long stay there, they proceeded to Gotland, where having staid also some time, they possessed themselves of Anthabet, Bathaib and Vurgundaib for some years, which Paul conjectureth to be names of certain Towns or Places. In this mean time Died Ibor and Ago, who first brought them out of Scan-

dinavia, and had governed them till now.

sted and beaten disgracefully to their Camp.

10. They being Dead, the Lombards resolved to have no more Captains, but 2 They chafe 4 King to govern them after the manner of other Nations. They made choice there-gimend for their force of Agelmund the Son of Age, who exercised this Office three and thirty years. At this time it happened that a certain Strumpet was delivered of feven Boys. which she cast into a Fishpond, and thither by chance in his way came King Agelmund, who espying the Children stopt his Horse, and stirring them with his Spear, it fortuned that one of them took fast hold of it with his hand. The King amazed thereat, foretold he would be a more than ordinary man, and commanded him to be taken up and delivered unto a Nurse, calling him Lamissio, from Lama, which Lamission, in their Language fignified a Fishpool. When this Lamissio was grown up, they cine filing reported that the Amazons forbad the Lombards to pass a certain River, whereupon it was agreed, that the most valiant amongst them should fight with him in the Water swimming, on condition that if the Amazon overcame Lamissio, the Lombards should withdraw, but if he got the better, they must then have free passage. He fought with her and got the Victory, as the fable went, and the Lombards paifing the River, still made farther progress, till growing secure through their constant Success, the Bulgares fell upon them by Night, and wounding many killed some, amongst whom sell Agelmund their King, and his onely Daughter was taken Prisoner. Yet the Lombards taking Courage chose Lamissio for their King, who being a flout and active young man, thirsted after nothing so much as to revenge the Death of his Predecessour, but at the first encounter, his men were wor-

11. Lamisio

Then Others.

11. Lamissio exceedingly concerned at their flight, testified his resentment thereof both by words and geffure, putting them in mind of the Infamy they contracted by not revenging the Death of their King, and the Captivity of his Daughter defigned by them for his Wife, and partly by threats, and partly by good Language and rewards, the fo wrought upon them that they fell violently upon the Bulgares and after a most bloudy Contest, gave them a great Overthrow, which done, they bestowed a Royal Funeral on the King's body, and being inriched wirh Plunder, became more hardy and resolute to endure the labours of War. After Lamissios Death, Lechu Reigned almost fourty years, and then his Son Hildehoc who was followed by Gudehoc. In those days there was War betwixt Odoachar, (so Raul the Gudeho, bonus lowed by Gudehoc. In those days there was war detwild Cadacour, to grant the condete, how Historian calls him,) who Reigned some years in Italy, and Feletheus of Feng King, Latitulus, of the Rugi inhabiting then on the other side of the Danube; which separated those of the Rugi inhabiting then on the other side of the Danube; which separated those of the Rugi inhabiting then on the other side. The side of the Coasts from the borders of Noricium. Feletheus and his Wife off a not being rectal a real, solid, med from their wicked Courses, by all that Sverimus a Religious Person, laving a replace of the coast of Monastery in their Dominions, could fay unto them, Odoachar mustered up all his can. Allen. Gi. Forces confifting of Turcilingi, Heruli and fuch Rugi as he had already brought une fallen, following the his Dominion, besides the people of Italy, and came into Rugiland where he beam had came into Rugiland. carrying with him in triumph great numbers of Captives. The Limbards; as no terra us but They pass into Land is lost for want of Heirs, then came into Rugiland, and finding it a fertile Rugil to the stiff for want of Heirs, then came into Rugiland, and finding it a fertile Rugil to the 12. In the mean time their King Gudehoc dies, to whom succeeds Classo his Son, class contains

12. In the mean time their King Guaenot cues, to whom I have a large and after him Reigned his Son Tato the feventh King in order. The Lembards also defines 16, name from Info now departed out of Rugiland, and inhabited in open Champions in the Barbarous Tana, now departed out of Rugitana, and minature in open scaling as a Quarrel and and Proper in Language called Feld, where making their abode for three years, a Quarrel and and Proper in Language called Feld, where making of the Heruli. The Brother of this was allerday. War arole betwixt Tato, and Rodulphus King of the Heruli. The Brother of this was Allem Ing.
Rodulphus being sent upon an Embasly, for procurement of Peace and a good un-to-Fold me. derstanding, as he returned home again, chanced to pass by the House of Rumetru. "offratible Field da the King's Daughter, who seeing a great train and equipage, asked who it was passed." that paffed by, and receiving for answer that it was the Brother of Rodulphus, in-Rumeiral, ale vited him to drink a glass of Wine. In he came, but being a man law, of Scarnes brate field. vited him to drink a glass of Wine. In he came, but being a man low of Stature, Cum rebut parand of a mean Presence, she derided him, which not able to bear, he returned her name nomina say as biting Language, and this fo netled her, that diffembling her malice, and inviting him to fit down with his Head to a Window, she thence caused him to be killed with Lances. His Brother Rodulphus at the News grew very impatient, and denouncing War to Tato, their Armies faced each other in the open Field. Rodulphus orders his men to be ready for Battel, but sits at Play in his Tent despising his Enemies, and being confident in the strength of his own Souldiers, who of late had been very Victorious, and either that they might be more Nimble, or out of contempt of Danger, were wont to fight without any other covering than onely fomething tied about their privy Members. One of his Attendants he commanded to climb a Tree near at hand, and as foon as he faw the Lombards run, to tell him, threatning to cut off his Head if he brought him News of the flight of the Heruli. The Fellow therefore out of fear, though he saw them give ground, durst not let the King know so much, but ever as he asked him what he saw, answered that the Heruli did gallantly demean themselves, and concealed their fortune till fuch time as they were absolutely routed; and he cried out woe be to thee Omiserable Herulia, against whom Almighty God is incensed, or to this purpose. At these words the King startled, demanded of his Watchman if his Heruli sled, to which he replied 'tis not I, but thou O King that fayest it. Confounded hereat, he and his Courtiers knew not what course to take, and the Lombards coming up-

on them made great flaughter, killing King Rodulphus amongst the rest. 13. The Heruli were so distracted through fear, or from some higher cause, that they took the green fields for water, and stretching out their Armes and Bodies to fwim, were miserably cut in pieces by the persuing Enemy. The victorious Lombards then divided the Plunder, and Tato for his share took the Standard of Rodul-After him they phus, called Bandum, with the Helmet he was wont to wear in Battel. The Va-Bandum veril

refuse to have lour of the Heruli became extinct, together with Rodulphus, after whom they re- lum a Bindon fused to have any more Kings. But the Lombards on the contrary, took such cou-vincire. Binden days on the contrary, took such courage, that increasing their Armies by the several Nations they had subdued, they fought after all occasions of Trophies and Glory. But not long after the Triumph Tato was flain by Wacho, the Son of his Brother Zuchilo. Hildichus, the Son of Tato, endeavoured to revenge his death, but was beaten out of the Countrey, and fled to the Gepidæ, amongst whom he spent the remainder of his days, and sowed

feeds of Diffentions betwixt the two now different Nations. At the fame time (a) Wa (a) Wachi-las the subvision of the subvision and made them subject to his Commands. He had three we copy, w. Wives; the first (b) Ranicumda, Daughter of the King of the Turing, after which he to them can married Austrigosa, the Daughter of the King of the Genida, which brought him two Daughters, viz. (c) Wistgarda, married to Theodebert King of the Franks, pur bearing. and (d) Walderada, Wife to Cafwald, another King of that Nation, who having no ita. and (A) Walderada, Wife to Colphald, another rung or that watton, who having no ma, kindnels for her, beflowed her on Garipald, one of his Sibbects. Watho, third (e) when did wife was Salinga, the Daughter of the King of the Werull, and on his in being it is sometime of Son (e) Waltari, who fuceteded him in his Kingdom. All these were falled (1) It below that things, by which name were fignified such as descended of a Hobit Race. (d) wat rada, things, by which name were fignified such as descended of a Hobit Race.

leras, G Soni mitioris causu Waldrada. (6) Wald-har, Nemori Boninus. (f) Erotring, Editing Nobilis Sazon.

14. Waltari reigned seven years, and then gave place to Addin, the Hitth King Audain, Vana in order, who, not long after, led the Limbards into Pamphias. Now the grades Atm. Animal formerly conceived betwirt the Gepide and them broke out this at open walt. But he was a long to the conceived betwirt the Gepide and them broke out this at open walt. But he was a long to the conceived between the fides fighting stoutly, and it being uncertain to which the Victory would incline it happened in a fight, that Alboin, the Son of Audoin, met Turifmodus, the Son of Alberia, crania Turifendus, and striking him from his Horsewish his Sword, presently flew him, remains which the Gepidæ perceiving, their Ring's Son; who had been the great formined ferres of the differences, being now dead, took them to their heels. The victorious Low. Tourismed, few bards, when they returned home, defired their King that his would admit his Soo we we. Alboin to dine with him, who had been the procurer of fo great a victory. But he answered, that he could not violate the Customs of his Nation, which did not admit the King's Son to eat with him, except he had first received Arms from some foreign King. Hereupon Alboin takes along with him onely forty young Men, and goes streight to Turisendus, whose Son he had lately slain, and tells him the reason of his coming. He kindly receives and admits him to his Table, placing him on his Right Hand, where his late Son was wont to fit. Yet when he confidered with himself whose place that had been, and called to mind the death of his Son, he could not contain himself, but deeply fighing, faid, that feat he loved well, but he could not well brook the Person that now possessed it. Hereupon his other Son being present, began to affront the Lombards, saying, they were like Mares that had white Feet, because their Legs were bound about with white bands, or fillets. One of them bad him go along with them to the place called Asfeld, and there he should feel how these Mares could kick, where his Brothers bones were scattered as were wont to be those of some vile Carriage-beast. This provoked the Gepidæ exceedingly, and the Lombards laid their hands on their Swords, which the King perceiving, leapt from the Table, and putting himself betwirt them, rebuked his own Son and Servants, threatning severely to punish him that should first strike a stroke, and affirming it were a Conquest not at all pleasing to Almighty God, to kill one's Enemy in his own House. The fray being appealed, they went on with their Dinner, and Turisendus taking the Arms of his late Son Turismodus, bestowed them on Alboin, and dismissed him in safety. Alboin coming to his Father, was now admitted to his Table, where he told all that had passed in the Court of Turisendus, to the admiration of all those that heard it, who commended much Alboin for his Courage, and extolled the generofity of the King.

15. At this time, saith Paulus Diaconus, Justinian governed the Roman Empire in Romanum Impe an happy manner, being in War prosperous, and wonderfull in Civil Assairs. For rium selic fore by Belifarius, a Patritian, he overcame the Perstans, and utterly destroyed the Na-bila species of tion of the Vandals, having taken Prisoner Geliumer, their King, and restored all six or in causis Africk, after a separation of ninety and fix years, to the Roman Empire. By the customer and content of the con means of the same Belifarius he overthrew the Goths in Italy, taking also Prisoner Withicis their King. After this he restrained the Moors, who made Incursions into Africk, and with incredible dexterity using the service of John the Exconsul, defeated their King Attila. Other Nations he also mastered by War, and deservedly obtained the several Sirnames of Alamannicus, Gothicus, Francicus, Germanicus, Anticus, Alanicus, Wandalicus and Africanus. He adds, that he admirably contracted the Roman Laws, which were formerly too prolix and disagreeing. For all the Constitutions of Princes, contained formerly in many Volumes, he contracted into twelve Books, which joined together, he commanded to be called by the name of Codex Justinianeus. Farther he reduced into fifty Books of Digests or Pandects the Laws of all Magistrates, which anciently made up near two thousand Volumes. He composed four Books of Institutions. New Laws also he enacted, which he called

Champion Countries.

Reduiphus their

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CHAP. III.

Novels. This same Prince also built a Church in Constantinople to Christ the Lord, who is the Wiledom of his Father, which in Greek he named Ar, I'AN EQ. Φ I'A N, or Holy Wifedom, a work which fo far excells all other Buildings, that in Φ I A N, or Hoty Wifedom, a work which to far execus an other punnings, that in the whole world its like is not to be found. For this Prince was in Faith Catho, Prince File Collick, in his works upright, just in Judgments, and therefore all things concurred behinds, it agrees for good. In his time lived Caffiedorus, a man famous at Rome, as well for feethar than trade, in as divine knowledge, who, amongst other things excellently written, hash in an interface of the Delime. He was first Config. then a first of same for the Delime. He was first Config. then a first of same for the Delime. eminent manner opened the Mysteries of the Plalms. He was first Conful, then a concurreban in Senatour, and at last a Monk. At this time also Dionysius, an Abbat, by a wonderfull kind of reasoning, composed the Paschal Calculus at Rome, and at Constantinople Priscian of Casarea searched to the bottom of the Art of Grammar. Arator alfo, a Subdeacon of the Church of Rome, an admirable Poet, wrote the Acts of the Apostles in Hexameter Verse.

16. After this and another digression concerning St. Bennet, Paul, our Histo-

rian, returns to King Audoin, whole Wife Rodelinda bjought him his Son Albein a Rode Indepoir Man every way accomplish for warlike Enterprises. Having succeeded his Father Allem Rodelin and the Company way accomplish for warlike Enterprises. with the universal consent and appropation of his People, Chiotarius, King of the Resessing, & Franks, bestowed on him in Marriage his Daughter Chlothunda, by whom he had odint. onely one Daughter, Alphunda by name. In the mean time dyes Turifendus, King In vice Alman of the Geoide, Whose Successor Gunimundus, desiring to revenge old tripuries, re- Alfond, History of the War. Allow to Grengthen himself controlled a personal I come to the War. newed the War. Alboin, to strengthen himself, contracted a perpetual League and forma. Amity with that People, which formerly being called Hunnes, came afterward to be known by the Name of Avares, which they received from one of their Kings. By virtue of this Confederacy, when the War was begun, the Avares invaded the Territories of the Gepide, which News coming to the Ears of Gunimund, he was exceedingly perplexed, but thought fit first to engage the Lombards, whose having once deleated, he could eafily drive away the other. But in a bloudy Battel he was flain, with almost all his Followers. Alboin killed him with his own Hand, and of his Skull made him a Cup to drink in, called in the Language of the Lombards, Schala, and Patera, by such as spake the Latine Tongue. Yet his Daugh- Schala sellastim better Rofinmada, whom, together with an infinite multitude of all ages and conditions, escalar inter-the took captive, he married, his former Wife, Classianda, being dead. The Long letth impirity as bards grew rich, the booty was so great, but the Nation of the Gepidæ was so di-schele dicebater, minished, that thenceforth they had no King, but such as escaped were either sub-skull. Police ject to the Lombards, or Slaves, in effect, to the Hunnes, who possessed their Counfalla of exalia trey. As for Alboin, he became exceeding famous, both amongst the Nation of materia ad illus the Baioarii, the Saxons, and others that spake the same Language; his Prowess and Vertue being celebrated in their Poems. And many reported, even to the time of Paulus Diaconus, that the chiefest forts of Weapons were invented by

17. The Fame of the victorious Lombards flying now every where, Narfes, the Paulus Diames

Imperial Chartulary, who had the charge of Italy, and was to ingage in War de gellis Large. with the Goths, fent to Alboin, desiring his Assistence, being as King of the Lom- 1.2. bards, already his Confederate. He fent him a band of choice Men, who passing Sends affishence into Italy by the Adriatick Gulf, did him service in his Wars, which being finished, they returned home richly rewarded; And so long as the Lombards inhabited Pannonia, they gave affiftence to the Roman Emperour, upon all occasions. But Narfes, after all his Services, was envied for his Wealth and Authority, by some great ones, who fent to complain of him to Julin, now Emperour, and Sophia, his Wife, Who is envied, alledging, that the Romans had better have ferved the Goths, than the Greeks, unand Linguist der this Eunuch, who held them in no better a condition than that of Slavery, their most pious Prince being altogether ignorant of their Sufferings. They defired in conclusion, that he would deliver them out of his hands, or else they would put both the City of Rome, and themselves, into the Hands of other Nations. Narses, when he understood it, answered onely in short. If I have ill treated the Romans, let me be ill treated my felf. But the Emperour was so much moved against him, that he fent Longinus into Italy, to take his place; and now he knows not how to dispose of himself, for standing in great fear of Sophia, the Empress, he dares not return to Constantinople. Being an Eunuch, she had bidden them put him into a Gyneceum, and make him distribute to the Women that spun their Portions of Wool, which, when he heard, it's reported that he faid, he would fpin fuch a Thread as should find her work as long as she lived, and moved both by disdain and fear, he fends prefently to the Lombards, inviting them to forfake the poor and beggarly

Countrey of Pannenia, and come into Italy, a fertile foil, which abounded with all

things. And he sent them several of the best Fruits the Countrey afforded, as Bairs to draw them on.

18. This is the Account that Paulus Diaconus gives us of the Motives which brought the Lombards first to invade Italy. But there are some that doubt much base do not be the truth thereof, and conceive it no abfurd thing to question a Report made by a radio black one that lived at such a distance from this Invasion, as did our Writers. And they

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empires

produce another, that both lived and wrote at the very time this Invalion hapned, in land, Julian. produce another, that both five allowable from whom it appears, that Narles was in a set this recalled to Conflantinople, where he was highly eftermed by Julin, at Armige interest this recalled to Conflantinople, where he was highly eftermed by Julin, at Armige interest whose Installment he was present, and attended him when he gave Audience to the gia lastrant. Ambassadours sent from the Avares. If he was then at Constantinople, it cannot be Eninet excel imagined he should be about the same time in Italy, and call in the Lombards, who same same hards the year following broke into that Countrey. Neither can it be pleaded on the other fide, that though he was then at Constantinople, yet the Emperour might 4028/14m, &c. fend him back into Italy, with the same Power and Employment as formerly, because all Authours agree, that after his Return Langinus was sent to succeed him. But upon what account, or by what Motives foever induced, into Italy they came, and made there such Devastations, and brought such Miseries upon the People, (which had scarcely had time to take a little breath, fince the Gothick Wars) that the great mischiefs they wrought, were to be ushered in with dreadfull Prodigies. holigies whe. For in the night time were feen in the Air, to the Northward, Armies of Men, and

Spears of Fire, gliftering, as it were, with the colour of Man's Bloud, which e'er long was to be flied in fuch abundance.

19. Alboin resolving to invade Italy, sent to the Saxons, his old Friends, and confederates for aid, offering them their share in the Conquest for their pains, with which Proposals they closed, and sent him above twenty thousand Men, with their Wives and Children. Besides the Saxons he strengthened himself also by the aids of feveral other Nations, as the Gepidæ, Bulgari, Sarmatæ, Pannonians, Suevi; and others, all which had afterwards Lands affigned them in the Countrey. Moreover he had contracted a strict Alliance with the Hunnes, to whom he left Pannonia, with this condition, that in case the Lombards should return, they should reenter and enjoy their former Seats. And being also joined in League and Alliance with the Franks, his Interest became the more considerable; for he was not onely the Son-in-Law of Clotarius, whose Daughter Chlothosinda he had married, but thereby near allied also to four Kings of the same Nation. Animated by his own natural Courage, and these Affistences, he removes from Pannonia, with all his Lombards, their Wives, Children, and all they had, to possess Italy, (which he had already devoured in hope and expectation.) After fourty two years stay in Pannonia, in the Month of April, just after Easter, which fell out that Year on the first day of that Month, in the first Indiction, in the third Year of the Emperour Justin the younger, the Ninth of John the Roman Patriarch, and the five hundredth and fixty eighth year of our Lord. Why Baronius should write, that this was done after that Alboinus had seized on Pannonia, and there staid fourty two years, who also came with his People out of the Island of Scandinavia, (feeing he was, as Paulus Diaconus counts, the tenth King that reigned over the Lombards, after the death of Ibor and Ago, the Captains that led them out of that Island, and not he, but Audoin, his Father, brought them into Pannonia,) let others enquire.

20. Alboin having with his Army, and promiscuous multitude, arrived at the Borders, went up into an high Mountain adjacent, to take a prospect of Italy. The Hill was from this occasion called Mons Regis, on which many Buffes were bred, it reaching as far as Pannonia, which abounded with that fort of Beast. Having without any opposition entred Venetia, the first Province of Italy, and come to the bounds of the Foro Julian City, or Castle rather, he began to consider whom he could

trust with these Territories, and at last conserved the energe on organization, the non-augmentation phew, a man very fit for such an Employment, who served him now as his Strater for, or Master of his Horse, in the Language of the Lombards called Mar-hais. Yet quit impact gain he refused to accept of the charge, till he granted him such Faras, Generations or its missies: Conservation of the charge, till he granted him such Faras, Generations or its missies: Conservation of the charge, till he granted him such being done, he became the disks, Faras, Faras, Conservations or the charge of the charge Families of the Lombards, as he should chuse, which being done, he became the pable. Fare, Captain of them; and obtained also a number of Mares of an excellent breed. This generatio, family Year fell in Winter fuch a vast quantity of Snow in the Plain, as was wont to fall lia, a write Fa-on the Alber themselves: and the following Summer afforded such plenty of all rend, and three on the Alper themselves; and the sollowing Summer afforded such plenty of all great specifications, as no Age could parallel, if we believe our Historian. In the same Year Historian died Narses the Europe, as some write, though concerning the place, manner and sate Europe, as time of his Death, there are different Relations. The Latin Writers fay, he retur-tiamnum a Sca-

:> Italy.

PART III

ned from Naples to Rome, and repenting what he had done about the Lombards, died there, and that his body being put into a Coffin of Lead, was, together with all his Wealth, carried to Constantinople. But the Greek Authours will not allow him to have flaid at Naples, but to have returned to Constantinople, and there to have raifed magnificent Buildings. Cedrenus writes, that being most dear to the Emperour, he built an House called by his own Name, besides a Mansion for the Cathari. The Historia Miscella relates, that in his House he caused to be made a great Ciftern, and having therein deposed many thousand Centenaries of Gold and Silver. killed all that knew of it, one old Man excepted, to whom he recommended the Treasure, receiving from him an Oath of Secrecy. If so, he must have lived several years after the Invasion of Italy.

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

21. And that we give credit rather to the Greek than the Latin Writers, in this point, the Testimony of Corippus, lately mentioned, doth persuade us. Besides, Angliafius writes how Narfes died at the fame time as died John the Roman Bi-Vide Barmien shop, and it's certain that John lived four years after this, and in the Letters of add Ann. 552.

John is mention made of the Confulthip of Narses, which he bore with Justin, being now Conful the fixth time, whereas in this Year, wherein they will have him to have died, Justin was Conful onely the second time. Then who can once imagine, that the Body of fo grand a Malefactour, as the Betrayer of Italy, should be carried to Constantinople, and have honourable Burial, which ought rather to have been hung on a Gibbet, or cast to Dogs, or in some other ignominious fort to have been treated? The Latin Writers feem therefore to have been but ill instructed in this particular, and neither had the Greek Authours full intelligence, as to circumstances, when they speak of his great Piety and Charity, and yet mention another thing wherein he cannot be excused from excessive Covetousness and Cruelty. This is his hiding the Treasure where it could doe no good, and killing those that were privy to the hiding. Procopius, Agathias, Euagrius, and others, give him large Commendations, and had fuch a thing been committed after the Glory obtained by his former Actions, Enagrius would probably have mentioned it, or at least not so largely commended him. But whereas this Authour brings down his Narrations as low as Mauritius the Emperour, and yet makes no mention of Narfes his death; some suspect he was still alive when he wrote his History. 22. And that which much strengthens this suspicion, is, that there was one Nar-

Whether one or fes in the time of Mauritius, a Patritian, in Dignity, and renowned for his Counfels and Actions, relating as well to Peace as War, General of the Army also, and very remarkable for his Piety. If it was one and the same Person, he must have lived thirty years longer, which if any count improbable, let them consider whether this doth not carry a greater shew of Improbability, that almost at the same time there should be two of the same Name, Order, Dignity and Piety, and both of them renowned for their Victories, both Generals of the Imperial Armies, and yet no remark hereupon made by any Historian, no distinction at all, either by Major and Minor, Senior and Junior, or the First and Last. This Narses that lived in the time of Mauritius, who overthrew Barames, that usurped the Kingdom of Persia, and restored Chosroes the younger, lost his Life under the Tyrant Phocas, as we may see hereafter. Let us leave Narses therefore, either in his Grave, or elsewhere, and attend the Motions of Alboin into Italy, who being come as far as the River Alpis, was met by Fælix, the Bilhop of Tarnifum, to whom he granted, as he was most bountifull, all that belonged to his Church, and confirmed by his Pragmaticum what he defired. He took Vincentia, Verona, and the rest of the Cities of Venetia, Padua, Mantua and Montesilice onely excepted. Here Paul tells you, that by Venetia he means not onely those few Islands, then called in the plural number Venetia, at this day Venice, but that Countrey which reached as far as from the Borders of Pannonia to the River Addua. He proves this to be Venetia, from ancient Historians, who affirm Pergamus to be a City of Venetie. The Lake Benacus is also called Lacus Venetiarum, out of which issueth the River Mintius. In Greek he faith, Eneti, to which the Latines add one Letter, fignifieth Laudable. To Venetia was also joyned Histria, (so named from the River Hister,) which he affirmeth from the Roman History, to have been in old time larger than it was in his days,) and both these were accounted for one Province. Of Venetia Aquileia was anciently the Head, but in Paul his time Forum-Julii was advanced to that Honour, being fo called, because Julius Casar there appointed a Mart, or Forum Negotiationis, as our Authour words it.

23. Alboin having invaded Liguria, entred Milan, at the beginning of the third temers Milan. Indiction, on the third of the Nones of September, in the time of Honoratus the Archbishop. Then took he in all the Midland Cities, but those upon the Sea stood Paria holds out out, and Ticinum, or Pavia, refifted his violence three years. In the mean time he over-runs all as far as Tufcia, Rome and Ravenna excepted, besides certain Ca-files, seated on the Sea shore. There was not any courage or strength now lest in the Romans, to make any effectual refistence, multitudes having perished by the Plague in the time of Narfes, and after that Year of Plenty a grievous Famine having invaded and oppressed all Italy. At length Pavia, after it had stood out three Years, and fome Months, yielded to Alboin and his Lombards. The King making his entry at St. John's Gate, at the Eastern part of the City, his Horse fell under him in the middle of the Gate, and by fpurring and beating could not be raifed, which being taken notice of by one of his Followers, he advised him to break that cruel Vow he had made, and then he should enter the City, which was inhabited by a truly Christian People. He had vowed to put all the People to death, because of their stubbornness in holding out so long, but now breaking his Vow, and promiling Indempnity to the Inhabitants, his Horse presently arole, and then passing on to his Lodging, he kept his word, the People flocking to him in the Palace built by Kind Theuderick. In Italy Alboin reigned three Years and five Months, and then was flain by the Treachery of his Wife upon this occasion. Being very merry, as he was feafting at Verona, he commmanded Wine to be given her in the Cup made of the Skull of Cunimund, her Father, as with whom he commanded her to drink merily. That this may not feem impossible, Paul religiously professeth, that he himself had seen the very Cup. 24. Rosemunda at this was wonderfully incensed, and presently consulted how to revenge her Father's Death, with Helmichis, the King's Armour-bearer, or Schil-Helmen, galea por, as the Lombards called him. He persuaded her to take into her Council Pe- Schilt-forer Scuredeo, a most valiant Man, who refusing utterly to consent to the Murther of his sign Schill, no-Prince, she knowing he was wont to lie with one that belonged to her Wardrobe his bodie blief. placed her felf in her Bed, received and lay with him, when he not at all fuspected patentis legis-

fuch a matter. But the Queen demanding of him, before he arose, if he knew her est in too. Name, he affirmed she was his Sweet-heart; she told him he was mistaken, that the was Rosemunda her felf, and that he had now done such a deed, that he must either kill Alboin, or expect to be killed by him. He confented then to join in the

Murther, to facilitate which, as the Kirig lay afleep on his Bed at noon, his Wife procurement of Peredeo brought in, and Alboin awakened by the noise, after he had in vain attempted to draw his Sword, which lay at his Beds-head, defended himfelf valiantly with a Footfool for fome time, but was at length overpowered and flain by the wicked device of a Woman, whom many Armies had not been able to destroy. His Body, with great Lamentations of the Lombards, was buried under a certain pair of Stairs near to the Palace. He was tall of Stature and every way fitted for Warlike Actions. In our days, faith Paul, Gifelbert, Duke of Verona, opened his Grave, and taking away his Sword, and all his other Ornaments, after his usual

Vanity, boafted to filly People, that he had feen Alboin.

25. Alboin being dead, Helmichis attempted to make himself King, but the Lombards opposed it to such a degree, that they endeavoured to call him to account for Sheflies to Lon. the death of the deceased. Rosemunda perceiving no good was to be done, sent to Longinus, the Governour, or Exarch, of Ravenna, desiring him with all speed to ginus, the Ro-man Exarch. dispatch away a Ship to fetch them, which he readily did, and they two being now Husband and Wife, fled away by night, taking along with them Albfuinda, the King's Daughter, and all the Treasure of the Lombards. Longinus having got them to Ravenna, perfuaded her to kill Helmichis, and take himself to her Husband, which she, without any great hesitation, consented to doe, out of a desire of being Lady of that City, and gave a Cup of Poilon to him when he came out of the Bath. Having drunk it almost off, he perceived what it was, and then drawing his Sword, compelled her to pledge him with the rest, which having done, by the Her deferved

most just Judgment of God, both these Murtherers received the Reward of their Clerk, idean ac Vilany at the same moment. They being dead, Longinus sent Albsuinda, with the classic

Treasure, to Constantinople, whither some say Peredeo was also sont, having accommensation panied Helmichis and Rosemunda to Ravenna. But the Lombards, into the place of the Market Alboin, elected one Cleph, a Man of great Nobility, who having sain many of the Distallish since the Market Alboin, elected one Cleph, a Man of great Nobility, who having sain many of the Distallish since the Market Mark chiefest Romans, and banished others, was, after he had reigned a Year and six water, or mille room of Albain. Months, with Maffana, his Wife, killed by a Boy of his own Family.

23. Alboin

26. After

The Countrey

26. After his Death Paulus Diaconus tells us, that the Lombards for ten years were without a King, and were onely governed by their Leaders, of whom every one enjoyed his own City. In particular, Zaban made himself Master of Pavia; Waillari of Bergamum, Alachis of Brixia, Euin of Trent, and Gifulfus of Forum. Zab-an, Lorica Julii, besides thirty others, whereof each held his peculiar Town. Having thus zaba Lorica feated themselves at their Pleasure, they destroyed the Roman Nobility, or those seribing & Zathat remained they made Tributaries, exacting a third part of their Revenues. Algis, smalls They pulled down Churches, killed the Priests, demolished the Cities, and de-form stroyed the People all over, those parts which Alboin had taken excepted, and in equal, feven years time in a manner subdued all Italy. Yet did they not take the City of Rome, though they entred the Suburbs, and demolished several Monuments of the Martyrs, carrying away their Relicks; and they raifed a great Perfecution against Pious and Religious Persons. But thus was the Roman Empire rent in the West, and those Limbs again torn from it's Body, after the former Wounds feemed to be quite healed up. And in the East, it was in little better Condition, where the Head being crazy and out of Order, the inferiour Members could be less secure, and in a Capacity to defend themselves. For Justin the Emperour was taken with a Vertigo, and such a distemper in his Brain that he could not stir abroad, nor receive any Addresses; which advantage some of the Great ones taking, cedrenses, fell with violence upon the ordinary fort, and spoiled them of all they had. As foon as he recovered and went to Church, the distressed People followed him with Cries and Lamentations. Hereupon he fummoned fuch as had been Criminals before him, and admonished them to forbear such Practices, but they were so far from making Reparation for what they had already done, that they oppressed the poor People worse than formerly. Then called he the Senate together, and more sharply reprehended them, telling them, it onely became the Nature of Fishes, for

27. At this one Nobleman amongst the rest stands up, desires him but to make The Emperour answers, he would fooner quit his Throne than be guilty of such a Crime, and thereupon the Prefect takes away his Gueft, and carries him into the Court called Arca, where hearing the whole matter betwixt him and the Widow, and perceiving how greatly he had injured her, he caused him to be beaten, and then having his Head shaven, to be set naked upon an Ass and so carried through the midst of the City, having decreed his whole Estate unto the Woman. This Example fo wrought upon all others, that a thorough Reformation was made, and within thirty days no more Complaints were heard of this Nature, which the Prefect

A Reformation, making known to the Emperour, he rewarded him with the Dignity of a Patritian, and the Government of the City during Life. This year which was the third of Justin, was not onely fignalized with this notable piece of Justice, but with as eminent Acts of Charity performed by Sophia the Empress. For fummoning in such cedrenus. as were in Debt, she paid her self the Money to the Creditours, and restored all Pledges to their former owners. 28. As a reward for these good Deeds, the following Year Justin had a great Vistor Tumership

The Awares de- Victory over the Awares, who were defeated by Tiberius, (the Comes Excebito- in Chron. Caiprum at present, but afterward Emperour) and forced submissively to beg Peace. put in Carm. But as he was not conflant to the ways of Mercy and Goodness, so his Prosperity O in the same for fook him again, and as the Proverb is, an Enemy though he flies, may your many though he flies and the flies of the flies again rally and renew the Charge. For five years after in the ninth of his Reign, 260 THE when all Italy in a manner was lost to the Lombards, these Avares, or Abari, as the same Authour tells us, came as far as the Danube, and to be even with them

defeated the Romans. It feems that Tiberius was again dispatched against them, Enagrius, lib 5 but his men would not now as much as look the Barbarians in the Face, and he " 11.

the greater and stronger to devour those of a lesser size; if he were their Lawfull Emperour, he Commanded them to yield obedience to his Orders, and if they re-

fused, bade them chuse themselves a new Prince wheresoever they pleased.

him Prefect of the City, and all should speedily be amended, provided he would Command him to deal impartially, and give him free Access upon all occasions. This is readily granted, and the next day he fits in Judgment. A certain Widow comes and complains that a Great man had spoiled her of all she had. He sends him a Summons to appear by the Woman; but he fends her onely back well beaten, and deals little better by an Officer, dispatched afterward on the same Errand. While the Prefect fits expecting his coming, the Man is invited to Dinner by the Emperour, which the Prefect hearing, goes also to Court and demands of Justin, whether he did continue of the same mind and resolution, as when he first made him Prefect of the City; feeing he entertained at his Table guilty Persons.

wonderfully ofcaped being taken Prisoner, having by following the rash and heady Advice of Justin, indangered the whole Commonwealth of Rome, at least it's greatest Honour and Reputation. But besides this deseat received from the Avares. the Perhans the old Enemies of the Empire recollected themselves, and were up again upon a Quarrel, which at first proceeded from Religion. The People inhabiting Persarmenia or Armenia the Great (which Philip the Successiour of Gordianus had delivered up to Sapor) being Christians were grievously perfectited for their Re-Eugein, lib. 3. ligion and Conscience by the Persians. This caused them to send to Justin the Emperour privately, defiring they might turn Subjects to the Empire, and ferve God without any let or hindrance. He accepted of their Petition, and Articles being fworn betwixt them, they (contrary fure to Religion and Confcience) flew their own Princes, and put themselves into the hands of Julin, which Example was followed by their Neighbours, who with Vardan their Captain professed their Service and obedience to the Roman Empire.

29. Chofroes presently received the Alarm, and Charged the Emperour with

these Clandestine and injurious Proceedings. Justin answered positively, that the Date of the League was expired, and that it became not the Profesiours of Chiriflianity to/reject such as suffered for their Conscience, and fled to them in the time of War: Yet made he no Preparation for what he must needs conclude would follow, wallowing in his wonted Senfualities and Delights. He fent indeed Martianus his Captain into the East, but without Souldiers, Arms, or any provisions for War; and he came into Mesopotamia not without manifest danger to the State, picking up onely a few naked Fellows, of which number fome were Tributary Pioneers, and Waggondrivers. An inconsiderable party of Persians yet he chanced to defeat before the rest could be in readiness, and besieged Nifibu, the Gates of which the Inhabitants would not thut, reviling the flout Roman Army, and esteeming of them no otherwise, than as if they had been set there to keep sheep, But by this time Chofrees was furnished for a Battel, and bringing his General Aduarmanes, as Enagrius calls him, or Artabanus, as we reade him in Cedrenus, on his way as far as the other fide of Euphrates, which was within his own Dominions; fent him into the Marches of the Roman Empire, and Commanded him to feize on the Town of Circefium, which fituate in the farthest parts of the Roman Dominions was fortified with strong Walls, and more than that with the two Rivers Euphrates, and Aboras standing as it were in an Island. He himself with another Army passed over Tigris, and made streight for Nisibis; while Justin pleased himself with idle Reports, that Chofroes was either already dead, or mortally fick, and was fo incenfed against Martianus for prolonging the siege, that he sent to reproach him, and to require him with all speed, to bring the Keys of the City to his Presence. 30. Becoming exceedingly Ridiculous to all men, for these extravagant Conceits:

Gregory Bishop of Antioch wrote the whole State of Affairs to him, both how impossible it was with such an handfull of inconsiderable Men to take such a City. and that Chofrees had with all expedition invaded those Countries. But he, drown'd in the filth of his wonted Luxury, gave no heed to Gregory's Letters, thinking that onely to be true, which his own fick Brain had conceived, and like other intemperate and Riotous Persons, unwilling to believe any thing that would disturb them in their Pleasures. He wrote back to the Bishop and rejected his Letters for false Reports: If they were true, he affirmed the Perfians should not win the City, and raise the fiege before his Power came, and in case they should win it, they should yet be Action feat to met with eer they left the Countrey. Afterward he fent one Acacius, a proud and Collein him. difdainfull Man to Martianus who meeting him on the Confines according to his Commission, deprived him of all Martial Dignity unknown to the Army. The Officers after the watch was over, understanding that their Captain was Casheired, cast away their Arms, stole into Corners, and quitted the Siege to the great Laughter of all Men. Aduarmanes in the mean time passing by Circessum with a great Army of Persians, and Barbarians called Scenitæ, wasted all the Roman Territories with Fire and Sword, without any Mercy or Compassion. Castles and Towers he took without any opposition, both because the Romans had none to Head them, and Chofroes had as it were befieged all fuch Souldiers as lay about Daras. His men also set upon Antioch, but beyond all Expectation were repulsed, when very few remained in the City. For the Bishop slying away with the Holy Treasure, the City was in a manner left desolate, the greater part of the Wall lying flat with the Ground, and the People as in fuch Cases falling into Disorder and Tumult; so that there was none that either devised Engines to repell the Enemy, or was much disposed to resist him any other way.

Chofroes takes

31. However the design of Aduarmanes against Antioch not taking, he burnt the Heracles burnt, City Heraclea, afterward called Gagalica, and marched to Apamia built by Seleutcus the Son of Nicanor; a City fometime flourishing, but now through the Injury of time faln to decay. Having received it upon Articles, he burnt it also contrary to Agreement, plundered it, and destroyed all, which done he used the Countrey adjacent in the same fort, and carried away with him the Bishop and the Governour. Having done very much mischief in his passage, he returned to his King, who as yet had not taken the City he besieged. Now joyning their Powers, they made a very confiderable Army, and quite discouraged those within, although the City was very well fortified, so that it was taken by Force in the Winter season after above a five Months siege, some said through the Carelessness. others through the Treachery of the Governour. Many he put to the Sword, many he took Prisoners, and having fortified the place which stood exceedingly convenient for him returned home. Justin was now at length convinced; and perceiving, that indeed his Dominions were invaded in such a fort, took it more heavily than his Constitution could bear, and fell distracted, so as he had no Sense or apprehension of any business. Tiberius therefore a Thracian born, one that was in greatest Authority about him, and had made a fruitless Journey against the Avares, undertook the management of publick Affairs. By his Advice, that what had been loft by rashness and folly, might be redeemed through sobriety, Trajan, a man of great Esteem for his Age and Wisedom, was sent Ambassadour to Chosroes, it if be Lawfull to give him that Title.

32. For, his Embaffy was not from the Person of the Emperour, nor in the Name

of the Commonwealth of Rome; but onely a Message from Sophia the Empress. She

wrote Letters to Chofrees, wherein she lamented the wofull plight of her Husband,

and the lamentable Estate of the Empire, now wanting an Head, and she insisted

that it flood not with his Honour, to triumph over a filly Woman, to infult over

an Emperour that was fick and Bed-rid, and invade a State utterly destitute of de-

fence and Succour; that he in times past being fick, had not onely the like Hu-

manity she now asked shewn unto him, but the best Physicians which the Roman

Empire could afford, sent to ease him of his Grief. Good nature so wrought with

Chofroes, upon Consideration of these particulars, that although he had deter-

fuch Words, as no History whatsoever can Parallel; God of his mercy granting

him so much time, as might suffice both to confess his own sins, and declare such

things as were for the benefit of the Commonwealth. John the Bishop with his

Company, the Princes and Magistrates, and all the Prætorian Souldiers being

now affembled in the open Hall, where of old fuch Solemnities were usually

celebrated, Justin invested Tiberius with the Imperial Robe and Cloak, say-

his Finger. Thou must by no means, faith he, be ruled by these Men, for they are they that have brought me into this sad Condition, wherein thou seest me. These

with other fuch like words he uttered, which struck all the Assembly with great

wonder and Admiration, and drew from the Auditory abundance of Tears.

his Collegue in the Empire. Euagrius tells us, that at the Promotion he uttered Vbi sepra, c. 13.

three years.

mined speedily to invade the Roman Dominions, yet he made a Truce for three years, respecting the Eastern Countries, and consented that Armenia should enjoy the benefit of it. This accord was made in the tenth year of Justin his Reign. who in his thirteenth, through the Advice of Sophia his Wife, took Tiberius to be

Julin makes 77- ing to him aloud as followeth: Let not the Splendour of this Garment lead them

An excellent

into mistakes, neither be thou deceived with the Glorious shew of such things as are subject to the Senses, wherewith I being intangled, have brought my self into grievous Miseries. But in Governing the Empire by great Moderation and mildness of Spirit, redress what I have Foolishly committed. Then, pointing to the Magistrates with

> 33. Tiberius was a man of a wonderfull goodly Stature, and of a Presence altogether composed unto Majesty. His mind was as richly adorned with mildness and Courtefie, which allured all Men at the very first Address to love him. For he esteemed that to be Riches, which sufficed every man to give not onely for neceffity, but also for plenty and abundance. He was of Opinion, that not onely such as wanted were to receive Relief; but that it became the Emperour of Rome to be Munificent, and he took that Gold to be Counterfeit, which was gathered with the Tears and Lamentations of the Subject. Moved by these Considerations, he remitted one whole years Tribute, and fuch Lands as Aduarmanes had loaden with heavy Taxes, he restored to Liberty, and made full Reparation to those that had sustained the loss; moreover such Exactions as had been made by former Princes, (for which they used to deliver, and as it were sell the People to their Officers, to be

abused at their Pleasure,) he forgave and by Laws forbade, all such Practices for the time to come. Having well bestowed such Moneys, as had been ill gotten, and ordered his matters at home as true Prudence, and the Duty of his place required, against the expiring of the Truce with Perfia, he made all Preparations possible for War. He made great Levies on both sides the Alpes, and about the Rhine listed in his Army, many Massagetes, and several other Scythian Nations out of Paonia, Mysia, Illyricum and Isauria, and having got together near an hundred and fifty Troops of choice Horse every way well appointed, he gave the Foile to Chofrees, who immediately after the winning of Daras in Summer, had over-run Armenia, and marched toward Cafarea the Metropolis of Cappadocia. Chofroes was so puffed up with his Success, and the natural haughtiness of his Humour, that he refused to give Audience to the Emperour's Ambassadours, but disdainfully bade them follow him to Cafarea, and there he would hear what they had to fay, But when he faw the Roman Army (commanded by Justinian the Brother of Juflin, that was so basely murthered at Alexandria) shining all in Armour; when he perceived the Trumpets found to Battel, the Armies ready to joyn, and the Clamour of the Souldiers which pierced the very Skies: Laftly, when he beheld such a Body of Horse, as before none of the Emperours had so much as thought of, he was utterly aftonished and surprized at such an unexpected sight, sighed heavily, and would not Charge.

Is miferably

34. Suspecting his strength, he betook himself to Craft, and indeavoured to spend time; but Curs a Scythian, who led the Right-wing of the Roman Forces. fell upon him with fuch violence, that the Persians gave Ground, and great Execution was done upon them. He fet upon the Rere, where their Baggage and all their Preparations for War lay, took all the King's Treasure and Jewels, all his Ammunition, great fums of Money, and drove away the Beafts with the burthens on their Backs; wherein lay the Fire which Chofroes adored for his God. All this while the King stirred not, so fearfull he was to ingage with Curs, and onely some Skirmishes followed till Night came on, and then he caused a mighty Fire to be kindled; and the Roman Army being divided, he fet upon that Party which lay toward the North, which giving back upon the furprize, he went forward, and took Meletina a City forfaken by its Inhabitants, which having fet on Fire, he purposed to cross the River Euphrates. The Roman Armies uniting and following him close in the Rere, in great fear he mounted an Elephant, and so passed the River; but the greater part of his Army in Swimming and conveying themselves over, was drowned in the deep Water. Hearing of this misfortune, he got him away with all speed, with all the Company he had left, and returned into the East, where as yet the League was of Force, and none could affault him. Justinian after this over-ran the Borders of Persia, where he continued all Winter without any disturbance, and about the latter end of June returned back without any loss of Men, but with great Reputation. Chofroes being exceedingly discouraged, and out of measure discontented at this Success, languished under the change of his Fortune, and swallowed up in the Gulph of displeasure, died after a lamentable fort, leaving a Law behind him, that the King of Persia should never after that day take Arms against the Romans; which was an everlasting Monument of his flight and overthrow. Thus much Euagrius; from whose Speech concerning the League yet in Force in the East, it appears that this his Invasion was made prefently after the taking of Daras, and not after the expiring of the Triennial Ceffation, as Baronius imagined. His despising the Truce, and yet expecting security from it, discovers to us that infolent and faithless Humour, of which Precopius accuseth him, to whose Character of the Man, and this Relation of Euagrius, we must add some things observable out of Agathias, who lived also at this time whereof we Write.

35. This Authour makes him Superiour to all Kings that ever Reigned in Per- You's way 25gfia, for Success and Felicity of Government, not excepting Cyrus, or Darius Hy- Emission 7157 faspis, nor that Xerxes, who, as he words it, rode on Horseback over Seas, and Theating it is failed over Mountains. But as great as he was in his Life, he had a miserable and Author to 3 mis inglorious Death, most contrary to the Splendour of his Reign. For making his seen rounnableabode at that time about the Carduchian Mountains, he retired into a Village of the Thamani, convenient to refresh himself in after his Labours in the heat of Summer, Manglan 3 3

lisko, Kancarine të Popular Bandhos dezer Fl na më "Ba rrezulare executive të Popular Bandhos dezer Fl na më "Ba rrezulare e e e e e li interpretate Pali filiu di Totrio Conflatini Romanum Regis filio Legimino Oriendillus ut prefit juffus : Peffinë, sone cim Totrio simi Ditu Regis vel Imp. Romani: Tibra șini, quare dezidus non [cripit : Legistric Rome rite, fol Legist Koncarine. Tibrio cim Cze-nomen erat Conflaninus, aque id vulgare Principibus affionere nonce alterius qui revon geftarum Cloria classis, vide infa paste 47.

The manner of

went in Italy.

where making some stay, it happened, that Mauricius the Son of Faul, who by Tiberius Constantine the Emperour was set over the Armies of the East, made sudden irruption into the Countrey of Araxes, which joyned to the Territories where he lay, and proceeded to far, that he passed the River Zirina, plundering and wafling all places with Fire and Sword. He went on in this terrible manner, so far till Chofrees himself faw the Flame, who never having beheld such a Spectacle, was with fear and shame together confounded, so as he could make neither opposition nor defence, but by immoderate Grief, falling into Desperation from the Anguish of his Mind, contracted a grievous and incurable Difease, and being in a Litter speedily conveyed to his Palaces of Selucia and Ctefiphon; not long after this Recess, or flight rather, ended his days: Concerning the false Report raised of his great Learning, the Reader if he please may consult this Authour, who shews the Ground and occasion of the mistake in a Digression not proper for us to insert. But we must observe, that either Agathias or his Transcriber was mistaken, in joyning the fifth year of Chofroes, with the twenty eighth of Justinian, as if he had begun his Reign in the twenty third of that Emperour, seeing that he Reigned eight and forty years. For if Cabades died, and Chofroes made a League with Justinian in this fifth year; then could he not begin his Reign in the five and twentieth; and forafmuch as it is plain that he died in the Reign of Tiberius, had he begun to Reign in the twenty third of Justinian, and Reigned eight and forty years, he must have reached the Government of Mauricius, which things cannot hold together; we conclude therefore with Baronius, that he begun his Reign in the fifth year of Justinian, and ended it in the second of Tiberius, though not just after the defeat given him by Justinian, but after Mauricius was sent into the Eastern parts (for as we faid, the expedition of Justinian was made before the end of the Triennial Truce, and must be cast back two or three years) in the fourteenth

year of Justin, A.D. 579. 36. The year following being the third of Tiberius, about Noon happened fuch an Enagrins lib. 5. Earthquake at Antioch, and Daphne adjoyning to it, that all Daphne with the Force 6-17. thereof fell to the Ground, and many both publick and private Buildings within the City were much shaken and dis-joynted. There happened also both at Antioch and

Constantinople, as Euagrius relates, other Calamities which require a long Discourse, and caused great Tumults and Sedition; but arising, as he faith, from Godly Zeal, and being of Ecclefiastical concernment, we shall with him defer their Prosecution at this time, and return into Italy to see how the Lombards there behave themfelves. And here we could complain of the Injury of time which hath deprived us of the Monuments of their Actions, having little left us, but what Paul has written of this Subject, who not handling it with that Accurateness as Procopius doth

that of the Goths, hath passed by many things of great Concernment; for he was Gregor, Throm. not an Eye witness, but lived two hundred years after in the days of Charles the lib.4.c. 36. Great. But from the History of Gregory the Bishop of Tours, he tells us, that after Paulus Dixonus de gest. Long. the Captains had cantonized the Countrey, some of them invaded Gall, which wa- lib. 3. fting and rifling, they defeated and flew Amatus the Patritian, the Subject of Guntramnus King of the Franks, who opposed them with an Army, and having made great Slaughter of the Burgundians, returned into Italy inriched with inestimable

Booty. This incouraged them to make a fecond Attempt, and they pierced as far as Musciæ Calmes, near to the City Ebrodunum; but there they were met with and incompassed by Ennius, called also Mummulus, who with a party of Burgundians fell upon them, and killing many took the rest Prisoners, whom by his Kings order he distributed here and there all, except some few that escaped into Italy with the News.

37. The Lombards, as we faid before, befides other forts of People, brought some Saxons with them into Italy; it being accorded betwixt them, that the Saxons should have lands assigned after the Conquest. But they could not well agree together; it feems the Saxons would not truckle under the Lombards, and the Lom-Eards would not permit, that they should be a Body Independent of, and distinct from themselves; therefore they resolved to return to their own Countrey, by the way of Gall. In their first Attempt, they were fore distressed by Mummulus, who killing a great number of them, and taking many Pritoners forced them back into Italy. Yet for all this, they returned with their Wives and Children, and all they had, purposing by the leave and affistence of King Sigibert to return home, and for this purpose they divided themselves into two Parties; whereof one took the way of Nicaa, and the other passed on by Ebrodunum the very same way they had retreated. They maintained themselves by Corn that was now Ripe in the Fields, fome Cattel also they took, and did not altogether abstain from rifling and burning

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the Towns. When they were come to the Rhone, Mummulus again meets them The Second re- with a great Force, but permits them with Money to purchase their passage, and fo at length they came to Sigebert; cheating the People in their way by Counterfeit Gold, and returned to their former Seats, which they now found feized by the Suani, and other forts of People. In great Indignation they fall upon them, and will drive those Intruders out. They offered them first the third part of the Countrey; affirming there was room enough for them all, and after, when this would not be accepted, the half, nay two parts of three. Nay rather than Quarrel, they would give them both their Lands and all their Cattel; but the Saxons would not be fatisfied with any thing but fighting, and they agreed before hand, how the Wives of the Suani should be distributed. But see how they reckoned without their Host. They lost twenty thousand Men in one Battel, and the Suani, Defeated by the remained Victours, missing but four hundred and eighty of their number. Six thousand of those Saxons that remained, bound themselves by a vow never to cut their Hair nor Beards, till they should be revenged upon the Suani: But all would not doe; they were again defeated, and at last content to sit down and be quiet.

make a Fruitles expedition

38. But to return to the Lombards, three of their Captains, Amo, Zaban and Rhodanus following the example of the Saxons, made also an Irruption into Gall. Amo taking the Road of Ebrodunum, came as far as Machovilla, a Town bestowed upon Mummulus by his Prince, and there pitched his Camp. Zaban by another way came to Valentia, and Rhodanus set upon Gratianopolis, or Grenoble. Amo wasted the Province of Arles, as far as the City of Marfeilles; and his two other Friends were not less busie in plundering, wasting and burning all places wherever they came. Mummulus having Intelligence of their motions, first fell upon Rhodanus busie in the Siege of Gratianopolis, and killing many of his Men, drove him up into the tops of the Mountains wounded, as he was, with a Lance. Thence with five hundred men through unknown Tracts he passed to Zaban, who then befieged the City Valentia, and gave him an Account of all that had happened. They joyned their Forces together and wasted the Countrey as far as Ebrodunum, where Mummulus met with them, and by a notable defeat restrained their farther Rapines. Then did Zaban and Rhodanus return into Italy, and came to Secusium; which City Sifinnius the Magister Militum held for the Emperour. Hither Mummulus fent a Youth with Letters, fignifying he would be with him speedily, which Zaban and Rhodanus understanding departed without any more to doe, to their own Cities. Amo informed of what had happened with all his Booty, took the way again for Italy, but being stopped by the great Snows that fell, was forced to leave a great part of it behind, and passing the Alpes with much difficulty at last got home.

39. To be even with the Lombards, not long after, the Franks invaded their Borders, and took by furrender a Fort called Anagnis something above Trent, which being looked on as a great affront by Ragilo, or rather Raligo a Comes of the Lombards, he wasted all the Territories about it, and in his return with his Booty, patient was encountred by Charamichis a Captain of the Franks, who see him with Racing, for many of his followers, and passing to Trent, rifled and wasted all places about weak, Allem. it. On his back came Euin the Captain, or Duke, if so you will call him, of Perabila. Trent, and in the place called Salurnis in way of Retaliation, cut him off with all his Men, and recovered the Booty; which done, and having expelled the Franks from all his Territories; he married afterward the Daughter of Garibaldus, King of the Baioarii. About this time, that we may now return and visit the Eastern parts, died Justin the Emperour, after he had Reigned fixteen years nine Months and an Infinite Em half. Being near his end, he called Tiberius his Collegue to him, and in the Prefence of the Senate, and Eutychius the Patriarch gave him this Advice that fol-

His Advice to

40. "Behold, faith he, God Almighty thy Benefactour bestowed this Habit on Cederone of thee, and not I. Honour also thy Mother (meaning Sophia the Empress) for His Miserlan " merly thy Lady, for thou knowest thou was first her Servant, and then her Son. "Rejoyce not in Bloud, have nothing to doe with Murther, neither render Evil " for Evil, lest thou imitate me in the Evil of Malice. For I being a Man, have " offended and am a guilty Person, and have received according to my deserts; "but stand in Judgment with those, who have so rewarded me at the Tribunal "Seat of Christ. Let not the Habit thou wearest puff thee up. Have as great a " Care of all committed to thy Charge, as of thine own Concernments. Confider " what thou wast, and what thou art like to be. Avoid pride, and thou shalt not " fin. Thou knowest well what I have been, and what I am. All these are thy " Children

"Children, as well as Servants. Thou knowest I have conferred this Honour up-"on thee, out of Respect to those, that are as near and dear to me as my Bowels. "When thou feest them, conceive that thou beholdest the very Commonwealth. "Take a special Care of the Army: Admit into it neither effeminate nor impru-"dent Men; neither ever regard those that say, the Emperours that Reigned before "thee, were fuch and fuch. These things I give thee in Charge, and having dear-"ly experienced the Truth and Conveniency of them, advise thee to act accord-"ingly. Such as are Rich let them enjoy their Wealth, and fuch as are poor Re-"lieve. Then the Patriarch going to Prayers, all the Company concluded with Amen; and Cafar falling at the Emperour's Feet faid unto him. "Iam at your Di-"fposal, both Life and all I have: To which the Emperour replied; That God who made Heaven and Earth, put into thy Heart, what I have forgotten, and proceeding in Words to this purpose, he drew abundance of Tears from all the Assembly. Not long after, his Disease returned upon him with violence, and he died. His Body was deposited in the Heraum of Justinian, in a Proconnessan Cossin, and by him was afterwards laid his Wife Sophia. Paulus Diaconus gives us his Character in De geft. Lange. fhort thus: He was addicted to all fort of Covetouineis, a despiter of the Poor, bard, lib. 3.110 and a spoiler of the Senatours; so greedy of Wealth, that he caused Iron Chests to be made, wherein to bestow the Coin he had ravenously scraped together. This man despising the command of God was deprived of Reason, and fell mad. Yet if he made such fober and pious Discourses, both at the Promotion of Tiberius. and at the time of his Death; what general Character soever is given him by these Writers, we must think he had his Lucida Intervalla, not onely as to his Intellectuals, but his Morals too.

41. Tiberius now after his Death was, according to the Custome, to go in State to the Shews of the Circus, and there many expected his coming, who were of the Faction of Justinian, the supposed Nephew of Justinus, with intention to doe him Gregor. Turn. a mischief. But he went from Church to Church, and passed still through Sacred of Paulus Dieplaces, where having performed his Devotions, he fent for the Bishop of the City con. de gest. Lin. places, where having performed his bottom, it has become the Palace. Then being clothed goth 1.3 is 12. Tiberius escapes with the Confuls and Prefects, and so entred the Palace. Then being clothed goth 1.3 is 12. Vocato ad se use with the Purple, Crowned with a Diadem, and Seated on the imperial Throne; bis Papa care he was confirmed in the Government with great applause. The Factionists then, Coff at Profession. who expected his coming to the Circus, hearing what was already done, stole away, and after a few days Justinian himself came and cast himself at the Emperour's Feet, bringing with him as a Present fifteen Centenaries, and he, according to his wonted patience, received and commanded him to attend him in the Palace. Thus

he escaped this danger in the Circus, but not long after, was intangled in greater Difficulties created him by Sophia the Widow Empress, who forgetting her Ingagements formerly made to him, attempted to promote Justinian to the Throne, while he according to the Custome of the Emperours, was to pass thirty days in the Countrey, at the time of Vintage. He having timely notice, returned with all speed to Constantinople, took her and all her Treasures Custody, leaving her onely fo much, as would supply her wants. He removed her Attendants, and placed others about her, whom he could truft; Charging them that the other should never come in her Presence. He forely rebuked *Justinian*, and that was all, for he shewed he had great kindness for him, promising to marry his own Daughter to his Son, and that his Son should marry Justinian's Daughter; although these cross Matches never took Effect.

42. Why Sophia the Empress should be thus changed in her Esteem and kindness zomaras & cofor Tiberius, other Historians supply us with some Womanish reasons. She took it drenus heinously, that at his Coronation he named Empress his Wife Anastrafia, whereas she imagined he had no Wife at all, but intended to marry him after her Husband's death, and for that purpose procured him to succeed him. Thus frustrated of her Expectations in a great Huff and dissain, she quitted the Court, and went to live by her self in the Palace called by her Name. The Latin Writers tell us a story how Tiberius for his Piety, and especially his Charity to the poor, had the Treafure of Narses discovered to him by the old Man, that was Conscious to the hiding of it; but it's much suspected, because the Greek Historians speak nothing of any fuch Matter. However, fuch was his Reputation abroad, that Ambasiadours were fent to Court him from feveral Princes, and amongst others, from Chilperick the King of the Franks, to whom Tiberius fent several Presents, amongst which were remarkable, some Medals weighing pounds a piece, having the Emperour's Image with this Inscription about it; Tiberii Constantini, Perpetui Augusti, and on the reverse a Chariot with four Horses, and a Driver with these Words,

Marinia made Gloria Romanorum. As for Jufinian it's certain, he was put out of Command (Eua-Lib. 5. c. 19. grius faith, because he had not such Success, as formerly against the Barbarians, but we know the Throne brooks no Rival) and Mauricius was made General of the East, who by Birth and Name was of old Rome, but because of his Ancestours' and Parents, he owned Arebiffus a City of Cappadocia for his Countrey.

43. Mauricius was, as Euagrius sets him forth, a very wise Man, very diligent and exact in business, of a firm and constant mind, and of a very good Life and Conversation. He so bridled his sleshly Lusts, that he not onely abstained from such things as provoked to Lust and Sensuality, but even from necessaries themselves. His Character. He would not lend any Ear to stories, nor hearken to every Man's tale. He stopped his Ears not with Wax (as the Poet hath it) but with reason, which he used as a Key to open and thut them as there was occasion. Ignorance the Mother of boldness, he banished far from him, knowing that in rashness there is Peril, and in Advisement and Deliberation great Security. Fortitude and Prudence bore in him fuch fway, that all businesses he accommodated to time and place, and so resirained his Appetite, that in all things he never exceeded Moderation; such being his Dispofition, with great fuccess he made War in foreign Countries. He took both Cities and Castles, such as stood most convenient for the Persians, and so great Booty. that with Captives he filled Isles, Towns and Countries that had lain a long time defolate and not inhabited, caufing the Land to be tilled and brought into order. Of these men he had numbers sufficient to make up Armies, which fought stoutly a-His faccess a gainst other Nations, and furnished all Families with Slaves. He waged War with the cheifest of the Persians, as Tamochosroes and Advarmanes who brought great Armies into the Field; but after what manner, and how prosperously, faith our Authour, let others relate, or we in another work perhaps may shew, because in this present Volume we promised to treat of other matters. But neither he nor any other performed this part of fervice to Posterity, or if they did, some unlucky

accident hath deprived us of the fruits of their Endeavours. 44. Therefore what we our felves have not, we cannot give, and the Reader must be fatisfied, though we do not relate all actions with the same clearness and enumeration of Particulars. For as where we have matter, we ought as fully to inform him as the nature of this Defign will bear, fo on the other fide, we do not pretend to write Romances; But thus much Euagrius tells us, he will now fay, that Tamochofroes was defeated not through the valour of the Roman Souldiers, but by the onely Piety of their Captain and his Faith in God, and as also that Aduarmanes was overthrown by plain force of Arms, and after a great flaughter of his men put to flight, and that this was done not onely when Alamundarus Captain of the Scenitæ had betrayed Mauricius, by not coming over Euphrates, and fighting against those Scenitæ that were of the contrary Faction, but also when Theodorich who commanded the Scythians durst not venture within Bow-shot, but fairly took him to his heels, and with his men ran away. What Euagrius here relates in short, Miscella Hist. fome affign to the third year of Tiberius precifely, yet doubtless it took up several

years in acting.

45. The next year was the last of Tiberius the Emperour, who died in August. after he had Reigned four years alone, and as much with Justin, a month onely excepted. An excellent Person, and worthy of a longer Reign, the Empire flourishing under his Government. Gregory of Tours assures us, he left the People in Tears Hist. France 1.6. and Lamentations because of his Departure, for he was mighty good, very Chari- 6. 30. table, just and wary in Judgment, despissing no man, but bearing every one good will, being loving to, and extremely beloved by all men. To his Title and Dig. L. 18. a.6.

nity of Emperour fucceeded Mauricius, who had three years before been created Vide Baron. Cæfar very folemnly, and adorned with a Diadem. At the folemnity, as Nicephorus Writes, was present John the Patriarch, and another John, a Rhetour or Oratour. made a fhort speech to Mauricius in the Emperour's name. "He exhorted him from "his Government, to raife a beautifull Monument to his Predecessour, to adorn " his Sepulchre with his Vertues, and not frustrate the expectations of those who " were committed to his Trust, neither to forget his own Morals, nor quit the " wonted generofity of his Spirit. See thou restrain, faith he, by force of reason "that Infolency to which power is fubject, and by the Arts of Philosophy wifely "fleer the Vessel of thine Authority. For Empire is an high and lofty thing, puf-"fing up fuch as are exalted, and obliterating what was formerly well conceived " and intended. Because thou art in Fortune, do not therefore think thou art in "Wifedom advanced above all others. Endeavour to procure the love of thy Sub-" jects, rather than to keep them in fear and awe, and esteem downright dealing

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"better than flattery and diffimulation; for Power will hardly admit of Admoni-"tion and Reproof. Let Justice be ever before thine Eyes, as that which is able " to reward all our Actions.

46. " Let the fludy of Philosophy move thee to account of this Purple, no o-"therwise than as of the vilest Ragg, and to imagine that the Crown wherewith "thy Brows are circled, differs nothing from the Pebbles that lie on the Sea-shore. "The fad colour of the Purple feems to hint unto Princes, that moderation of mind " which they ought carefully to retain in their prosperous Estate, that they be not " too much exalted or be proud in these Mourning weeds of Monarchy; for the "Sceptre tells them not, that they exercise any immoderate power, but rather un-"dergo a splendid servitude. Restrain thine Anger by humanity and mercy, and "all arrogance by fear. For Nature to Bees hath affigned their Leaders, and armed " their Kings with a sting, as a natural faculty to prick him forward that will not " doe his Duty, but this sting is not Tyrannical but Just, and accommodated to the " general utility, and the common good; let us imitate them herein, for reason" "it felf cannot suggest to us better Councils. These things speak I to thee as thy
"Parent, and for a witness of mine Intentions, thou shall have Authority free from "all prejudice and Corruption, which rewards Vertue and punishes and restrains "whatsoever is contrary to it. This Oration of the Emperour was followed by the tears of the Spectatours, and he adorned Casar with the Crown and purple Robe, and great Acclamations were made, testifying the satisfaction of the People in what was done, and their acknowledgment of the merits of him whom they faw preferred, but especially of the Wisedom and forecast of their Emperour. Thus was Mauricius inaugurated Cæfar, but enjoyed not the title of Emperour till the Death of Tibenius, which fell out in the fourth Indiction, the eighth year of Childebert King of the Franks, the ninth of Pelagius the Second, the Roman Bishop, and the five hundred eighty fixth of our Lord, as is commonly computed, but rather in

47. Euagrius tells us, that when Tiberius was ready to yield up the Ghost, he Lib. 5, 6, 22. affigned to Mauricius his Daughter Augusta in Marriage, with the Empire for her Dowry, and Proclaiming him Emperour, bestowed on them also his own Names: for Mauricius he called Tiberius, and Augusta he named Constantina. Mauricius being fetled in his Throne, made great preparations for Celebration of his Marriage, whereat were present his own Father and Mother a circumstance which, if our Authour observe right, never happened to any Emperour before. He affirms that nign commen-dations of him, a more Royal and Magnificent shew never had been formerly made; and whereas Plutarch wrote, that both Valour and Fortune joyned in advancing the grandeur of Rome, he is bold to fay, that true Piety and Felicity fo concurred in Mauricius. that Piety fuffered Felicity to be joyned with her, and would not permit her to be baffled or overthrown. The Emperour not onely adorned his Head with the Crown, and his Body with Purple, but his mind also with pretious Ornaments. For in a manner, he was the onely Emperour who ever commanded himself, who banishing from his mind all popular Perturbations (fo he words it,) and settling the Dominion of Ariftocracy in the Seat of Reason, made himself a perfect Pattern of Vertue for his Subjects to imitate. And our Authour professes he faith not this to flatter him, feeing he could not possibly know what he now wrote, but merely constrained by that evidence which the real effects of his prosperous Government carried with them, being absolutely the bleffings of Almighty God. He adds, that this Emperour was above all others mercifull, not permitting those to be put to Death that had well deserved it, as Alamundarus Captain of the Scenitæ in Arabia, who had betrayed him, but was for punishment onely banished into Sicily. Moreover Naamanes his Son who had done infinite mischief to the Empire, who had wasted the two Phanicia's, and Palastine he kept onely in free custody when all men defired his Head, inflicting on him no other punishment. And the like clemency he shewed to infinite other persons.

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48. One John a Thracian, he made General of his Forces in the East, who some His Generals and times did well, but other whiles ill, and deserved no great Commendation. Into their Exploits. his place then he chose *Philippicus* who had married his Sister. He made great spoil in the Persian Dominions, and killed many of their great men: The Souldiers also he brought to exact Discipline from Riot and Pleasure, making them practise fobriety and temperance. He was fucceeded by one Prifcus a man fo supercilious, that none must speak with him except upon some very weighty matter, being conceited that the less familiarity he used, the easilier should he compass his Designs, and the Souldiers would more stand in awe, and with more readiness obey him.

On a time having fet himfelf into as fevere and haughty a posture as he could, with high and difdainfull looks, and arrogant gestures, he made them a speech of the patience and perile they were to undergo in War, concerning the neatness of their Armour, and of the Rewards they were to receive for their Travel and Service. They heard his impertinent discourse with great Indignation y fell into a Mutiny, and running to his Tent, robbed him of all his Treasure, and had certainly killed

The Army Mu- him. had he not speedily taken Horse and fled to Edessa. Yet this City they befleged, commanding Priscus to be delivered up to them, and when the Citizens refuled to doe it, they laid hold on Germanus a Captain in Phanicia, and proclaimed him their General and Emperour belides. He refuting to comply with their feditious humour, they threatned to kill him; when threats would not doe, they proceeded to whip him and to tear his body, which torments forced him to yield, and with an Oath to promise his compliance with them. All other Officers they displaced. and put others in their room, and behaved themselves in their Quarters with all Infolency, and without any regard to the Laws. Mauricius having notice of this Mutiny, fent Philippicus to reduce them into order, but him they rejected, and threathed with Death and Destruction those who propounded to listen to his advice. The Barbarians took heart at thefe diforders in the Roman Army, and in The Perform we their wonted manner Invaded the Province adjoyning. Yet Germanus opposed the Perfians with such success, that if Euggrius be to be credited, there was not one of

them left to bring home the news of their Defeat.

followed him in the Wars.

49. But the Abarian Avares came twice as far as the long Wall, and wasting the The Abares in- Countrey before them, took Singedon, Anchialus, and all Hellada with other Cities and Castles, the Romans having a great Army lying in the East to no purpose. The Emperour then sent and rear the Captain of his Guards, to perswade them to return to Obedience, and take again such Officers as had commanded them before, but they giving no car to what he faid, at length he pitched upon Gregory the Bishop of Antioch, the fittest man alive to be employed in this business. For he was both a prudent man, and had got a mighty interest in the Souldiers by his great bounty to many of them, both in Meat, Drink and Apparel, which knowing, he fent to the chiefest of them, and procured them to give him a meeting at Litarbis, a Town three hundred furlongs distant from Antioch. Being met, he fell down on his Knees before them, and with gentle rhetorick, inforced by many Prayers and tears fo wrought upon them, that all their minds on a fudden were changed, and they went out to deliberate with themselves what was to be done. Being after a while returned, they told him they would yield to his request, and then he named Philippieus whom they should ask for their Captain. They told him they could not petition for him, because they and the whole Army had made an Oath never to doe it, to which he replied, that the Priest hath power to bind and loose in Heaven and in Earth, and recited to them the faying of Christ to this purpose out of the Gospel. They were perswaded herein also to consent unto him, and then he fell to his Prayers to appeale the wrath of Almighty God, and distributed to them the Immaculate Body of Christ, it being then Maunday-Thursday, or the day before the Passion. The number of them was two thousand, yet he entertained them all that night, Couches being made them on the Grass, and the next day returned The Mutiny ap- home, permitting them to affemble where they pleased. Philippicus who then refided at Tarfus in Cilicia, he informed how things stood, and advised him to repair to Constantinople, whither he sent an account also of his Transactions with the Army, and what they had refolved concerning Philippicus. Shortly after, Philippicus came to Antioch, and the Souldiers meeting him, defired the Christians to intercede to him in their behalf. They fell at his Feet, and he giving them his Hand, told them, all old Offences were forgiven, which faid, they received his Orders and

50. While this Mutiny of the Armies threatned with Ruine the State of the Empire in the East, the City of Antioch was again fore distressed by an Earthquake, in the fix hundred thirty and seventh year after it was so called, and the sixty first year after that Earthquake which had last happened. Euagrius tells us this story, that when as he himself had on the last day of September, taken to Wife a Virgin of tender years, and the City therefore kept Holy-day, and flocked to his House with great pomp and folemnity; about the third hour of the Night came fuch an Attitub shaken Earthquake, as with great violence shook the whole City. It so disjoynted the Foundations, that all the Buildings about the Church tumbled to the Ground, the Hemispherical Roof which Euphræmius had made of Bay-Trees excepted, which had been fo shaken with the Earthquake, both in the time of Justin and afterward,

Mauricius.

Sixty thousand

that it leaned much to the North, and had thrust out of their place the mighty great Beams which fell with marvellous noise, but now again the Roof shrunk to it's own place, and stood as it had done before, without bowing to either side. The Buildings of St. Mario Church were quite overthrown, all but one middle Porch that was miraculously preserved. The places of Offracina and Pseplicum, and all the parts called Brifia were also ruinated, with other Churches and the publick Baths. The people perished confusedly together about threescore thousand persons, as was conjectured by the Bread which was spent in the City. But the Bishop was wonderfully preserved, with those alone of his Family that were near to him, though the whole Lodging he was in fell to the Ground; for when the Earthquake the fecond time shook the place, and as it were opened the Room, they lifted him up with all speed, and by a Rope let him down to the Ground. God Almighty mixed mercy with his Justice in this respect, that no hurt by fire followed, though in Kitchins, Baths, and other places there were many kindled, as well for publick as private uses. In this Earthquake died many Noble and famous Persons, but the Emperour supplied money for the repairing of the City. Thus Euagrius of the Earthquake, who had too great cause to remember it from a nota-

51. Not long after that the Souldiers returned to obedience, Sittas one of the Se-Martyropolis be natours of Martyropolis took advantage at the absence of the Garrison, and betrayed the City to the Persians. Philippicus upon notice marched thither, but wanting necessaries for a Siege, after some vain attempts made to regain the place, the Army drew off, and could not be perswaded by Gregory the Bishop, whom the Emperour again employed, to return, because they wanted Engins. Care therefore was taken by fortifying the adjacent Castles, to intercast all succours that should come from the *Persians*, and the Souldiers were disposed of into their Winter Quarters. The year following yet the Persians sent a supply, and Philippicus ingaging with this party had the better, but so many escaped into the Town, as fufficed to reinforce the Garrison which was their chief design. The Romans then perceiving there was no winning of the Town by plain force, went and built a Fort upon the top of an Hill at seven furlongs distance, there to prepare Engins and make all things ready for a Siege, and not long after was Comentiolus a Thracian Born, fent to succeed Philippicus in the command of the Army. He though with danger to his own Person had prosperous success against the Persians, of whom fuch as were left alive, having loft all their Captains ran away to Nifibu, and fearing to return to their King who had threatned them with Death, except they brought their Captains home in fafety, began to enter into Conspiracy against his Life. In the mean time Comentiolus having belieged Martyropolis, left there the greatest part of his Forces, and with the rest went and took a Castle called Ochas, which stood upon the farther Bank overagainst Martyropolis on a steep Rock, whence Who despair to he had a prospect of the whole City. This being taken in, the Persians despaired of holding Martyropolis any longer.

52. The present King of Persia was Hormisda, who had succeeded his Father Harmifdatuccee- Chofroes according to his appointment. And he succeeded him it seems in his Vices ded his Father as well as his Kingdom, though not in his long and prosperous Fortunes. Euagrius calls him the most wicked and unjust of all others; for he not onely robbed his Subjects of their Goods, but plagued them with fundry kinds of Deaths. Theophanes to what Euagrius hath written concerning the Conspiracy against this King's Vide Baron. Life, adds, that Barames his General having had ill success against the Romans, after the King had in difgrace fent him the Habit of a Woman was deprived of his command. Inraged hereat, he Conspires against him, stirring up the Souldiers by counterfeit Letters, and draws to his Party Ferrochanes, whom Hormisda had lately put into his place, with Bindow a Noble Persian newly delivered out of Prison, who fuddenly entring the Court, pulled the King down from his Throne, fnatched the Diadem from his Head and committed him to Custody. After this the Nobility commanding Hormifda to be brought out of Prison, sawed in pieces one of his Sons and his Wife before his Eyes, then deprived him of his Eyes, and thrust him into a Dungeon. Yet Chofroes his Son treated him very civily, and gave him a large allowance of Diet, which kindness he so little acknowledged, that he tramp-And killed by led all under his Feet that he fent him. This inraged Chofroes fo much, that forand fuccessors, getting all obligations of Nature, he commanded him with Cudgels to be beaten

Cepofed.

53. This unnatural action of Chofroes fore troubled the Persians, and procured their hatred against him, which was increased by his putting several Noblemen to

Death, on suspicion that they sided with Barames who usurped, which caused the Souldiers to revolt from him, and take the Party of Barames. Being now forfaken by all men he fled for his Life, in great doubt whether he should betake himfelf to the Christians or the Turks, in which humour he alighted from his Horse, and laying the Reins on his Neck, refolved to follow him whitherfoever he should go, and to he brought him to the borders of the Roman Empire. This account we have from Theophanes. Enagrius relates that Hormifda being killed by the Perlians for his Wickedness, and Chofroes his Son being Crowned his Successour, Bara-

Mauricius. Part III

mes took Arms against him. Chofroes with a small Army intended to Ingage him. Who is driven out, and flies to but perceiving his men fell away from him, he fled to Circafium after he had called upon the God of the Christians, that his Horse should carry him to a most convenient Place. Being arrived there with his Wife, two young Children and certain Noble men of Perlia, he fent and craved fayour of Mauricius the Emperour, who. after mature deliberation of the matter, confidering how fickle and inflable all humane things are, accepted of his fuit, and instead of a banished Man, made him his Guest, instead of a forrowfull Fugitive, his loving Son; and bestowed on him divers things in a Royal and munificent manner, the Empress shewing the like bounty to his Wife, and their Sons to the Children he had brought along with him: Municipa fends Moreover Mauricius aflisted him with his whole Force in the recovery of his Kingdom, fending a Captain with him, to conduct the Army whitherfoever he should desire. He supplied him with an incredible summ of Money, and thus furnished he was brought out of the Roman Dominions as far as Martyropolis, where Sittas the Traitour was delivered into his Hands, and being stoned by the Citizens, was hanged on the Gallows. The City of Daras was also given up to him, the Persians being privily stoln away, and the Romans having in one battel quite deseated Barames, who fled away alone with great infamy. Then was Chofroes restored to his Kingdom, this bloudless victory being obtained, as Theophanes writes, by the con-

54. This same year that Chofrees was restored, being the Eighth of the Reign of Mauricius, after the Army returned out of the East, the Emperour himself, in the beginning of the Spring, led it down to Anchialus, to oppose the Abares, who, as Niceborn, lib. Maricius his ill the Rumour went, were resolved to waste the Countrey of Thrace, and all as far 18. c. 18. Vide as that City. At their demand he had fent them a golden Table, and many Ta-Baron. lents of Money, to purchase Peace, but this not taking effect, he passed to Perinthus, then called Heraclea, being forely diffressed by Tempests, and having made Priscus General of the Forces in Europe, after great loss received from the Barbarians, he returned again to Constantinople. The Abares and Slavini having crossed the Danube, under conduct of Chaganus, an Hunne, over-ran Thrace, came at length

duct of Narles, whom Mauricius sent General of the Roman Army.

as far as Heraclea, and by strategem took Didymothicum. The violence of these Barbarous Nations the Emperour restrained, as our Historian observes, by his ad-By his craft he mirable Art and Policy. He rigged up his Navy, and made as though he intended makes them re- to invade their Territories, the report whereof struck them with great sear, and in a great perplexity they returned home. After their departure he put strong Garrisons into the places lying upon the Danube, to hinder their passage for the time to come, and Priscus returned to Constantinople, where he was called to account about the Plunder, and put out of his Command, which was conferred on Peter, the Emperour's Brother. But he, in the discharge of his Office, did nothing answer Mauricius his expectation, and therefore he foon again deprived him, and restored Priscus to his former Place and Dignity. To this Priscus is extant a Letter writ- Lib. 2. Ep. 51. ten by Gregory the Great, then Bilhop of Rome, wherein he congratulates his Resti- India. 11. B. wen. tution, and gives him very good Advice.

55. Thus restored to his place Priscus returns to the Danube, to watch the motions of Chaganus, whom finding refolved to make another Incursion, he sends one Theodorus, a Physician, to him, to persuade him to embrace Peace and a good Understanding with the Emperour. He finds him excessive proud, and full of arrogant Concerts and Expressions, using this amongst the rest, That they should find he would make himself Lard and Master of all Nations. Theodorus takes him down by an old flory, how Sefafiris, King of Egypt, having fubdued feveral Kings and Kingdoms, caused himself to be drawn in a Chariot by four of those unfortunate Princes, whereof one, as he was yoked and drew in the Chariot, would still look back, and keep his Eyes fixed upon one of the Wheels. Sefastris taking notice of this his conflant course, would needs know what remarkable thing there could be on which he could gaze to long together. He told him it was the Wheel, which being so unstable, as in a perpetual succession to elevate and depress its several parts,

The Avares

was a perfect refemblance of the Vanity and Inconstancy of all things incident to humane Life; which Saying Sefoftris fo feriously weighed, that he would be no more drawn in his Chariot by those Kings. Chaganus smiled at the story, and knowing his meaning, fignified to Theodorus, that he was not averse to Peace, which Priscus purchaied, and the Barbarian drew off his Forces from the Roman Territo-Peace bought of ries. This Year, which was the eighth of his Reign, Mauricius caused his Son Theodosius to be crowned by John the Patriarch on Easter-day, and took him to be his Collegue in the Empire, being a Child about five years old.

Chaganus their Leader.

56. Paul, the Historian of the Lombards, and other Writers, differ concerning the time of the Death of Mauricius, as joyned with other matters, they placing several things before it, which he fets after at a good distance. That the Sclavi, or Sclavi-Mistorians differ, ni, some time before his death, invaded Histria, Paul affirmeth; but this was in conjunction with the Lombards and Avares. Afterward, about the latter end of Phocas, as he tells us, their King Cacanus, or Gaganus, with an innumerable multitude, invaded the Borders of Venetia, but Baronius placeth that expedition of the Sclavi, and this of Cacanus, in the same year. Gregory the Great, in an Epistle to Maximus, Bishop of Salonæ, laments that by the way of Istria the Sclavi had already entred Italy; but nothing doth he say concerning Gaganus his Invasion of Venetia, which Paul placeth in the Reign of Adaloaldus, and a good space after the death of that Bishop. But whatever waste or destruction soever the Sclavi, or Sclavini, made in the Western Parts, the disturbance they wrought in the East was great, where they put Mauricius into great Fears and Care. In his eleventh Year they rose up in great multitudes, to cross the Danube, of which he having notice, sent away Prifcus, with all the Roman Nobility, to restrain them. Their Captain hereat affrighted, fent to Priscus to expostulate and complain, that the Emperour first made War upon his Neighbours. He answered, he had no Commission to make War, but onely to restrain the frequent Invasions of the Sclavi; yet perceiving that they carried it cunningly, and that Ardagastus was sending abroad multitudes to forage, at midnight he filently passed the River, and fell upon him when he expected nothing less, cut off many of his Men, and forced him to defert them, and hide himself before such time as he could mount, which done, the Countrey wasted, and many Prisoners taken Priscus returned in triumph to Constantinople, where he was received with extraordinary great joy.

Defeated by

The Sclavi in-

vade the Eaft.

57. Three or four years after this Victory was obtained against the Sclavi, Mau- Ex Oratione Phyricius fell desperately sick, and, as one leaving this World, disposed of his Empire es, and Tro-Mauricius being to his Children in this manner. To his eldest Son Theodosius he gave Constantinople, Bar. fick, diffributes with the Eastern Provinces; and to Tiberius, his fecond Son, Rome, with Italy, and the Provinces to the Islands of the Tyrrhenian Sea. The other Provinces he distributed to the rest of his Sons, who being very young, he made Domitianus, his Kinfman, the Bilhop of Melita, a man very diligent and fit for bufiness, their Tutour or Guardian. But this Disposition came to nothing, the great Disposer of all Empires and Dominions Which came to having otherwife ordained concerning Mauricius and his Sons, as we shall shortly

find. But the year following his Recovery, to testifie his gratitude to his Maker and Restorer, as we have ground in charity to judge, he sent to Rome thirty pounds Triginta isaq, liof Gold to be distributed to the poor of that City, with Gowns to be given to the armonium must Souldiers as a military Donative, for all which Gregory the Bishop gives him hum. ble Thanks in a Letter full of Duty and Observance to him his Prince. The Mes
to Sacretaithm for a line for the same of the fenger by whom these things were sent was Julianus Scribo, who entring upon his fideliter eregavit. denger by whom these things were less was justified to the year. Barbarous Na. Lib.8. Ep. 2.

Office in Italy, oppressed the poor People more than did the very Barbarous Na. Lib.8. Ep. 2.

Addid. 3. Vide tions that invaded their Countrey, having been beaten from Constantinople by the Bar. multitude for violence offered to the Patriarch of that City, at fuch time as the Sclavini were on their march thitherward, wasting and destroying all things in their passage. For that after the defeat given them by Priscus, they yet returned, and in several years following harassed Illyricum and Dalmatia, with other Provinces, is too clear and evident.

58. But amongst the other Barbarians the Emperour rightly judged, that more than an ordinary first Eye was to be had to the motions of Chajanus or Chaganus. King of the Avares, and therefore Priscus was ordered to lie at Singedon, and obferve his Actions, who had taken up his quarters in the City of Sirmium. The Feast of Easter was now come, but the Roman Army was ready to be starved, no provisions being to be had in the Countrey adjacent. Chajanus understanding so much, fignifies to Priscus, that if he would fend his Waggons to fetch it, he would give him what was requifite to the celebration of that high Festival, with such chearfulness as became the Christian Profession. Priscus sent him forty Waggons

with fuch Presents as he could make, and received Provisions sufficient for the time of the Festival, during which all Acts of Hostility ceased, and without the least fear or Inconvenience they conversed together. But the Feast being over, the Barbarians separated themselves, and wasted the Countrey of Thrace at their pleasure, revelling and feafting fplendidly one another. They at Constantinople were so much affrighted, that they confulted about quitting Europe, and removing to Chalcedon, and other places in Afia. The Emperour made as good preparations for defence as he could. Having fortified the Wall, he put the ordinary fort into a posture of defending the City, and at the request of the Senate sent one Armazo on an Embaffy to Chajanus, with rich presents, and gentle words, to sweeten the humour of the Barbarian, but the Ambassadour chanced to come in a very ill time, when a great Pestilence had seized on the Avares, and in especial manner had afflicted the Family of Chajanus, who lost no sewer than seven Sons in one day, and now in anguish of mind, being ready to depart home, defired God to judge betwirt himself, the Ambassadour, and his Master, and offered to release his Captives for a very fmall matter to be paid him for every head.

59. The Emperour refused to pay the Money. Chajanus thereupon fell the half Their Ring kills in his price, but when Mauricius refused to give this also, he put all the Prisoners in his price, but which maintain refuned to give this allo, he put all the Prinoners and imposing a Tax of fifty thousand Aurei more upon the Roman Territories, went his way. The Emperour, by his carriage in this bufinels, exceedingly loft himfelf, and provoked the Fury and Indignation of the Souldiers, whom he otherwise also incensed, if we give credit to what is related by Zonaras. For owing several Companies of them ill will upon the account of some seditions at tempts, when he fent them against Chajanus, he gave secret Instructions to Commaniful incurs mentiolus, their General, to betray them, and expose them to such danger as they must necessarily miscarry, which taking effect, it seems that such as escaped the Sword, and had the fortune to be taken Prisoners out of the same inveterate malice formerly conceived against them, he refused to ransome. The Army mutinies, and fends certain Deputies to accuse Commentiolus of treachery, amongst whom appears one Phocas, who having Audience of the Emperour in his Prefence Chamber, urged the matter with vehemence, and demeaned himself with that sauciness and difrespect that he was beaten by the Courtiers that stood by. And the Petition of the Army was rejected, Commentiolus kept still in his Command, and the Depu-They of conflant ties dismissed without success, wherewith the Citizens of Constantinople now began to be concerned, and affembled in a tumultuous manner, and cast stones at Mauricius, who making a fearch after those that were principally guilty of the Riot, punished them according to their defert, but unseasonably, as now the times stood; for both Army and People began to be weary of his Government, and fuch Plots were laid, as at length accomplished the utter ruine both of him and all his Fa-

60. In the mean time the Avares being clear of the Plague, and sensible of the

advantages they had upon the Roman Empire, betook themselves to their former 19. Mauricii. practices of wasting the Borders, and Chajanus delivers to four of his Sons fo many Bands of Men, with orders to keep strict watch upon the banks of the Danube, Yet the Romans got over in Boats, and Priscus, who was again employed in this expedition, ingaging with the King's Sons in a Battel, which lasted from morning to night, destroyed four thousand of the Barbarians, with the loss of no more than three hundred of his own Men. Three days after this, getting advantage of the ground, he drove those that survived the former battel into the Fenns, where many of them perished in the Water, and amongst them the Sons of Chaganus, who now himself coming against the Romans, with a great power of Men, Priscus gives him battel, and adds a fresh Victory to his former Successes. To pursue the course of Fortune while she continued in this good humour, he fent four thousand Men over the River Tissus, to watch their opportunity, and by a sudden onset to doe fome notable feat against the Barbarians in those parts, who, utterly ignorant of what had lately passed, were in the greatest security imaginable, and passed away the time in Feasts and Merriments. Falling suddenly upon them, they slew about thirty thousand of the Gepidæ, and others, and returned to Priscus, enriched with much booty. Chaganus troubled at these things, resolves to try his fortune with Priscus another time, and coming to the Danube, again ingaged with him; but Fortune still proved unkind, and he had the worst in battel, many of his Men being slain, and many drowned in the River. Three thousand and two hundred Avares were taken Prisoners, besides two thousand Barbarians of other Nations. Chaganus sent to Mauricius to desire a restitution of Captives, and surprized him so, that not

having yet received the news of fo great a Victory, and ignorant what multitudes he had in his Hands, he ordered the Prisoners to be dismitted.

61. Thus it was clear day with these Provinces, when at Constantinople a dismal Darkness and Tempest was gathering over the Head of Mauricius, while he celebrated the Muptials of his Son Theodofius, with the Daughter of Germanus, a Patritian. As the breeding of ill weather is perceived by some, who from the repugnancy of their Temper and Constitutions, can prognosticate the effects of that change, which they find already made in the Elements; fo out of some antipathy, Things porten or from other fecret Caufes, the approach of this dreadfull ftorm was both appreding the Ruine. hended by the Emperour, and others. Surius tells of a religious Man, to whom Tom. 2. die 22. it was revealed what manner of death Mauricius should die, after that a Lamp which perpetually burned in the Church, went out of it felf, and though many times lighted, yet could not be kept in by any endeavours the Monks could use. Another Monk holding a drawn Sword in his hand, went as far as from the Forum And to stop atto the Brazen Gate, crying out all the way, that the Emperour should die by that 20.7 each fort of Weapon. It was by others told Mauricius, that he should fall by the Hand of the State of one whose name began with Pb, which made him suspect Philippicus, his Sisters w. And & Husband, who with all Oaths and Protestations imaginable, disavowed all Plots KAZARIS APPLIED and Configuracies what foever. Thefe things made him look about him, and reflect hours, Si Zi-upon the passages of his Life, which doing, he found himself much in fault, as to name, eight the Redemption of the Captives, which he had refused, and all things confidered, mode locum: A he defired rather to receive his punishment in this World, than in that to come, for fore ufix ad chall which purpose he sent to all Patriarchs, to all Monasteries, and to Jerusalem, to de source of myenth. fire the Prayers of devout persons. Prayers being accordingly made in his behalf in all places, one night he dreamed, that he ftood before the Image of our Saviour, erected at the brazen Gate of the Palace, where a great number of Captives accused him: That a voice proceeded from the Image, which commanded him to be apprehended, which being done by the Officers attending, it was demanded of him whether he would be punished in this or another Life. He answered, he had much rather in this Life, than that which was to come, receive what he had de-

> 62. As foon as he awaked he fent for Philippicus, who knowing the Emperour's jealousies, feared he might possibly never return alive, and therefore received first the holy Communion, and then went to Court, leaving his Wife at home, weeping in Sackcloth and Ashes. The Emperour, when he saw him, commanded him that waited to withdraw, and falling at his Feet, befought him to forgive him, telling him he had done him great injury, in suspecting that he had plotted against his Life, whereas now he plainly perceived he was innocent. He defired him to tell him if he knew one Phocas, a Souldier in the Army, which he faid he did, and that it was he who being fent about the business of Commentiolus, had demeaned himself so saucily in his presence. He asked what was the Temper of the Man. He said he was timorous, and yet of a fierce Nature. If he be a Coward, faith he, he is a Murtherer, and then told Philippicus the whole story of his Dream. Now this very same night appears a Comet in the Air, such as from the shape of a Sword they called Xiphius. And as Cedrenus writes, Magistrianus, whom he had employed in this affair, returning from holy Men, brought him word that God had accepted of his Repentance, that he would save his Soul, and place him, and all his Family, amongst the Saints; but he must lose the Empire with great Infamy and Damage. Mauricius having received the Message, glorified God exceedingly.

> served, and presently it was decreed, that he, his Wife, his Children, and his

whole Family, should be given up into the Hands of Phocas, a Souldier.

63. Matters thus flanding, he fent orders to his Brother Peter, who comman-Cedrenus. Zonaded the Army, to pass over the Danube, and take up their Winter Quarters in the real Enemies Countrey. The Souldiers would not endure to hear of any such thing, but fell into a mutiny, and lifting aloft Phocas, the Centurion, upon a Target, with lucky Acclamations faluted him Emperour. This as foon as Peter perceived, he withdrew, and returning to Constantinople, acquainted Mauricius with what had passed. The Tidings of the promotion of a new Emperour came to the City almost as soon as his Intelligence to the Court, and as the multitude is ever greedy of change, and weary even of the best things, thereupon they fell into great tumults and diforders. Mauricius perceiving here he could not be safe, takes Ship at midnight, with his Wife and Children, and by Tempest was driven to St. Autonomus, being at the same time seized with great pains of the Gout. He had sent before his Son Theodosius to Chosroes, to put him in mind of the good Offices he had done him, and in this time of his extremity, to desire that he might receive the like kindness.

Maricius and his five Sons

The Profession increased, and the multitude revited him in the Forum. When word was brought that Phocas drew near to Constantinople, those of the Faction of the Prasini went out to meet him. Congratulated with the Tyrant his Promotion; and invited him to take Possession of the Hebdomus, or the Palace so called. Here Cyriacus the Patriarch, and the Senatours made their Addresses, and the Bishop having received from him a Confession of his Faith, with a Promise to preserve the Peace of the Church, Crowned him with the imperial Diadem, and thus was he declared Emperour in the Church of St. John Baptift, to the great detriment of the Roman State, as was afterward found by the Innumerable milchiefs that followed. Two days after, in an Emperial Chariot he Rode to the Court, and on the fifth day he fet a Crown on the Head of Leontia, or Leonto his Wife, and named her Augusta

The Factio in Tamult threaten Phocas to lend for

in a great Assembly.

64. As the Custome was, he must now go to the Circus to be present at the publick Shews, and there the Prasini and Veneti not forgetting their old wont fall a Quarrelling. Phagas fends fome of his Guard to quiet them, who deal roughly with a Tribune of the Venetian Faction; more turbulent it feems than the reft, which his Friends not enduring cryed out Tumultuously to the Tyrant, that he should bethink himself, that Mauricius was not yet dead, and they threatned to send for him and make him Umpire in the present Controversie. This startled Phocas, and put him into fuch a fit of Anger and Jealousie, that he resolved, that with the Life of Mauricius he would no more be reproached. He caused him therefore to be brought to Chalcedon, to the Haven of Eutropius, where first he commanded his five Sons to be flain before his Face, with which Spectacle he was no otherwise affected, than that with great Courage and Submission to the Will of God, he said, Just are thou O Lord, and righteous in all thy Judgments. And so far was he from any murmuring, or impatience at the fad Estate, wherein he now stood, that when the Nurse hid one of his youngest Sons, that his Family might not altogether perish, and placed one of her own in his stead, the Good man would not suffer this kind Fraud of hers to take Success, but discovered it, and then willingly submitted his own Neck to the Executioner. Their heads were cast on a heap in the Fields near the Tribunal, where they lay till they putrified, and then the Tyrant gave leave they should be buried with their Bodies. Such a lamentable end had Mauricius after he had Reigned fixteen years three Months and odd Days; in the Month of November, the fixth Indiction, the thirteenth of Gregory the Roman Bishop, A.D. DCII.

And Theodolius. Mauricius his

65. Mauricius being thus dispatched, Peter his brother was put to Death. So ther and others. Was Commentiolus, with George the Son of Philippicus, and Prafentinus the great Bofom Friend and Councellour of Peter. But the Jealousie and Cruelty of the Tyrant were not confined to Constantinople, and the places adjacent; there was one yet alive, who for all this might spoil the best of his sport, and hinder him from enjoying the Fruits of his Villanies, whose Title to the Purple was much more ancient than that of his. This was Theodosius, whom his Father had sent to beg aid of Chofrees, but as Tyrants have long Armes, he reached him e'er he came to the Confines of the Empire, and ordered him to be put to Death, which was Executed at a place called Leucalta not far distant from Nicæa, where he was surprized. The Youth defired the Favour, that e'er he died he might partake of the Holy Mysteries, which being granted, he took a stone from the Ground and therewith having three times struck his Breast, he prayed and said, Lord Jesus, thou knowest I never injured any Man, but however deal with me as thou pleasest, and Glorifie thy Power; which faid, his Head was presently cut off, though others reported, that being fent by his Father with Letters to Chofrees, he miscarried some other way. However, it happened that trouble arose to the Tyrant from that very thing whereon he founded his greatest Security, for what way soever Theodosius miscarried, the incertainty of the manner, brought the matter it self into Suspicion and as is usual in such Cases, those whose Interest it was to have him alive, gave out, that fome other Person was killed for him. And though Phocas sent according to the Custome to Chosroes, to acquaint him with his promotion, and by good Words and fair Pretences, to draw him to an owning, and Patronage of his Cause and Person; yet the Messenger was so unwelcome, (Cilius by Name, who had with his own hands murthered Mauricius) and much more his Message, that the Barbarian moved with a Sense of Gratitude and Honour, renounced Friendship with the Tyrant, and denounced that War which shortly after involved the Empire in innumerable Miferies.

Chifres de-nounces War

66. But

66. But in the mean time, viz. in the Month of April, were the Images of Phocas and his Wife, as the manner was, brought to Rome, where the People rejoycing mini films fall to the control of the late Romerous Romerous and his Wife, as the manner was, brought to Romerous of the late Romerous Romerous and Romerous Rome Process and first wife, as the mainter was a trought of the late Emperour's in direction in Changes, and incensed by the illegal and violent Courses of the late Emperour's in direction. Ministers in Italy, received them with lucky Acclamations; and Gregory the Bishop Principal Anticommanded them to be laid up in the Oratory of St. Cafarius the Martyr within or single the Palace, not the Laterane, but another standing betwixt the Via Appia and La- feet Lunary. tina. This done the Bishop Writes a Congratulatory Letter to the Tyrant, begin- Greg. lib. 11. Inis done the Dinop William who as it is written changeth times, and tran- Exact 10. ming with "Glory to God on high, who as it is written changeth times, and tran- Exact 10. hd. 6.0p. 3. flates Kingdoms to whom he pleafeth, by whose incomprehensible Dispensation who had 6.0p. 3. flates Kingdoms to whom he pleafeth, by whose incomprehensible Dispensation who had 6.0p. 3. flates Kingdoms to whom he pleafeth, by whose incomprehensible Dispensation who had 6.0p. 3. flates Kingdoms to whom he pleafeth, by whose incomprehensible Dispensation who had 6.0p. 3. flates Kingdoms to whom he pleafeth, by whose incomprehensible Dispensation who had 6.0p. 3. flates Kingdoms to whom he pleafeth, by whose incomprehensible Dispensation who had 6.0p. 3. flates Kingdoms to whom he pleafeth, by whose incomprehensible Dispensation who had 6.0p. 3. flates Kingdoms to whom he pleafeth, by whose incomprehensible Dispensation who had 6.0p. 3. flates Kingdoms to whom he pleafeth, by whose incomprehensible Dispensation who had 6.0p. 3. flates Kingdoms to whom he pleafeth, by whose incomprehensible Dispensation who had 6.0p. 3. flates Kingdoms to whom he pleafeth, by whose incomprehensible Dispensation who had 6.0p. 3. flates Kingdoms to whom he pleafeth, by whose incomprehensible Dispensation who had 6.0p. 3. flates Kingdoms to whom he pleafeth, by whose incomprehensible Dispensation who had 6.0p. 3. flates Kingdoms to whom he pleafeth, by whose incomprehensible Dispensation who had 6.0p. 3. flates Kingdoms to whom he pleafeth who had 6.0p. 3. flates Kingdoms to whom he pleafeth who had 6.0p. 3. flates Kingdoms to whom he pleafeth who had 6.0p. 3. flates Kingdoms to whom he pleafeth who had 6.0p. 3. flates Kingdoms to whom he pleafeth who had 6.0p. 3. flates Kingdoms to whom he pleafeth who had 6.0p. 3. flates Kingdoms to whom he pleafeth who had 6.0p. 3. flates Kingdoms to whom he pleafeth who had 6.0p. 3. flates Kingdoms to whom he pleafeth who had 6.0p. 3. flates Kingdoms to whom he had 6.0p. 3. flates Kingdoms to whom he had 6.0p. 3. "it comes to pass, that various are the Conditions of humane Life, and sometimes Signium. "for the Punishment of the fins of many, one Man is raised up, through the hard-"ness of whose Heart, the Necks of his Subjects are burthened with the Yoke of

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CHAP. III.

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Phocas.

Chaftized.

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Punisheth a

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71. The Tyrant ignorant of these Transactions to pursue his own maxims, makes choice of fuch as he thought as cruel as himfelf for his prime Ministers. For this purpose he creates one Bonosus Comes of the East, a furious and rugged man, whom he lends to restrain the violence of the Persians, but as he was on his way, he was The Jews rife a recalled to extinguish the flames of a Rebellion, which now broke out at Antioch, gainst the Chrithians at Antitub. where the Jews rose up against the Christians. They slew Anastasius the Patriarch, which done, they cut off his privy members, and put them into his Mouth, and then dragged his dead Body through the Streets. They killed and burnt many of the Citizens, and proceeded still in their fury till the news being brought to Phocas, Chrim ishum he ordered Bonofus and Chotis the Magister Militum to chastise them, which they lat Cedrenu.

did to purpose, being not able to prevail by fair means, putting many of them to the Sword, and difmembring many whom they then banished the City. Thus was this fedition suppressed at Antioch, about the time that disorders of greater confequence happened at Constantinople, where the Heartburnings of the People against the Tyrant though for some time smothered, yet so increased as to break out into a gain revile Pho- greater flame. As he was present at the Shews in the Circus, the Prasini could not hold but upbraided him with his Drunkenness, telling him that he had again drunk in Gabasta, which was a very large fort of Cup, and that he had again lost his sense and understanding, In great wrath he caused Cosmas an Officer to apprehend many of them, of whom some he beheaded, others were dismembred, and some put into facks and thrown into the Sea. The Prafini hereat inraged, as much as he, gathered together, fet fire to the Prætorium, Court, and several Offices with the Prifons, out of which they let go fuch as lay in Chains. The Tyrant hereupon in

> 72. This year, which was the feventh of his Reign, happened to sharp a Winter, that the Seas were frozen about Constantinople, and now the Tyrant's own Court began to wax too hot for him, where every day Conspiracies being hatched, for ridding the World of fo great a Plague. Theodorus a Cappadocian, the Præfectus Prætorio, Helpidius the Captain of his Artillery, and feveral others devised how they might kill him in the Hippodrome, but the Conspiracy was revealed by Anastrasius the Comes Largitionum, and when upon examination it was found. that they had resolved to make Theodorus Emperour, he put them all to Death, Anastrasius as well as others. But things could not long stand in this Condition, though he elcaped this danger, yet being now fet against all men, and all men against him, the controversie must shortly be decided. Heraclius is saluted Emperour in Africk, and comes with a great Fleet and Army raifed in these Southern parts toward Constantinople, while Nicetas marches with a great Land Army by

great wrath, caused the Prasini to be disarmed.

the way of Alexandria and Pentapolis. Heraclius had made a contract with Eudecia the Daughter of Rogatus an African, and she was now at Constantinople with Heraelius comes Epiphania his Mother, which being told to Phocas, he caused them to be apprehenour of Africk a ded, and thut up in a Monaftery. But Heraclius holds on his course and comes to Abidus, which being perceived by Domenticlus the Brother of the Tyrant, who had appointed him to keep the long Walls, he fled with the News of his approach to Constantinople. Having at Abidus kindly received such Noblemen as had been exiled by Phocas, Heraclius purfued his Voyage to Heraclea and so to Constantinople, where in the Haven of Sophia, he ingaged in Battel with the Tyrant and had the better. Phocas being defeated fled to the Court, which being observed by one Photinus, whose Wife he had Ravished, with a party of Souldiers he broke in to him, drag'd him ignominiously from his Throne, pull'd the Imperial Robe over his Ears, and putting on him a black Vest, led him in Fetters to Heraclius, who after he had asked him, If he had not bravely Governed, and he had answered, It was his

part to doe better, commanded first his Hands and Feet, then his Arms and privy Lution Sangare Members to be cut off, and at last his Head. What was left of his Trunck, the maceratum Souldiers Burnt in the Forum of the Oxe, a Market place so called, and this end had Baseness and Cruelty, after they had domineered something above seven years, in the fourth year of Boniface the Fourth, the Roman Bishop, the thirteenth Indiction, A. D. DCX.

CHAP. III. The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. Heraclius.

73. Zonaras writes that the Brothers and Relations of Phocas were also put to Death, and that Heraclius being Crowned by Sergius the Patriarch the same day, set the Crown on the Head of Fabia, whose name was changed into Eudocia, and that he confummated the Marriage formerly contracted. Heraclius was as to his Countrey a Cappadocian, descended of a Noble and opulent Family, active and va-

liant, of a middle Stature, large Breafted, had sparkling and grayish Eyes, a white Complexion, yellow Hair, and a large broad Beard, but immediately upon his promotion, he both cut his Hair and shaved his Beard, as was the custome of Emperours. This year had been very happy in fuch a change, but that the Persians turned the Joy thence conceived by those of the Eastern parts into mourning, for The Persiant in invading Syria, they took Apamea and Edessa, and came as far as Antioch; the Romans opposing them with so ill success, that in a manner the whole Party perished in the Attempt, very few escaping to carry the News of the Defeat to their Friends and Relations. The Scythians also and Abares invaded Europe, which things made the new Emperour very folicitous what to doe. For the Legions were quite wasted and gone, very few being found in the Muster Rolls, infomuch that of those many thousands which Rebelled against that good Prince Mauricius, and

faluted Phocas their Emperour, by a remarkable Providence, no more than two Souldiers were remaining. But Heraclius making as good preparations as the weak Zonaras. Estate of the Empire would permit, made Crispus General, and fent him into Cappadocia, which the following year the Persians invaded, as well as Armenia, and after great waste and destruction of all things, got Cafarea into their Hands, which done, they roved up and down at their pleasure; the Roman Forces being not able to make Head against them, at least not any considerable opposition. While these The birth of a things ministred matter of forrow at Constantinople, fome diversion was given to the Court by the Birth of a young Prince, Heraclius the younger, who was afterward called Constantine Junior, of which the Empress was brought to Bed on the third of May. She had before this brought a Daughter named Epiphania, and not long after the Birth of her Son Died, an unluckly accident happening at her Funeral.

As she was carried with Royal Pomp through the Forum, a Girl of some Barbarous Nation unwittingly and by accident spate upon the Herse, for which the poor Creature was laid hold on and cruelly Burnt, making thus a lamentable parentation to the Deceased Empress. 74. This act of Cruelty was not left unrevenged in the East, where one mif-

chief still followed at the heels of another, though the Persians, glutted with bloud and burthened with booty, thought fit to give rest both to themselves and the places The Saracess subject to their Invasions. But the Saracess as it were to play their Game, while inside Spria. they were weary and looked on, made Incursions into Spria, which they miserably wasted with Fire and Sword. Heraclius to secure in his Family the succession of a tottering and uncertain Empire, creates his Daughter Augusta or Empress, and within a year following gives a Diadem to Heraclius his Son, whom he Sirnamed Heading indea. Within a year following gives a Diagoni to 21c norms in oct., within a year following gives a Diagoni to Eft. Confiantine, and caused to be Crowned in like manner by Sergius the Partiarch. The Person of the Pers made as good preparations as he might for an expedition against the Persians. But

they prevented him, being now fresh and fit for new Slaughters, for they took Damascus, and carried away captive a great multitude of People. Hereupon he sends to Chofroes to perswade him to admit of moderate Councils, to put a stop to that constant. issue of bloud which he made, and satisfie himself with an Annual Tribute. But Ceptur hopes he difmissed the Ambassadours with a denial, without any reasons given for his Remark himself Mafter of the folution, hoping now to make himself Master of the Roman Empire. He sent a great Army into Syria under the command of Rasmizsus, which having seized on the Passages of Jordan, wasted Palestine and took the City of Jerusalem. Here they committed fuch outrageous acts, as the horrour of them could not be expressed. About ninety thousand Christians they took and fold many to the Jews, who out of their inveterate hatred to their Religion, refused to treat them as by the univerial consent of Nations, Captives were wont to be dealt with, but inventing all forts of Torments, put them to most cruel Deaths. Zacharias the Patriarch was carried away into Persia, with some wood it's said belonging to the Cross of Christ, and vast Plunder. And this is all the account we have concerning this lamentable

75. In the mean time Heraclius being now a Widower, Marries Martina his Baracher mar- own Neice by his Brother, and causeth her to be Crowned by Sergius, for which incestuous Act he is much blamed by Writers, and severely punished as

largely to have been related.

accident, Historians having given us but a touch of that which deserved more

73 Zonaras

CHAP. III.

PART III.

Romans, to restore their Valour and Conduct, and to make such an expedition into Persia, as might not onely secure the Provinces, but recover the Reputation of the

Empire. But it's ill fighting with one Enemy, when a Man has another at his

Back, and ingage with two, or more, at the fame time. He endeavours therefore to take off Chajanus, and if not gain his Heart, yet to tie his Hands, that he might

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. Heraclius.

they observe. She brings him a Son who is also called Constantine, at such time as the Perfians overrun all Ægypt and Africk as far as Carthage, which having attempted to no purpose with their usual Booty and innumerable Prisoners they return home. At this time most lamentable was the condition of such as fled from The Perfum all # the danger to Alexandria, where there were no provisions for so great a multitude, gigt and Africk, neither had the Nile overflowed according to the custome; but by the care and liberality of Fohn the Patriarch they were much relieved. Certainly this was a miserable Age, and the condition of the Roman Empire was most calamitous, the Barbarous Nations roving up and down at their pleasure, and Heraclius seeming so incapable of any effectual resistence, that he appeared as a man utterly dejected and out of hope. This kindled the heat of Ambition in some mens Breasts, who seeing him so unable to defend the Roman Dominions, and perceiving all was in danger, resolved to get a share to themselves, rather than suffer all to be lost to the Barbarous Nations. In Italy, John, the Governour of the City of Naples, rebells and kills John the Exarch of Ravenna, into whose place was fent from Constantinople when his Death was there heard of, one Eleutherius who killed the Tyrant, and reflored Peace to those Quarters about Ravenna. But being warm in his Seat, he began out of fuch confiderations as we lately mentioned, to entertain ambitious thoughts of fetting up for himfelf, having the greater Incouragement, because the Territories subject to his command lay at such a distance from the Emperour, who not being able to defend the Eastern Provinces, how could it be expected that he should protect Italy, into the Bowels of which the Lombards had also infinuated themselves? while he contrives in his Head, by what means he may best bring about his purpose, Italy, as seldom having time to breathe betwixt one Calamity and another, is forely shaken with Earthquakes, and afflicted with a dismal Plague of

lects his preparations for War, and instead of triumphs of the Field, makes choice of Domestick shews and solemnities. All his endeavours he bends to the promoting of his Children, in the feventh year of his Reign, conferring the Honour of Consul on Heraclius Constantinus his eldest Son, who bestowed on Constantine the younger, his Brother by Martina, the Title of Cafar. Defirous to be at peace, he fends now the second time to Chosroes offering to purchase it though upon very hard terms, but the Barbarian the more he submitted the more insulted, and utterly forgetting as well the good offices he had received from the Romans in his late condition, as the viciffitude of humane Life, arose to that height of Arrogancy, as to require the Emperour and his Subjects, if they would be at quiet to renounce their Crucified Saviour, and with him adore the Sun for their God. Yet this Embaffy or some other motive had this effect, that the Persians stirred not the sollowing year, which, notwithstanding was full of trouble, or fuller than the preceding. For the Avares now again invaded Thrace, whom to divert or fend back, Vide Cedenson Heraclius dispatched away his Ambassadours. Chaganus their Leader promises ad Ann. 9. He Peace, whereupon the Emperour with all his train, goes and meets him as far as the long Walls, and with gentle words labours to perswade him to continue in so good a mind, when juddenly the Barbarian contemning the Agreement, and the Oaths wherewith he had fealed them, falls upon Heraclius who escaping narrow-The King of ly to Conflantinople, lost all his Baggage which he was forced to leave behind with fidious.

Outside Aware per-ly to Conflantinople, lost all his Baggage which he was forced to leave behind with fidious.

Chaganus having under shew of Peace and Amiry taken and plundered many Towns in Thrace, and inriched himself and followers by such per-

76. Heraclius in the mean time, as if he had been feized with some lethargick

Indisposition, and could fright the Enemies of the Empire by glorious names, neg-

77. The year following, the Persians knowing how easie a Game they had to play, for their exercise and diversion as well as inrichment, made another Invasion and took Ancyra a City of Galatia. He must have been prodigiously stupid, whom fo many affronts could not move to Indignation, excessively negligent and bad natured, whom so many Cries and Lamentations of multitudes spoiled of their Friends and Goods, and others led into Captivity, could not affect, and poor spirited above example, that could hear every day of this Town loft, and the other Province wasted without being exceedingly concerned, and in pain, till an effectual course could be taken, both for repelling the Injury, and prevention of the like for the time to come. Whatever was the matter that Heraclius hitherto had feemed to be afleep, yet now he rouzed himfelf and his Animofity and Refolution, though hard to be raised, yet now raised, gave hopes with them that they would not easily be laid down. He refolves to recall if possible, the ancient Fortune of the

fland neuter, and doe him no hurt at home, whilft abroad he provided for the fecurity of himfelf and Subjects. He fends once again to him, and having gently reprehended him for his late unkind dealing, once more exhorts him to embrace Peace. The King of the and a good understanding with him his Neighbour. The Barbarian promises to aldefrece. Let his course, and now to observe the Deago invisibility. 78. Animated by this Report made by his Ambassadours, and now, as he thought; fecure of the Abares, he buckled himself to his designed Expedition with all Ala-

crity. His Treasury was so empty that he was forced to borrow Silver and Gold of the Churches, which he stamped into Money. He hired the Turks, and other Barbarous Nations, to follow him into Perfia, and in his way made fuch levies as formed up a new Army. At Constantinople he left his Son to command in his abfence, affifted by Sergius the Patriarch, and Bonus a Patritian, a Man of great Wifedom and Experience. Chajanus by Letters he still exhorted to keep his Word and Faith, fo religiously given, and the next Evening, after the solemnity of Easter was over, fet forward for Perfia, training his Men as he marched, and disciplining such Troops as were raw and unexperienced, being newly railed. In the mean time. while he prepares for his Journey, Saes, the Persian General, sent by Chosroes, wastes the East without controll, and coming even as far as Chalcedon, there stays Heading chea. for some time, and invites Heraclius, under pretext of a Treaty of Peace, to give ted by the Per- him a meeting. The Emperour met with him according to his defire, and trusting too much to his flattering Language, fent feventy of his Nobles with him on an Embally to Chofrees, whom the perfidious wretch carried bound with great conturnely into Persia, but there being arrived, had his skin pulled over his Ears, for having feen Heraclius, and not brought him away Prisoner, and the Roman Ambassadours were cast into Prison, and severely handled. Chosroes after this sent another Captain against the Romans, called Sarbaras, who entring Asia with a vast number of Men, did answerable mischiefs in the Provinces. But Heraclius now having composed the differences risen amongst his Souldiers, and animated them with courage and confidence against his Enemies, pursued his March, and came to the confines of Armenia. Here he understands he must fight for his passage, a Body of *Persians* being ready to give him a stop, but there was not much need of troubling himself, some of his Vantguards easily defeating this Party, of which they brought the Captain Prisoner to his Presence. Winter now drawing on, he held on the way toward *Pontus*, as if he would there take up his Winter Quarters, and the Persians imagining no less, he surprised them, and fell into their Territo-

79. One of their Commanders had already entred Cilicia, to divert him from his defigned Invalion, but now perceiving how the case was altered, he retreated to defend his own Countrey, and followed Heraclius in the rere; yet did him little or no prejudice, though he feized on the Mountains, and the most advantageous places, still coming off with loss and Infamy. At length other forces drew up, and then they came to a pircht battel, wherein the Courage and Alacrity of Heraclius fo ani-Heraclius demated his Men, that they obtained a notable Victory over their formerly infulting Enemies, and let them see that Fortune had not altogether addicted her self to them and their Cause. This done, the Emperour drew down his Forces into Armenia to Winter, and he himself returned to Constantinople, whence he was constrained, after no very long stay, to return again into the East. For Chosroes sent Sarnabazas, or Sarmanazaris, to waste the Roman Provinces, as formerly, and being again moved to accept of Peace, and compose the differences, for the ease and security of the People for the time to come, he refused what was offered, and slighted the Mesfage. Heraclius therefore fees he must again invade Persia, which he did toward the latter end of April, which Chofroes understanding, recalls Sarnabazas, and making greater Levies, joins him and Sainus, or Sathis, in command, with orders to find out and ingage the Emperour. Heraclius pursues his March, and having by Arguments, drawn from religious confiderations, much elevated the courage of his Men, pierced into the inner Persia, where perceiving that the King himself lay at a place called Gazacum, (or Gaza-Cotis) with forty thousand stout and courageous Souldiers, made haste to surprize him. He sent some Saracens before, to espie and relate how this might best be effected, who fell upon the scouts of Chosroes,

fidious practices returned home.

and killing some of them, brought others to the Emperour; but some escaped, and carried news of Heraclius his approach, with which the King was amazed, and fled away as fast as his Horse could carry him.

80. Heraclius still pursues and clears all before him, easily conquering whatever opposition was made, and takes the City of Gazacum, where was the Temple of the Sun, the Treasure of Crassus, King of Lydia, and the Imposture of Coals.

through Perfus.

Heraclius de-

He takes and ra- Entring the place, he found therein Chofroes, so represented, as if he sate in Hea cedrenate. ven, with the Sun, Moon and Stars about him, which he worthipped as Gods; Angels which bore Sceptres encircling him. There were also Machines to be seen, by which he could imitate Rain, and counterfeit Thunder, all which, together with the Temple, and the whole City, the Emperour burnt to Ashes, and pursued the King to Thebatman, (where Theophanes placeth the Temple, and the other fu. Vide Bar. perstitious things now mentioned) and so as far as to the Straits of Media, destroying many Towns, and wasting all places through which he passed. But now he must think of Winter, which drew nigh, and his Souldiers must be provided for. Three days he fet apart to implore the Counsel and Direction of Almighty God, and opening the Gospels, as the manner was, he thought it was injoined him to winter in Albania. In his retreat with much booty he was in disadvantageous places way-layed, and galled fometimes by the Enemy but still came off with the better. He was most distressed with Frost, and hard weather, which moved him to fuch compassion toward his Prisoners, of which it's reported he had no fewer,

than fifty thousand, that he fet them all at liberty, which so affected them, that

weeping for joy, they prayed he might not be onely theirs, but the Deliverer of all Perha from the Destroyer of the World, the bloudy Chofroes.

81. For the year following, which was the fourteenth of the Reign of Heraclius. Chofroes made one Sarablacas (or Sarablancas) and Sarbazanes his Generals, ordering Chaffres maketh them with joint force to fet upon the Emperour, who with fuch fuccess as could not be parallel'd, and indeed prodigious, if the Fortune of his Predecessours, in reference to the Crown of Persia, be considered, had born the Roman Eagle displayed throughout his Dominions. To Sarablacas he delivered the Flower of his Army, called Chofroites, and Perozites, and fent him against the Emperour into Albania, who was no whit discouraged at it, but desired to fight him e'er Sarbanazas could join with him. But Sarablacas durst not fight, but seized on such places as were convenient to infest him as he passed into Persia. And when Spring came on, and he could get Provisions for his Army, away the Emperour marched, but his Men, weary with Travel, and fearfull out of the apprehension they had of the difficulty of the Enterprize, began to mutiny, the Lazians and Abasgians especially, who refused to march any farther. But as here they made delays, and quarrelled with the tediousness of their Journey, Sarbazanes came up, and was almost ready to join with Sarablacas, which convinced the Roman Souldiers of their folly, and how by their delay they were like to draw at once two Enemies upon their backs in the room of one, they come therefore, and with Tears beg pardon of the Emperous, casting themselves at his Feet, and desiring that they might be led against the Enemy, lest their delay, joined with their deferts, should bring them to most certain Ruine. It hapned however very well, that Sarbazanes pursuing his orders, would not venture to ingage, till he could join his Troops with those of Sarablancas, whom Heraclius, having incouraged his Men, indeavoured by all means to fight, but could not provoke him to a Battel, and therefore leaving both these Captains, he led on after Chofroes. Now do two Romans run away to the Perfians, and perfuade them, that the cause of the haste made by Heraclius, was mere fear he had of ingaging, and at the fame time comes news, that San, another of the Persian Captains, was at hand with a very confiderable force.

82. Hereupon the other two Captains resolve to ingage the Romans, lest a Victory to them undoubted should be taken out of their hands. Heraclius, when he perceived them incamped near to him, and that early the next morning they intended to fight, removed farther in the night, till he came to a place very convenient for him to ingage on, which recess of his, trusting to the story of the Fugitives, they counted flight, and fell tumultuously upon him, as one running away, and this mistake of theirs he managed to such advantage, that he deseated them, killing many, and amongst the rest Sarablacas. Yet notwith anding, the Perstans, by the coming of Sais, were incouraged, who joining with Sarbanazes, rallied the Troops lately dispersed, and struck no small terrour into the Romans, whom they followed, marching through difficult, and almost unpassable, ways, into the Territories of the Hunnes. Now the Lazians and Abasgians, out of cowardly

85. Having been so many times ignominiously beaten, and forced to take his heels, he considered how unlike his fortune had been to that of his Predecessours, before whom the Romans had been wont most commonly to flie, and impatient of the difgrace, for the following year resolved to apply all his Force and Interest against Heraclius, into whose Territories, if he could transfer the War, he thought

fear deferted the Romans, and returned home, which once known, the Enemy with more courage and greater expedition purfued them, and it put Heraclius to some ftraits; but by Arguments drawn from Religion he again erected the dejected Spirits of his Men, putting them in mind, that though they should endure the utmost. and undergo Death it felf, their Death would be the Death of Martyrs, and in regard they fought for the Reputation of their Faith, the fafety of the Empire, and the prefervation of their Brethren, as fuch they would be admired and honoured by all posterity. Having by these, and such like words, brought them into the fame good humour as formerly, with great alacrity he put them into the order of battel, as also did the Persian Captains their Forces; yet in Battalia both Armies continued, without striking one stroke, from morning till night, which being come, Heraclius removed, and pursued his Voyage, having the Enemy at his heels, who to prevent and encompass him, went something out of their way, and entangled themselves in the Fens and Marshes. By this means he got a safe and a quicker passage into Persarmenia, into which Countrey the Persans still pursued him, with this comfort, that there they could recruit themselves with additional Forces, and that, as they imagined, the Romans fled in great anxiety and fear.

CHAP. III.

83. Yet Winter coming on, they refolved, after a fruitless pursuit, to return home, which being known to Heraclius, he purposed in the dead time of the night to fall upon them. He fent some select parties to storm the Castle, to the defence of which, upon the Alarm, they came in confusedly, but all that came were cut off, scarcely one remaining to carry the tidings. Sarbanazas himself, naked as he was, leapt upon his Horse, and fled with full speed, leaving many Officers and Ladies, and indeed the Flower of the Perfian Nobility, in the place, who got up to the tops of the Houses, and there would have fortified themselves, but he setched them down, fetting fire to the Buildings, and fome he flew, others he burnt, and many he took, very few escaping his Hands, that had accompanied Sarbanazas, whole Arms were all found and taken, as his golden Buckler, his Sword, and Spear, his Girdle, fet richly with Gems, and his neat and spruce Shoes. After this the Emperour scoured the Countrey of all Straglers, killing some, and taking others, which done, he refolved here to winter. The Year following he took the way that led by Mount Taurus into Syria, and after vast pains undergone in his passage, on the seventh day came to the River Tigris, and thence to the Cities of Martyropolis and Amida. Here he refreshed his Souldiers and Captives, and he sent Letters of his fuccess to Constantinople, where the news was received with as great Joy as the thing required. But in the Spring Sarbanazas, to be revenged and redeem his Credit, moves against him, who, upon the news received, sends certain Troops to fecure the Paffages, through which he must march, and he himself goes another way, lying toward the East, by which he intends to find out and surprize his purfuing Enemy.

84. Having passed his Army over the River Nymphius, he came to Euphrates, over which a Bridge had been laid of Ropes and Wool, wrought together, which Sarbanazas had caused to be broken, and drawn all up to the other side. But Heraclius found out a Ford, and to the Amazement of all men passed over his Army in the Month of March, which having done, he subdued Samasatæ, and again passing over Taurus, came to Germanicia, and through Adana to the River. In the mean time Sarabazas pursues him, and when he had passed the River Sanis, and seized on the Bridge, and all the Forts belonging to it, pitched his Camp on the other fide. The Roman Souldiers were so elevated with their success, that, contrary to the express command of the Emperour, they would venture over the Bridge tumultu-Defeats the Per- oufly, and charge the Enemy, which brought them into great straits, and they had fint that oppo- undoubtedly miscarried, but that the great Valour and Conduct of the Prince pre-

ferved them, who demeaned himself so in the battel, that his Enemies admired him,

and under covert of the night thought best to retire. Heraclius, all being now clear, leads his Men to Sebastea, where, having crossed the River Halys, he resol-

ved to winter. Chofrees hearing how his matters daily went down the wind, boiled

with anger, and in a great rage took away the Wealth of all the Churches within

his Dominions, and to vex Heraclius, compelled all Christians, that were his Suh-

jects, to embrace the Herefie of the Nestorians.

he should compell him to return home, and so doe his business. He raised an Army Raifes a vaft Ar- out of all forts of Nations, he could compais, and out of all conditions of his own Subjects Slaves or free; the choicest of which he committed to the conduct of Sais, and added to them fifty thousand stout Souldiers out of Sarbaras his Army, whom he named the Golden Company. Sais thus furnished, he sent against Heraclius, and commanded Sarbaras with the rest of the Forces to march toward Constantinople, and in his way to draw the Western Hunnes, or Avares into society with him, and fo in conjunction with the Slavini and Gepidæ, to fall upon that City. Heraclius his Intelligence was fo good, that he fully understood how his Plots were laid, and therefore divided his Army into three Parts, whereof one he fent to defend the City, the second he committed to the charge of Theodorus his Brother, with order to fight Sais, and he himself with the third invaded the Territories of the Lazians, endeavouring to procure Auxiliaries also from the Eastern Turks, called otherwise Chazari. Theodorus ingaged and routed Sais, by help, as they report, from Heaven, a great fform of Hail forely diffressing the Persians, with which the Romans, were not at all incommoded. And Sais having received this notable defeat, as the custome is, with these Barbarous Eastern Nations, fell into the great displeasure of his Prince. and contracted from grief a mortal Difease, which having made an end of him. Chofroes tyrannifed with feveral forts of Indignities over the dead Body.

> 86. In the mean time the Chazari, or Turks, break through the Caspian Gates into Persia, and pierce as far as the Region of Androegal, under conduct of Zeebe-

> lus, who was next in dignity to Chajanus. As they wasted the whole Countrey,

and roved up and down, Heraclius met them in his March from Lazica, and made

an Alliance with them upon fuch Terms, as Zeebelus therewith fatisfied, left his Son with the Emperour, and departed home. In the mean while Sarbarazas fets upon Chalcedon, and the Avares flocking in great numbers out of Thrace, befieged

straitly Constantinople, by Sea and Land, bringing many Vessels out of the Danube. But when they had belieged the City ten days, a wonderfull thing hapned, which produced full as strange an effect. They thought they saw a Lady with a train of Eunuchs iffue out of the Gate of Blachernæ, which supposing to be the Wife of He-

raclius, and that in the absence of her Husband she was coming to their General to treat of Peace, they made way for her, purpoling to fall upon all fuch Souldiers as should follow after her. But finding that though she had passed the Trench, yet she came not towards the General's Tent, they began to pursue her, and followed her as far as the place called The old Stone, where when they had almost overtaken her, the fuddenly disappeared; but the pursuers immediately fell on quarrelling amongst themselves, and from words came to mortal blows, which they laid on The Stege won- the Caule, found that the most part of his Men were destroyed by their Fellows, and in great shame and discontent retired. Then did the Fleet also withdraw, and rcturning homewards, in the Euxine Sea was fo distressed by Tempest, that few escaped. Yet would not Sarbarazas, though he took the thing much to heart, raise his Siege from before Chalcedon; but there wintring, harassed all the Sea Coasts. and destroyed all the Towns adjoining.

87. In the mean time Heraclius having joined to him the Turks, entred Persia in the Winter season, and terrified Chosroes exceedingly; but the Turks not enduring the sharpness of the weather, and frighted by the many Incurfions and Skirmishes of the Persians, began to slip away, and at length all of them deferted the Emperour, and returned home, yet he, by religious Arguments, comforted his Men, and prepared to encounter Razastes, a Man of great Valour and Conduct, whom Chofrees had made General of all the Forces he could raife. Having wasted all with fire and Sword in his way, in the month of Ottober he entred the Countrey called Chamaitha, where he refreshed his Army seven days. Razaltes followed him, but by reason that the Romans destroyed all things as they went along, his Men were much distressed for want of Victuals. On the first of December the Emperour, having crossed the River Zaba, sate down not far from Ninive, and Razastes was instantly at his Heels. The Emperour sent out Boanas, his prime Officer, with a choice Party of Men, who light upon the Band or Stan- 'O 3 Lin Bir dard of the Persians, and having killed all about it but fix and Twenty, brought by the tipe those away Priloners, with the Head of their Leader, and, together with his Dag. dream at law ger of massy Gold, they took the Armourbearer of Razasses. He told Heraclius, 17 Heraclius, 18 Heraclius, 19 red him by Chofroes, but were not yet arrived, which made him refolve to engage e'er these succours should join with the rest of the Army. He himself shewed the

fell Razaftes, with almost all his fellow Commanders, and the greatest part of the Souldiers; but of the Romans onely fifty. Razastes his Body was found, with a Shield and Armour, all of maily Gold. 88. The Emperour, to make use of the terrour which this Victory struck into the

most alacrity to fight, killing three of the Persian Officers with his own hand, one

after another, and a bloudy Battel it was, lafting from morning to night, wherein

mind of Chofrees, prefently led against him, intending, if possible, to find him out, or force him to recall his Forces from the Parts about Constantinople. Passing over the Bridges of Zaba the less, he came to the Palace of Jefdemon, and there kept his Christmas. Hence he marched to another House of Chosrols, called Rusa, which he demolished, and passed on to another, known by the name of Beclam, where he found a great number of all forts of Beafts, which he distributed to his followers. Here by some fugitive Armenians he understood that Chosroes, with all his Elephants and his Forces, staid at Dystagerda, another of his Mansions, where he expected the coming of the rest of his Men. Thither therefore he made his way, burning and killing all in his passage, and coming to the place, there found the several Standards which at divers times had been taken from the Romans, with abundance of Spices, Hangings richly wrought, and much Silk, whereof as much as could not be brought away he caused to be burnt. Hither repaired to him many Captives taken from Edeffa, Alexandria, and out of other Nations. All the pleafant Houses of Chosroes, of which some were admirable for Beauty, and rich Furniture, he burnt to the ground, to let him feel, as he faid, what he did when he destroyed the Roman Cities. The King, e'er he came to Dystagerda, stole secretly away, with his Wives and Children, having broken an hole in the Wall, and he who formerly in an intire day could not make a Journey of five miles, now could travell five and twenty, and having passed beyond Ctesiphon, and the River Tigris, shut up himfelf, with his Wife and three Daughters, in a certain Castle.

89. While here he resides, some Persians calumniate Sarbarus, or Sarbarazas, to him, as if he held intelligence with the Romans, whereupon he fends to Cardan chas, his Collegue, then lying before Chalcedon, that he should kill Sarbarus, and return with the Army into Persia. He that carried the Letter was intercepted by the Romans, upon the Borders of Galatia, and brought before the Emperour's Son at Constantinople, who sends for Sarbarus, and shews him the Letter, with which he was so concerned, as to make Peace with him and the Patriarch, and puts into the Letter of Chofroes, that with him four hundred other Officers of the Army should be killed. Then calls he Cardarichas, and all the Armies together, and reading the Letter, demands if they thought it convenient that all those persons should be flain, wherear they were all enraged, and renouncing Chofroes, made Peace on that condition, that they might return home without impediment. About the fame time Heraclius wrote to Chofroes, and offered him Peace, which he refufed, and thereby increased the hatred his Subjects had already conceived against him. He levies another Army, which he commands to join with the remainder of Razastes his Troops, and hovering about the River Narba, to break down the Bridge affoon as Heraclius should have passed over. The Emperour hereof advertifed, returned to the Region called Siazur, which he spoiled and burnt, and here Gundusundus, who had served under Sarbarus, as a Tribune, with many others, join themselves to him. He acquaints him that Chofroes had determined to crown King his youngest Son Merdasa, which Sirves his eldest opposed with all his vigour, and had procured to join with him two and twenty Satrapæ, with an infinite multitude of Men, which now conspired to make an end of Chosroes, and if that could not be done, all of them would revolt to the Romans. Heraclius approving the defign, fends to Siroes, and advises him to set all the Romans they had at liberty, and lead them against his Father, which he did, and easily took him, though he attempted to escape. Now was he bound in Iron Fetters, and having Gives of Iron alfo about his Neck, was cast into a Dungeon, and fed onely with Bread and Water. Sirves fent the Noblemen to fcoff at him, and spit in his Face, and having killed all his Sons in his fight, caused him, after fifteen days, to be shot to death.

CHAP. III.

Heraelius ob-

rains another great Victory.

90. This end had Paricide, Infolence and Ingratitude, by the Hand of him who ought least to have done it, though he revenged the death of his Grandfather, after that Heraclius had waged War against the Tyrant with miraculous success, the space of fix years. Siroes presently sent to the Emperour, to give him notice how matters stood, made a perpetual Peace, and set at liberty all Prisoners, together with Zacharias the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and the wood of the Cross taken out of that City. By virtue also of this Peace the Roman Provinces, on which the Per-

he should compell him to return home, and so doe his business. He raised an Army Raifes a vaff Ar- out of all forts of Nations, he could compass, and out of all conditions of his own Subjects Slaves or free; the choicest of which he committed to the conduct of Sais. and added to them fifty thousand stout Souldiers out of Sarbaras his Army, whom he named the Golden Company. Sais thus furnished, he sent against Heraclius, and commanded Sarbaras with the rest of the Forces to march toward Constantinople, and in his way to draw the Western Hunnes, or Avares into society with him, and so in conjunction with the Slavini and Gepidæ, to fall upon that City. Heraclius his Intelligence was fo good, that he fully understood how his Plots were laid, and therefore divided his Army into three Parts, whereof one he fent to defend the City, the second he committed to the charge of Theodorus his Brother, with order to fight Sais, and he himself with the third invaded the Territories of the Lazians, endeavouring to procure Auxiliaries also from the Eastern Turks, called otherwise Chazari. Theodorus ingaged and routed Sais, by help, as they report, from Heaven, a great storm of Hail forely distressing the Persians, with which the Romans, were not at all incommoded. And Sais having received this notable defeat, as the custome is. with these Barbarous Eastern Nations, fell into the great displeasure of his Prince. and contracted from grief a mortal Disease, which having made an end of him. Chofroes tyrannifed with feveral forts of Indignities over the dead Body.

86. In the mean time the Chazari, or Turks, break through the Caspian Gates

into Persia, and pierce as far as the Region of Androega, under conduct of Zeebe-

lus, who was next in dignity to Chajanus. As they wasted the whole Countrey, and roved up and down, Heraclius met them in his March from Lazica, and made an Alliance with them upon fuch Terms, as Zeebelus therewith fatisfied, left his Son with the Emperour, and departed home. In the mean while Sarbarazas fets upon Chalcedon, and the Avares flocking in great numbers out of Thrace, befreged straitly Constantinople, by Sea and Land, bringing many Vessels out of the Danube. But when they had belieged the City ten days, a wonderfull thing hapned, which produced full as strange an effect. They thought they saw a Lady with a train of Eunuchs iffue out of the Gate of Blachernæ, which supposing to be the Wife of Heraclius, and that in the absence of her Husband she was coming to their General to treat of Peace, they made way for her, purpoling to fall upon all fuch Souldiers as should follow after her. But finding that though she had passed the Trench, yet she came not towards the General's Tent, they began to pursue her, and followed her as far as the place called The old Stone, where when they had almost overtaken her, the fuddenly disappeared; but the pursuers immediately fell on quarrelling amongst themselves, and from words came to mortal blows, which they laid on till Evening began to part them. The next day the Captain coming to inquire of The Slege won the Caule, found that the most part of his Men were destroyed by their Fellows, derfully raifed. and in great shame and discontent retired. Then did the Fleet also withdraw, and returning homewards, in the Euxine Sea was so distressed by Tempest, that few escaped. Yet would not Sarbarazas, though he took the thing much to heart, raise his Siege from before Chalcedon; but there wintring, harassed all the Sea Coasts.

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most alacrity to fight, killing three of the Persian Officers with his own hand, one after another, and a bloudy Battel it was, lafting from morning to night, wherein Heraelius obfell Razastes, with almost all his fellow Commanders, and the greatest part of the Souldiers; but of the Romans onely fifty. Razastes his Body was found, with a Shield and Armour, all of maily Gold.

88. The Emperour, to make use of the terrour which this Victory struck into the mind of Chofrees, prefently led against him, intending, if possible, to find him out, or force him to recall his Forces from the Parts about Constant inople. Passing over the Bridges of Zaba the less, he came to the Palace of Jesdemon, and there kept his Christmas. Hence he marched to another House of Chosrols, called Rusa, which he demolished, and passed on to another, known by the name of Beclam, where he found a great number of all forts of Beafts, which he distributed to his followers. Here by some fugitive Armenians he understood that Chosroes, with all his Elephants and his Forces, staid at Dystagerda, another of his Mansions, where he expected the coming of the rest of his Men. Thither therefore he made his way, burning and killing all in his passage, and coming to the place, there found the several Standards which at divers times had been taken from the Romans, with abundance of Spices, Hangings richly wrought, and much Silk, whereof as much as could not be brought away he caused to be burnt. Hither repaired to him many Captives taken from Edeffa, Alexandria, and out of other Nations. All the pleafant Houses of Chosroes, of which some were admirable for Beauty, and rich Furniture, he burnt to the ground, to let him feel, as he faid, what he did when he destroyed the Roman Cities. The King, e'er he came to Dystagerda, stole secretly away, with his Wives and Children, having broken an hole in the Wall, and he who formerly in an intire day could not make a Journey of five miles, now could travell five and twenty, and having passed beyond Cteliphon, and the River Tigris, shut up himfelf, with his Wife and three Daughters, in a certain Castle.

89. While here he resides, some Perstans calumniate Sarbarus, or Sarbarazas, to him, as if he held intelligence with the Romans, whereupon he fends to Cardais chas, his Collegue, then lying before Chalcedon, that he should kill Sarbarus, and return with the Army into Persia. He that carried the Letter was intercepted by the Romans, upon the Borders of Galatia, and brought before the Emperour's Son at Constantinople, who sends for Sarbarus, and shews him the Letter, with which he was so concerned, as to make Peace with him and the Patriarch, and puts into the Letter of Chofroes, that with him four hundred other Officers of the Army should be killed. Then calls he Cardarichas, and all the Armies together, and reading the Letter, demands if they thought it convenient that all those persons should be flain, wherear they were all enraged, and renouncing Chofroes, made Peace on that condition, that they might return home without impediment. About the fame time Heraclius wrote to Chofroes, and offered him Peace, which he refufed, and thereby increased the hatred his Subjects had already conceived against him. He levies another Army, which he commands to join with the remainder of Razastes his Troops, and hovering about the River Narba, to break down the Bridge affoon as Heraclius should have passed over. The Emperour hereof advertised, returned to the Region called Siazur, which he spoiled and burnt, and here Gundusundus, who had served under Sarbarus, as a Tribune, with many others, join themselves to him. He acquaints him that Chofroes had determined to crown King his youngest Son Merdasa, which Sirves his eldest opposed with all his vigour, and had procured to join with him two and twenty Satrapa, with an infinite multitude of Men, which now conspired to make an end of Chofroes, and if that could not be done, all of them would revolt to the Romans. Heraclius approving the defign, fends to Siroes, and advises him to fet all the Romans they had at liberty, and lead them against his Father, which he did, and easily took him, though he attempted to escape. Now was he bound in Iron Fetters, and having Gives of Iron al-To about his Neck, was cast into a Dungeon, and fed onely with Bread and Water. Siroes fent the Noblemen to fcoff at him, and spit in his Face, and having killed all his Sons in his fight, caused him, after fifteen days, to be shot to death.

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fians had lately feized, were restored to the Empire, as all Syria, both the upper and lower, the Garrisons being drawn out of the Cities. These things done, Heturns in triumph raclius returned to Constantinople in triumph, and a triumph he deserved, equal to after his won-derfull perfor- those of the greatest Captains, having recovered the Eastern parts of the Empire, and restored the poor distressed People to their ancient Liberty, burnt so many Cities, wasted so many Countries in the Enemies Dominions, fully revenged upon that Infidel Nation all the Indignities offered to the Romans, stained the Glory of Chofroes his Family, by cauling him basely to run away, by burning his Palaces, and driving his Subjects into Rebellion, and that at fuch a time when the Empire was in a very low and fad condition, its Treasure exhausted, and its Militia decayed, and quite out of order. The People hearing of his approach, ran out of the City with a greedy defire of feeing him. There wanted no Prayers, Praifes, Acclamations and Welcomings, they carried out Olive branches in their Hands, with Lamps, which they almost extinguished with their Tears of Joy. His Son Constantius, accompanied with the Patriarch, fell at his feet, and embracing him, they both watered the ground out of the like Fountains. 91. The following year, which was the nineteenth of his Reign, in the begin-

He makes a Pro- ning of the Spring, he made a Progress to Jerusalem, where he restored Zacharias Patriarch, and the Wood of the Cross he deposited in its former place. By an Edict he forbad the Jews to come within three Miles of the City, and having finished his Devotions, made a farther Progress into the Eastern Provinces. Coming to Hierapolis in Phrygia, he had the news of the Death of Siroes, the new King of Persia, who was now served in the same fort as he had dealt with his Father, being flain by Sarbaras the General, or Adefer his own Son, who having enjoyed the Title but seven Months, received the same measure himself from Barrazas, who continued King for eight months longer. Him the Perfians slew, and preferred to the Throne Barama, the Daughter of Chofroes, fome fay Barachanes, his Son. who having reigned but seven Months, was succeeded by Hormisdas, whom the Sara-The Perfian cens drove out of Persia, and subjected this Kingdom to the Arabians, under whom it continues at this day, faith Cedrenus. Thus in a short time was brought to ruine a Monarchy which fo lately had been the most potent and dreadfull of all others; and by the same course of mutability, the same wheel of Fortune elevated the Roman Empire, which so lately had lain in the lowest condition to an high pitch of its ancient Glory. Heraclius was now become so famous in all Countries, that feveral Kings, as well from the West as the East, sent to congratulate his good Heraclius cour- Success, and join in Confederacy with him. As the King of the Indians, who sent ted by Foreign him a rich Present of Pearl and pretious Stones, and Dagebert the Son of Chlotha-Princes. rius, King of the Franks. But see still the vicissitude of humane Assairs: Heraclius now at ease and leisure, having subdued his Enemies abroad, assists in a religious Civil War at home, and makes himself a great Party amongst Churchmen, embracing the Herefie of the Monothelites. As a punishment for this grievous crime (as some, who take upon them to pry into the secret Providence of God, do assert) the Empire which had lately been restored to so high a pitch of greatness and reputation, began now again to fall to decay, and to by little and little was dimiwith points of nished, till at last it came to utter ruine, and into the hands of Barbarians. So that Religion, and Heraclius is blamed, as in a great measure the Authour of this mischief, and is farther taxed upon this account, that bufying himfelf with Opinions and Speculations not proper for him, he took no notice of the greatest mischief which ever rose in the East, the greatest Plague that ever happened to Christendom, which he might

year of Heraclius his Reign.

92. He left for his Succeffour Ebubachar his Kinsman, who taking occasion at the low Estate to which the Persian Kingdom was brought, advanced as much as he could the Affairs of the Saracens. But he continued not long in his place, dying in the four and twentieth year of Heraclius, after he had reigned, or been Ameras, as their term was, two years and an half, and was succeeded by Humar. or Haumar, who, to improve what Mahomet and Elbubachar had begun, took Bostra, with several other Cities, and proceeded in his Conquests as far as Gabitha. Against him Theodorus, the Emperour's Brother, made head, but was defeated, and forced to fly to Heraclius, then lying at Edeffa, who made Boanes, or Bahanes, or Habanes, General in his stead, and besides this, sent Theodorus Sacellarius with an Army against the Arabians. Being come as far as Emesa, there the Ameras meets

have prevented, and crushed as a Cockatrice in the very Egg. For now at this time Mahomet was Captain of the Saracens, whose Power he much advanced, and instil-

led into them the Venome of a new Religion. He died in the one and twentieth

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him with a multitude of his Saracens, and incamps himself upon the River Bardonifius, the Rumour of which frighted the Emperour fo that taking away the Relicks from Jerusalem, he returned to Constantinople, sending Orders to Beanes to refrom jersjacen, move from Damascus to Edessa, to the Assistence of Theodorus; whose Army con-"fifted of forty thousand Men. Yet it seems he obeyed not the Order, being forced to entertain more provident Councils, for instead of assisting Theodorus, he had need of calling him to his aid; the Saracens in the Spring following, in infinite multitudes flocking to Damascus. Thèodorus was ready at his call, but engaging with the Arabians, was worsted and forced to retire, after which the Army under the command of Bohanes, fell into a Mutiny, and renouncing Heraclius, chose him for their Emperour. Hereupon Theodorus Sacellanus withdrew the Forces under his Conmand, and the Saracens rid of him were in better Capacity to grapple with Bohanes, whom they destroyed with all his Men. For when they ingaged, a strong Wind blew all the Dust into the Faces of the Romans, which made them unfit for fight, and to fly to the River Jerinochte, into which they were driven Headlong by the Enemy, and all perished either in the Water, or by the Sword. Then did the Saracens eafily take Damascus with the Regions of Phanicia, which now they began to inhabit, and shortly after, with ease subdued Ægypt, maging with the which they also planted with their own Men. Here we are like to meet with a Regions of Phys. Warlike Nation which for a long time is to act a most considerable part upon the warlike Nation, which for a long time is to act a most considerable part upon the stage of the World. We shall therefore make a pause, and inquire who this Saracen is, and whence he is descended; for all mens Eyes are now upon him, and all the News is concerning his Motions, and the dreadfull Effects of his Victorious Arms.

> are used promiscuously, as Equivalent, and the Saracens to the modern Jews of Spain are best known, by that of Ismaelites. The Reader therefore is to consider, that

> of Abraham's base Seed, some in Scripture are denominate from their Mother,

known by the Name of Hagarens; others from her Son their Father, are called

Ismaelites, and some take their Names from his Sons, as Kedar, Duma, Naphish, Iltur and others, although not any People in Scripture are named from Nabaioth,

the Nabathæans are not mentioned in Scripture, so neither do we find the Name of

mind, who professeth that he omits the Names of the Arabians; partly, because in

his time they were out of use, and partly, for the Harshness of their Pronunciation:

to which Exception the Name of Ismael was very obnoxious.

Ismael in any ancient Heathen Writers: All of them it's likely being of Strabo's Lib. 16.

The Original of 93. It's evident out of Ammianus Marcellinus, that the Name of Saracens was not ancient. The first certain mention of it is in Ptolemy; who describes a Region called Saracen in the West part of Ismael's Territories, as they are set out

was not ancient. by Moses, and a People called Saraceni in Arabia Falix, near to the Mountains

Saracens and Ifmselites.

See Dr. Fackfra upon the Creed, B. 1. Ch. 25.

94. The feat of fuch, as by the Scripture are called Hagarens, was in the De- Vide 1 Chrom. 5 fert of Arabia, betwixt Gilead and Euphrates: They were by the Heathen called 9, 10. Agræi (a Word more Confonant to their Hebrew name אור, than the Latine 'Ayeausi. Hagareni) and are rightly placed by Ptolemy in Arabia Defert, and by Strabo in that very place which the Scripture makes the Eastern bounds of Ismael's Posterity; their Metropolis in latter times, being Atra or Atre, and the Inhabitans thereof called Atreni, unless both Dion Cassius and Herodian, either mistook, or have been mistaken, to have written Atreni for Agreni. But to omit particular Denominations, Ismael's Posterity was best known to ancient Heathens, from the manner of their Habitation in Tents; for, Scenite Arabes, was a Name general and Equivalent to his Race, unless perhaps the Midianites, or Idumæans might share with them in this Name, as they were partakers of their Quality, which yet is not fo to be appropriated unto either, as if they had neither House nor Town, for as the Tents of Kedar are most famous in Scripture, so in it, The Cities of the Wilder- 1/ai. 42.11. ness are also mentioned, and, The Towns that Kedar doth inhabit; nay, in the very times of Moses, They were named by their Towns, and, By their Castles. There Gen. 25, 12. were twelve Princes of their Nations, or twelve Heads of so many several Houses,

which the Scenitæ inhabited. That they were Arabians, is most evident out of the Greek Annals, which call them indifferently by the one, and the other Name: Cedernus & Zo. But farther, in all the Ecclesiastick Writers the Names of Saracens or Hagarens Agarenos dicunt.

his eldest Son, which adds Probability to their Opinion, who think such as the Heathen called Nabathæi, were in Scripture called Ismaelites as sole Heirs to their first Progenitour's Name. Their seat was in the best part of Arabia Patræa, near to the Midianites, as is probable from the flory of Joseph; who in one place is faid to be fold unto the Ismaelites, in another to the Midianites, these being near Neighbours it feems, and Co-partners in Traffick. And this is observable, that as

The Seat of the Hagarens, mentioned in

Scenita Arabes

CHAP. III.

Heraclius.

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Tribes or Clans, which kind of Government continued amongst the Saracens for four hundred years after Christ, or more. For as Moses Writes of such Princes, or Heads nutitive years after Chini, of Tribes, for Heathen Writers, the Greek make mention of Φύλαρχοι 'Αράδων, Seatu Rafa; the Latins of Phylarchi Arabum, and the later Writers of Phylarchi Saracenorum, Januales, Acc.

95. But to give a more clear Proof, whence these Saracens descended, these two things are evident. First, that the Saracens were the same People with the Arabes Scenitæ. Secondly, that the Scenitæ Arabes were descended of Ismael. The same Raba, furl's sexpressy affirmed by Ammianus Marcellinus, and every one must acknow political gale. ledge, that compares the ancient and later Romans together, that Write the very lam, lib. 23.11 fame stories: And the second sufficiently appears, from the Identity of the Habitation, Condition and Quality of the Scenitæ and Ismaelites. It's clear enough The Seats of the from Pliny and Strabo, that the Scenitæ Arabes were feated Eastward about the Strabo, lib. 2.6 River Euphrates, troublesome Neighbours to Chaldae and Mesopotamia, some part lib. 16.

whereof in Strabo's time they inhabited. On the West they bordered upon Ægypt and Æthiopia, for Ammianus describing the situation of Ægypt, saith; It bordered on the East upon the Cataracts of Nile, and the Scenitæ Arabes whom now we call Saracens. And in another place, describing the situation of the Saracens, he makes Assyria their Border on the East; and the Confines of Blemyæ, and the Cataracts of Nile on the West. Now Moses saith expresly, that, The Sons of Ismael dwell from Shur, which is towards Ægypt, unto Havilah, which is toward Ashur, in the way from Ægypt thither. The Land of Havilah, or rather (according to the Orthography of the Hebrew) Chavilah famous in Scripture for Gold, retained the same Name in Strabo's time, the Inhabitants whereof called by him Chaulot æans, were next Neighbours to the Hagareans, or Agrai, whose Countrey Severus fuspected to have had good store of Gold.

es also their

96. For their Condition and Qualities, Ismael, as Moses tells us, was begotten of Hagar an Agyptian Hireling. And the Marriage of Saracen Women in Ammianus vide Ammia. his time was Mercenary, and upon Compact for a time. Hagar conceived Ifmael num, whi defaiin Abraham's House, but ready to bring him forth in the Wilderness; whither he consum like 12 and she were sent again, after her return to her Mistress. And the Saracen Women in Ammianus his time married in one place, bare Children in another, and brought them up in third far distant; never permitted to live in rest, and in shew of Matrimony, they brought a Spear and a Tent for their Dowry; being a perfect Emblem of their Mercenary roving Life, for these by Covenant they might take with them at the end of their Service, and be packing from their Masters, to seek their Food in the Wilderness, as their Mother Hagar did beforethem. As Ismael in the Wilderness, so the Scenitæ Arabes were pinched with want of Water, their Lib. 16.1. 165. best Drink in Arabia, as Strabo Writes, and after they had inlarged their bounds, fer them by Moses even in Mesopotamia it self, they were Confined to dry and barren places. Moses, describing the manner of Ismael's Life, saith, he was an Archer in the Wilderness. Ammianus affirms, he knew many of the Saracens in his time, that neither knew the use of Wine nor Corn. None of them ever set his hand to the Plough, but got their living for the most part by the Bow, having indeed been famous for Artillery throughout all their Generations. As they were, fuch was their meat, wild Flesh or Venison, Herbs or Milk, or such wild Fowl, as they could catch in the Wilderness: For their wildness he compares them to Kites, ready to efpye a prey, but untame withall, that they would not ftay by it, as Crows, or other ravenous Birds do by Carrion; but presently flew with what they had caught to their Nests. So notoriously was their Wildness incorporated into their Nature, that the more tame they grew, the less Right they seemed to have to their Names, as Strabo intimates.

97. And as they refembled Ismael and Hagar in their Conditions, so as fully Abra-Abraham in ma ham in their Rites and Religion. Ismael was about thirteen years old, when God established his Covenant with Abraham, and for this reason was not Circumcifed, till that year. And the Saracens to this day Circumcife not their Children before that time. Abraham erected Altars, and facob anointed the Stone in the place where God appeared found. All 4, ii to him. And the Saracens celebrated their Sacrifices unto a Stone, with Apilh and Enift Germani Childish Ceremonies. God commanded Moses (Ignorant it seems of that Religious and Existing). decent Custome, which his Forefathers in like Cases used) to put off his Shoes when Claudio he was to tread on Holy Ground; which Rite was afterwards observed by the Fews, in vide Dr. Failtheir more folemn Vows: And the Saracens to this day have their Nudipedalia Sa- for whi faired. crificia. Abraham, if Fosephus may herein be credited from his sober Contemplation Gradus de of the Heaven and the Stars, began to detest Idolatry, and to adore that Divine Symb. Pythole. Providence.

Providence, by which these supposed Gods were guided. And the Saracens falling back to Idolatry, adored Lucifer, or the Morning Star. And some Conjecture that their Habitation in Tents, and wandring Course of Life was not continued throughout fo many Generations, fo much upon Necessity, as in Imitation of Abraham's using Tents; necessary in that time for him that would Travell

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throughout fo many Countries, as he was forced to doe.

98. For these reasons therefore we may safely with Dr. Fackson conclude, that the Saracens were the Off-spring of Ismael; and the Names of Saracens and Hagarens being promiscuously used in Ecclesiastick Writers, it seems probable that that of Hagarens had sometime been common to all the Race of Ismael, and not appropriate to the Agrai, or fuch as the Scripture calls Hazarites, who after their good Success against Trajan, or Severus might propagate their Name to all the Sons of Ismael; as whole Nations take new Denominations from the Ringleaders unto revolt. But as for the Name of Saracen, both Sozomen and St. Hierome, who lived not long after this People had assumed it, affirm without question, that they usurped it of Sarah, in hope to extinguish that note of Bastardy They take the imparted in their former Name of Hagarens: As Great mens Bastards in few def-They does to impart of the representation of the solid of Arabia Fælix, into which some of them transplanted themselves, as appears from Ptolemy, made this Colony scorn their former Name, as it would cause them to loath their ancient Seat, or whether given or taken upon other occasions, the whole Race, as well in Arabia

the Defert, as elsewhere was willing to make a benefit of it, as an Argument to perfwade the World they were free born and true Heirs of that Promise, from which the Jews were fallen. For Mahomet as all Writers agree, used this plaulible Etymology, as a fair Colour to fet off his foul Blasphemies, and the later Saracens in the fiege of Torutum, which stood a Mile from Tyre, used this Krantzius Hist. Name derived from Sarah as an Argument to perswade their Legitimate descent Saxonic. 1,74:12. from Abraham, for whose sake they hoped for Favour and Respect at the hands of

99. Now to speak something of the Estate of this People from their Original. It appears from the Prophet that Judgments were denounced against them from Almighty God, that the Glory of Kedar should fail, and the relidue of the number of the strong Archers of the Sons of Kedar should be few. Yet as St Jeromobserves, they escaped the Rod of God's wrath, better than their Neighbours, by reason of their speedy removal from place to place, being never out of their dwelling, whilst they had Tents and Camels and Wastes to range in. Afterwards they continued troublesome Neighbours to Syria, till it was annext to the Roman Empire, by which the strength of these Archers was diminished, and the Reign of their Philarchi cut short. Their Countrey was first brought into the form of a Province by Trajan, in whose time yet the Hagarens growing weary of subjection Revolted, and were never again, for what can be known, reduced into perfect Obedience,

either to the Romans or to any other People. The deliverance of these Agarens from Trajan and Severus, both who befieged them in their own Persons, was wonderfull and by some esteemed no otherwise than miraculous. As oft as the City Dio, 110. 68. was befieged, the Souldiers were annoyed with Lightnings, Thunders, Whirlewinds and Hail, affrighted and dazled with the apparitions of Rainbows; and Flies Trajan's ill fue- corrupted and spoiled their Meat, even while they did eat it. Trajan was forced cts against the to give over the Siege, which he had followed with danger of his Life, by coming within those Archers shot in viewing the City, and shortly after as if formerly he had fought with men, but now against God, he himself fell into a Disease whereof he Died.

100. About eighty years after, the Emperour Severus disdaining as Trajan had done before, that those Atreni should stand out still against the Romans, when all their Neighbours had yielded, fet upon them with all the violence he could, and in the second Assault after much loss sustained, overthrew part of the City Wall. Now out of defign, he caused the Retreat to be sounded, hoping the besieged sensible of their Danger, would intreat for Peace and Liberty, which he refolved not to grant, but upon condition they would discover the hidden Treasure, supposed to be confecrated to the Sun. But they continued resolute an whole day, giving not the least Intimation of any Treaty for Peace, and the Souldiers were grown so discon-And that of Se- tented, that the Europeans before most resolute would not enter the breach, and the Syrians forced to undertake it, had a grievous Repulse, so as Dio observes, God Al-

mighty delivered the City, recalling the Souldiers by Severus when they might

Heraclius.

have entred, and restraining Severus the second day by the backwardness of his men. Yet the Conquest seemed so easie, that one of the Captains so he might have but five hundred and fifty European Souldiers, would undertake to effect it, to which fair profer the Emperour in a distracted chase, replied where shall I have fo many? and so departed into Palestine. Such was the good fortune of the Atreni or Hagarens, who might now communicate their Name to the rest of their Brethren. But what change foever they made of their Name, their Nature they could not change, and the greater they grew in Power, the more exactly they fulfilled the Prophecy concerning Ismael, that he should be a wild Man, that his Hand should

to fet at more than one at once, and that for no great Stake, without fome to go halfs with them, untill at length by their treacherous shuffling from side to side, and banding fometimes with one, and fometimes with another, as the Reader may remember they did in Justinian's time, they durst set at all, and take Asia, Europe they joyned of and Africk to task all at once, as we shall see hereafter. Sometimes they took part with Mithridates, and other Eastern Nations against Lucullus and Pompey, and yet were ready to joyn with Pompey against the Jews. Some of them were for the Parthians against the Romans, others for the Romans against the Parthians. Some for Pescenninus Niger against Severus, and others against Pescenninus; afterwards one while for the Persians, and another while for the Romans, as in the times of Constantius and Julian, the later of whom they reverenced more than any Roman, yet not fatisfied in their expectations revolted from him. Afterwards they ferved the Romans in their Wars against the Goths, and yet while the Goths and other Barbarous People grasp with the Eagle in the West, those Harpies pluck at her Train in the East, and not therewith content, take their flight toward the West, to fnatch the prey out of the mouths of the other Bussards, as one words it. and beat them one after another from what they had feized in Spain and Africk, attempting the like in Gall, Greece and Germany, diffluming the breafts, and ofttimes ready to devour the very Heart, even Italy and Rome it felf. But of these particularly hereafter, and thus much of their Original, and their ancient Estate now let us reassume and prosecute the intermitted story of Heraclius.

of Alexandria knowing their ravenous Disposition, made a bargain with them for two hundred thousand Denarii by the year to spare the Countrey. And the bargain was kept for three years, but in the mean time, the Bishop is accused for beitowing the Gold of Ægypt upon the Barbarians. The Emperour makes one Manuel Præfectus Augustalis, an Armenian by Birth, to whom when the Receivers of the Saracens came and demanded the money, he derided them faying, they should not find him a Priest as Cyrcus was, destitute of Power, but to all points furnished to defend himself and not pay Tribute. This answer being reported to the Saracens, they presently armed themselves, took the way for Ægypt, and by Masters of A. Strong hand made themselves Masters of the Country, having beaten away the Prefect. The Emperour perceiving the mistake, sent Cyrus to the Saracens to take the business upon himself, and to offer to swear that for the time to come, the money should be duly paid; but they utterly refused to quit their new Conquests. And thus Ægypt which had continued a principal member of the Roman Empire, ever fince the days of Augustus, was rent from the Body by the Hands of the

102. When the Saracens were on their march toward Ægypt, Cyrus the Bishop

103. This rich and fertile Province did not fatisfie them, but they must extend the power and effects of their Arms to all Quarters. The following year Haumer Take Jengalem invades Palestine, and besieges the City of Jerusalem, which after two years was and all Spria. furrendred to him. In the mean time he sends another Army into Syria, all which it Conquered, though Sergius a Roman Captain from Cæsarea made some opposition, who in the very first Ingagement lost his Life. This short account have we from the Greek Annals, of that which deserved to have been more fully prosecuted, for the Subject must needs have been very various, where so great matters were atcheived, nor less than the subduing of whole Nations, alterations of Governments, and overturnings of the whole State and frame of things. But we must be content with these small Notes, all larger Narrations having perished, and fatisfie our felves in this, that now the Saracens domineered over the East, and made nothing of possessing the Roman Provinces. For in the following year, being the twenty eighth of Heraclius, having already subdued all Syria, they took Antioch the Metropolis of the East, which they and their Posterity held four hundred

be against every man, and every man's hand against him. 101. For a long time they continued like forward, but poor Gamsters, not able

CHAP, III.

and forty years, till the thousand and ninety eighth year of our Lord. In the mean time the Persians quarrel amongst themselves, and prepare a way for the Conquest also of their Countrey. The King of the Indians, to whom it's likely the news of the success of the Saracens was not yet come, held Heraclius still in such esteem for his management of his Wars against the Persians, that he sends to complement him, and made him very rich prefents of Jewels. This fomething fatisfies and diverts the Emperour, who employs himself in combats of the Tongue and Pen, about questions of Religion, when it would much more have become him to have fpent his time in faving the Provinces committed to his Charge. About this time he had another Son born whom he named David, and was made a Grand-Father by a Son born to his Eldest Son Constantine on the same day, which Son was called after him Heraclius.

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104. Yet to repress the violence of the Saracens, was sent Theodorus one of the The short defeats Bedchamber, who had good fuccess in one Battel, wherein a great multitude was flain, and in the Croud their Ameras or Princes who had joyned their Forces to encounter him. Notwithstanding an ill fate pressed upon the Romans, who having this advantage in Battel, lost it again by coverousness and folly. For there were some Arabians that lived on the Borders, and had a Pension from the Emperour to keep the passages of the Wilderness, who now demanding their money were paid But controllines onely with bad Language, whereupon they joyned themselves with their Counour balancesh treymen, whom they conducted into the rich Countrey about Gaza, whence an inlet lay into the Defert near to Mount Sina. This they plundered and wasted at their pleasure, and Sergius from Casarea in Palestine with an inconsiderable party falling upon them, he perished with all his followers. Jadus had better fortune upon the Borders of Persia, where he got Edessa by fair means, Constantia and Darat by force, and so Conquered all Mesopotamia. This was but a Presace to that War which the year following fell upon Fersia, when the Saracens invaded it, and utterly subdued it under themselves, Hormisdas being run away, and left off all Ensigns of Majesty: So sickle and inconstant are the greatest things in this World. This

Kingdom was a very few years agoe so mighty, that it in a manner gave Laws to

the Roman Empire. By a sudden change of Fortune, Heraclius invades and haraf-

fes it at his pleasure, and then is it torn in pieces by intestine differences, which And the Sarra- makes it weak and unable to oppose any foreign Power. Heraclius as if he had as like a For- done enough for a whole Age, fits down and busies his Head with speculations of tent overrun Profis and the Divinity. A Nation before inconfiderable rifes up, and as a torrent overruns Remain Provin- Ægypt, Syria and other Provinces of the Empire, and as if it onely came, faw, and then overcame, at one cast wins such stakes as other Gamsters could not com-

105. Heraclius lives to fee things come to this pass, and then as unwilling to expect the Conclusion and the fate of his other Provinces, departs this World in the month of March of a Dropfie, which was accompanied with strange and troublesome Symptoms. Such an alteration there was in the parts of his Body, that he could not make water but it would fly up to his Face, which our Writers account to have happened as a Judgment to him for having incestuously Married his own Niece. He Reigned thirty years and ten months with various fuccess, but that his Reign was not more happy, he himself seems to have been in fault, not making use in his latter days of his own Abilities, which were many and large enough, as appears from his Conduct in the Persian War.

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From the Death of Heraclius to the Deposing of Irene, and the Promotion of Nicephorus.

The space of an hundred and sixty Years.

Constantine succeeds, and is quickly made

O Heraclius succeeded his Son Constantine, a Man of a weak and fickly Constitution, perhaps through the practices of Martina his Step-Mother, who, to prefer her own Son Heraclonas, plotted with Pyrrhus, the Patriarch, to rid him out of the way, and poisoned him after he had reigned but four Months. This done, Heraclovas, and his Mother, usurp the Government, and injoy their ill gotten Power for fix Months, but then the Senate assume their courage, and deprive them of the Sovereignty; his Nose they cut off, and cut her Tongue out of her Head, and so banish them from the City. Pyrrhus also is deposed, and another Patriarch chosen in his stead. To the Throne they advance Constants, the Son of Constantine, Constantine item and Grandion of Heraclius, who, as he had reason, thanked the Senatours for do- & Confianting ing Justice upon the Murtherers of his Father, and rewarded them liberally. The distinct beginning of his Reign is not characterized with the note of any eminent Action, matter being either wanting, or the Greek Annalists very careless, who onely tell us, that in his second Year Haumar began to build a Temple at Ferufalem, (with what fuccess we shall see in its proper place,) and in his Third there was an Eclipse of the Sun; in his Sixth happened great Tempests, which overturned great Trees, and, as it feems, were as a Prologue to those great Concussions which invaded Africk. For this Year the Saracens got it also into their hands, and settled it in conquer Afrak way of a Province, ordaining what, and how, Tributes should be paid, after they had thence beaten Gregory, who had feized on the Government of that Country. And as if Fortune had now wholly delivered her felf up into their Power, the Opris and Ara- Year following Makias, one of their Captains, with a great Fleet, invaded Cyprus, all which he took, with the City Constantia; and following on his victorious course,

he did as much in the next Year by Aradus, which he difmantled and burnt, washing the Island, so that for a long time after it remained without Inhabitant. The in same Year that follows is remarkable for nothing, except you will take notice, and be-cutrous. lieve that it rained dust.

Rhodes.

2. But that which follows, being the twelfth of Constans, is famous for Mabias (or Mahunias) his Conquest of Rhodes, and his destroying there the famous Coloss Inferiorio in the of the Sun, full thirteen hundred and fixty years after the founding of it by Laches. It before was an hundred twenty fix foot high, and flood aftride over the Haven, fo that Ships To a Physical Physics and the Haven, for that Ships To a Physics are the Haven, for that Ships To a Physics and the Haven, for that Ships To a Physics are the Haven, for that Ships To a Physics are the Haven, for that Ships To a Physics are the Haven, for that Ships To a Physics are the Haven, for that Ships To a Physics are the Haven, for that Ships To a Physics are the Haven, for that Ships To a Physics are the Haven, for that Ships To a Physics are the Haven, for that Ships To a Physics are the Haven, for the Haven are was an nundred twenty has root ingli, and noos at the Seven Wonders of the World, Months failed betwirt its Legs, but though it was one of the Seven Wonders of the World, May as nothing is so wonderfull, but time will at last put a period to it, being thrown Adges internal down by an Earthquake it was now broken in pieces by the Saracens, and fold to a mixture in the Jewish Merchant of Emisa, who with the Metal of it loaded nine hundred Camels. Exclaps had While Mabias thus employed himself in the Island of Rhodes, his Countreymen invaded Armenia, and wasted it far and wide, the Emperour all this while being fast drem. afleep, and as if he had received some secret Instructions from his Grandfather, nourifling Contentions in the Church, while he seemed to have Peace with those that invaded his Territories at their pleasure, and robbed him of no less than whole Provinces at once. Mabias feeing and wondring at his deportment, thought it might be worth his pains to make for Constantinople it felf, it being possible he might find him as unprovided there, as he was negligent in the defence of the Provinces, for this purpose he commanded a strong Fleet to be rigged at Tripolis in Phanicia. And he might probably enough have done fomething remarkable, had not the Zeal of Mahin his pur- two Brothers, both Christians, and the Sons of a certain Trumpeter, who then repole of atto-quing conflami. fided at Tripolis, prevented him. For going to the Common Prifon, they made quing conflami. fided at Tripolis, prevented him. For going to the Common Prifon, they made quing templated, a flift to fet at liberty many Christian Captives, whom they persuaded then to set

CHAP. IV. The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. Constans II.

upon the Ameras, or Governour of the place, and killing him to destroy the Ships, and all Naval Preparations, which they effected, and escaped by Ship into the Emperour's Dominions.

The Roman Fleet defeated by the Saracens.

3. Mabias thus defeated of his purpose for attacquing Constantinople, went against Cafarea in Palestine, giving order to one Abulaures, or Abulathar, to repair the Fleet, who obeyed his Commands, and failing to Phanice in Lycia, there found the Roman Navy with Constant the Emperour. They ingaged, and the Romans received a notable defeat. Constans was glad to shift Clothes with one of his followers, and was conveyed into another Vessel by one of the Trumpeter's Sons, who fought floutly, and loft his Life in the Admiral Gally. Being got fafe to Constan-

tinople, he resolved the next Year to doe some thing which might repair his Cre-Custom defeats dit, and made an expedition against the Sclavini, of whom he took and subdued many, and so returned home. In the mean time the Saracens, under Command of Mabias fall into a mutiny, fo great that it brought him, in a manner, upon his Knees to the Emperour, of whom he begged Peace, on Condition, that the Arabians should pay him a Tribute of a thousand Nummi by the day, with an Horse and a Slave. But Conftans, it feems, wonderfully affected with his late fuccels against the Sclavini, thought of giving what Laws he himself pleased, and resused his Terms, as of small value, in comparison of the mischief done by these Arabians to the Empire. But what respect to the Empire soever he pretended, good Nature and Kindness could not be Principles on which he moved. For shortly after he causeth to be Caufeth his Brothere to be mur- murthered Theodofius, his own Brother, whom he had commanded to be ordained Deacon, and from whose Hands he had received the sacred Cup. But see how he is tormented by his own Conscience, and caused to cast off all thoughts of Empire, and every other thing, of what confequence foever. He dreams that he fees his murthered Brother standing before him, with a Cup of Bloud in his Hand, commanding him to take and drink it. Being perpetually purfued and terrified with Gost into Sicily. these Dreams, he resolves to quit Constantinople, and go into Sicily. He leaves his

Wife and three Sons behind him, and having fet fail in a Pinnace, turns back in

disdain, spits at the City, his Royal Chamber, and the Seat of the Empire. 4. From Anastasius, the Vatican Library-Reeper we are assured that he took Rome Vide Baronium.

in his way, where he visited the Churches, being met by Vitalianus the Bishop, and his Clergy, five miles from the City. But the change of place could not divert the pangs of his Conscience, his Dreams of his Brother still pursue him, yet to Constantinople would he not return, where he was hated by the People for cleaving with fo much earnestness to the Heresie of the Monothelites. He resolves to retranslate the Seat of the Empire to Rome, and for that purpose sends for his Wife

and Children; but the Citizens of Constantinople having smelt out the Design, would not permit them to remove. While Constant spends his time by night with Terrours, and by day with fuch Diversions as he can find, Mabias, who had formerly offered to pay tribute, being now rid of Halys his Æmulator, and reigning alone, began to fcorn the submissive posture he had lately owned, and now bore himself as resolutely and goodly as ever. He sent Izod his Son into the Roman Territories, who proceeded as far as Chalcedon, and taking Amorium, a City of Phrygia, therein left a strong Garrison, and with much spoil departed home. But when Winter approached, the Emperour fent Andreas, one of his Chamber, who by

night got over the Walls into Amorium, and put all the Garison to the Sword. Constans having in vain attempted to disposses the Lombards of Italy, was very troublesome to the Inhabitants of Calabria, Sicily, Africk and Sardinia, on whom he laid fuch heavy burthens, as formerly they had never known, and besides that, rob-

bed the Churches of their facred Vessels and Furniture. While he exceeds in those Acts Sapring rebells, of Violence and Sacrilege, Saporius, the Governour of Armenia, rebells, and fends to the King of the Saracens for aid, one Sergius, the Magister Militum, who at the Court of Mabias, which was then at Damascus, met with Andreas, the Bed-chamber-man, whom the Emperour had fent on the like Errand.

5. The Saracen gave audience to them both. Sergius infulted so much over the other, and promifed fuch vast things, that he drew him to his party, and Andrew was sent away in discontent, who yet affirmed, that the Roman Emperour thus affronted would betake himself to Almighty God, in whom he had good Cause to put his trust. And that he spoke nothing but what was true, the event proved. For as they returned, Sergius fell into the hands of Andrew, who hanged him up. Against the Usurper was sent Nicephorus, a Patritian, who marching towards Adrianople, where he then lay, it happened, that as the Tyrant expected him, and exercifed his Men, when, on a time, he was just come to the Gate of the City, he

gave his Horse a lash with his Whip, which not taking in good part, he kicked, Killed by a Fall, and threw him with his Head forward against the Gate, and so bruised him that he died of the Fall. Thus did Constans overcome without one stroke struck; a favour more due to his Cause and Profession, than his own Person. Therefore as his Cause and Profession was hereby countenanced, so his Person shortly after received a reward, fuitable perhaps to his merit, though Treason, as it proceeded from his hand that did the deed. As he was bathing himself at Syracuse, in the Bath called Daphne, one Andrew, the Son of Troilus, knocked him on the Head with a Vessel, with which they poured hot water upon him, after he had reigned twenty feven years, Conflant killed in the fourteenth Year of Vitalianus, the Roman Bishop, the eleventh Indiction.

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. Constantinus Pog. PART III

A. D. DCLXVIII.

6. He being dead, they of Syracufe, who, as it feems, were of the Plot with Andrew, named Emperour one Metius, Mezentius, or Mizizius, an Armenian, a very beautifull Person. But Constantius, the eldest Son of Constans, understanding how matters went in Sicily, being formerly made Emperour, by his Father, haftes to the Island with a great Fleet, and easily subdues his Æmulator, with all those of his Party. The Usurper, though he had been drawn to take the Purple fore against his will, he caused to be flain with others, amongst whom was Justinian, the Father of Germanus, afterward Patriarch, whom also being just then come to years of Puberty, he commanded to be gelded. Having fettled all things in Sicily, he returned to Constantinople, where the Citizens bestowed on him the Sirname of Pogonatus, because having departed thence onely with some down on his Chin, he returned to them with a perfect Beard. But at his return he was received with the zondras. news of a Sedition rifen amongst the Nobility of the Eastern parts, who cried out. that his two other Brothers ought also to be crowned Emperours, and it seems they were more zealous Christians, and more orthodox in their Faith, than regular in their Logicks. For they contended, as there are three Persons in the blessed Tri-A Conspiracy nity, fo there ought to be three Emperours upon the Throne. The Mutineers being allured to Constantinople from Chrysopolis, where they had assembled under shew of being present at the Coronation, after he had got them into his Power he put them to death, and cut off the Noses of both his Brothers, whom yet some Authours make his Collegues in the Empire. While these stirs happened at Constantinople, the Saracens invade Africk, and using the Inhabitants as they pleased, led away eighty thousand of them into Captivity. For these things the first Year of

invade Africk.

Constantine was memorable. His second was onely remarkable for this, that the cold of the Winter was fo vehement, that therewith perished many Men, besides other Animals: And in his fourth appeared such a Rainbow in the Heavens, as they thought, did fignifie the end of the World to be at hand. Indeed a great mifchief was not far off, for the Saracens, or the Posterity of Agar, as Zonaras of 34 Apage And Cillia with calls them, with a great and strong Fleet, came into Cilicia, and wintered at morning

7. The Year that followed, being the fifth of Constantinus Pogonatus, they came up to the Borders of Thrace, feizing on all that lay betwixt the Hebdomum, or Western Promontory and Cyclobium. Constantine brought out his Fleet, and every Appreach day they fought from morning till night, betwixt the Brachiolum of the Golden Gate, and Cyclobium; fo near were they got to Constantinople. From the month of April till September, they pertinaciously continued their Siege, and then despairing of success, departed to Cyzicum, where they wintered, and in Spring again renewed the War. And this course they held for seven years, as the Greek Annals tell us, and yet from them it appears, that in the fourth year a Peace was made. But at length their Courage was quite spent, and in great grief they reti-Fleet cast away, red, having lost a great multitude of their Men, after which followed the destruction of the whole Fleet, which was in the Winter season cast away near the Syllwan Promontory. There was a new Invention of Seafire, as they called it, which much helped the Defendants in the Siege. It would burn under the Water, being the Discovery of one Callinicus, an Heliopolitan of Ægypt, who fled with the

Invention to the Romans, and of him was descended one Lampras, who made this artificial Fire in the days of Cedrenus. But while one Party of the Saracens thus employed themselves against Constantinople, another Captain of theirs, Suphianus the Son of Aphus, ingaged with the Roman Forces commanded by Florus, Petronas and Cyprianus, but to no other effect than that he lost thirty thousand of his followers. Within a year or two after the Mardaitæ entred Libanus, and seized on all that Tract lying between the Mountain Taurus and Ferusalem. They got into

their hands, the Watch Towers of Libanus; and upon News of the Exploit, fuch multitudes of Slaves, Captives and Inhabitants of the Countrey adjacent flocked to

them, that in a fmall time they grew to many thousands.

8. These things so terrified the Saracens, that Judging verily, that they contended with Providence; and the Roman Empire was protected by Almighty God, they resolved to make Peace with the Emperour at any Rate. Manias therefore sends his Ambassadours offering very good Terms, and defiring a Treaty as to a way to an Accommodation. Constantine conceives it his Interest to close with them, and for that purpose appoints one John a Patritian, Sirnamed Pitigandis, or Pitzicanda, a Man famous for his Nobility and Wifedom, as his Committioner Plenipotentiary to treat with them. In pursuance of his Powers he goes into Syria, where being Honourably received, he concludes and figns an Agreement to this purpose, that for thirty years there should be a Truce inviolably preserved betwist the Romans and Saracens, in every which year successively, the Saracens should pay to the Emperour thirty thousand Pounds of Gold, fifty Captives, and as many choice Horses. This Treaty being ratified in the East, the Enemies in the Western parts grew fore afraid, as Cajanus, Avarus the Exarchs, and the Castaldi; and fending to the Em-

A Truce for thirty years made with the

perour, purchased their Peace in the like manner as the Saracens had done, such Mutability is there in fublunary things, that these who are terrible to day, and seem which makes to carry all before them, to morrow fail in their Course, and by some Accident or other change the Language of an imperious Conquerour, for that of a distressed the West to sub- Supplicant, and Tributary. But hereby was Peace restored both in the East and West, and the Emperour thought he had leisure to set himself to compose the Differences in the Church, which for many years had been much out of Order. Yet as there is nothing perfect in this World, no such rest, but is accompanied with disturbance; the year following, the Bulgari invaded Thrace, and defeated the Bulgari in a considerable party that was sent against them. The Emperour who had lately the Honour to give, now must beg Peace, and thereby receives a notable Check

in the Course of his Fortunes. 9. The very next year, some of these Bulgari separating from the rest passed Danubius, and seized upon certain Woods and Mountains. Against them Constantine himself went, with a good Fleet and a land Army; with which Preparations being affrighted at the first On-set, they fled and retired to a certain Fort, where the Romans were not able for the Difficulty of Access, to doe any thing against them. Hereupon they became more daring than ever, and it happened, that the Emperour being very ill of the Gout, retired into Mesembria a Roman Province, to make use of the Baths, leaving the siege to the Conduct of his Captains. A Rumour was hence raifed, that the Emperour himself fled; and thereupon his Souldiers without any Cause begin to run away. This being perceived by the Bulgari out they iffue, and giving them the Chace kill many in the Rere, which done they boldly enter the Roman Provinces, and return inriched with good Booty. Constantine then was glad to take up the Quarrel, and by a Tribute to make Peace with them, which being done, when all things were quiet at home, and no stirs

likely to arise by fuch an Action, he deposed his two Brothers, and made his Son Ju-

ftinian his Collegue in the Empire. After this, he lived Peaceably all his time, and

died after he had Reigned seventeen years, being to be reckoned amongst the best

Juffinian his Collegue.

Callantine

bayes Peace.

He dies.

Princes. Justinian his Son succeeded him according to his desire, though not at all comparable to him for Parts, nor indeed fit for fo great an Employment; especially at this time, when the Empire was in fo tottering a Condition. Yet such was Johnson his God's Providence, that on to weak a Douy, over which a section not for fome time no confiderable Diftemper feized, though for want of Conduct the confiderable Diftemper feized, though for want of Conduct the state of the state God's Providence, that on so weak a Body, over which as infirm a Head was set, Foundations of great Diforders, might be laid for the time to come. In his first year, Abimelech Prince of the Saracens, who had succeeded Manias lately dead, not taking any occasion presented him by his Youth and Folly, sent and confirmed the Peace made A new Accord his Father, and farther made a new Accord; that Justinian should repress the inrodes made with the of the Mardaite, which were very troublesome to the Saracens, who for this ACt Satarant, to the of kindness should make a daily Payment to the Emperour of one thousand Nummi, an Horse and a Slave. To ratifie this Accord under hand and seal, Paulus Magistrianus was sent, and twelve thousand Mardaitæ were recalled from Libanus,

to the utter Destruction of the Roman Power and Authority in those parts, as af-

terward it happened. For whatfoever the Arabians or Saracens held as far as from Mapfuestia to Armenia the fourth, was also harassed by the Inrodes of these Mardairæ, that it became of no value, being deserted by the Inhabitants: But they being thus repressed, infinite loss hath the Empire continually sustained from the Incursions

CHAP. IV.

Call outine

Incursions of the Arabians, to this very day, faith Cedrenus. Justinian being not above fixteen years old, he imputes it to his want of Judgment and Confideration. though it's a wonder he had no wifer Men about him. 10. The Saracens were however so wise, as both to procure this to be done, and

to fit still till a very convenient time should come, that they could make a good use of this advantage. But in other places, the Fortune of the Empire seemed also to be Superiour to them, for in this first year of Justinian, Leontius was sent

into Armenia with a power of Men; and having put to the Sword fuch Saracens Countries in the as were there found, recovered the Countrey, as also Iberia, Albania, with Hyrcania and Media, which he subjected to Tribute, and brought vast sums of Money into the Emperour's Coffers. But see the issue, Justinian the following year makes a Progress into Armenia, and takes the Mardaitæ out of Libanus, breaking thus down the Brazen wall of his Empire in these Parts. Yet disarming himself in

this manner, he had the Folly and Confidence to break the Peace, made lately with the Bulgari, and having had fome Success against them and the Sclavini in Battel, came to that Madnels, as to renounce the Truce made with Abimelech: who by this time had Composed all matters in Arabia, and brought every Man into Subjection to himself, so as to be ready for all Foreign opposition. Without any reason at all, he would send a Colony into the Island of Cyprus contrary to the Articles, and refused to receive such Money as Abimelech sent for payment of the Tribute; because it was not stamped with the Image of any Emperour, but it feems coyned after a new Arabian Fashion. For the Emperours, you must know, Challenged to themselves the sole Privilege of having their Names and Repre- 'Out Historia

fentations stamped upon all Gold Money, though upon cantoning the Empire x 1940 7 1941 1946 into particular Kingdoms; the feveral Kings had e'er this begun to assume to them- " x a a z main in felves this Right of Coyning, as we formerly inflanced in those of the Franks, out is Banker Pe

of the History of *Procopius*.

Armenia deli.

vered up to

And the Pro-

the History of *Procopius*.

11. For carrying on this War, he would not rely upon the *Roman* Legions, or at Imperior in the Forces already raised; but out of the choicest of the Sclavini whom he had ta- smart is intro ken, formed a new Army of thirty thousand Men, which he called his peculiar. ""124. or acquired People. The Saracens now with reiterated Prayers and Complaints beseech him, he would not break the League calling God to Witness, by the Interpolition of whole most Sacred Name it had been confirmed. But he stopping his Ears against all their Messages, drew down his Forces toward Sebastopolis to begin War, which hearing, they met him e'er he could get into the Bowels of their Countrey, and with the Tables of the League carried as an Enfign on the top of a Spear, ingaged with him in Battel under Conduct of Moamed. In the first Encounter they had the worst, and still were like to have, if Moamed had not by his Tongue supplied the defects of their Hands. He sends to the Captain of the Sclavini, a Quiver over-laid with Gold, and by great Promises perswades him to revolt, and come over to him with twenty thousand Men. This addition to Moamed's former powers, cast the Balance quite on the other side, with such disadvantage that the Romans were not able to fustain the least assault, but fled away amain; and after a vast loss Justinian came to Leucate, where out of Rage he caused the rest of the Sclavini, that had continued with him, with their Wives and Children to be flain, and their Bo- Assertion before dies cast into the Sea. But this Success of the Saracens got them such Reputation, **, ** Fe Zamas, dies cast into the Sea. that Sabbatius the Armenian, delivered Armenia instantly into their Hands, and the at Cedreum fir. following year they subdued the inner part of Persia, called Chorosan. Moamed to mund than the be revenged upon Justinian, and strike a Terrour into his People, invades his Dominions, taking with him the lately revolted Sclavini, by whose directions he haraffed the Provinces, and after as much mischief done, as it lay in the Power of an

Enemy to doe, returned home with a vast number of Prisoners.

12. Justinian in the mean time, as one not much concerned, was wholly intentupon Building, repaired the Walls of the Palace, and erected a stately Banqueting House toward the East, which long after retained his Name, being called Justinianeum. Surveyor of these Works he made one Stephen a Persian, principal of the Eunuchs, a man Cruel above Imagination, who beat and stoned the poor Labourers, without the least shew of Mercy, and proceeded to that Impudence, as to Lash with Thongs, Analtalia Augusta the Mother of the Emperour in his absence. If he so handled the Mother, doubtless he had some Confidence in the Humour and dispofition of the Son, from which he could be fecure of, or at least have great hopes of Pardon, or Impunity. And that the Son's disposition was Cruel, even beyond all bounds of Nature, was fufficiently evidenced in divers particulars. Such Perfons he preferred, as were of the same Temper with himself, as appears not onely

Lentius made Emperour.

The Provinces Lazica betray-

in Stephen; but Theodotus a Monk, whom taking out of his Cell he made his General Logotheta. This Fellow punished many of the Nobility without any Fault at all committed, he fold their Goods, and took delight to hangthem upby the Heels. and then cause Straw to be set on fire under their Heads to torment them with the smoak. The Prefect of the City, by command of the Emperour also, thrust many into Prison without any Reason shewn, which raised extraordinary Hatred in the minds of the Citizens against their Prince. But he took all manner of ways to increase it. There was a Church dedicated to our Lady called Metropolitana, which stood very near the Palace: This he would have pulled down, and a Theatre He pulls down a Church to or meeting place for the Veneti, to be built upon the Ground; he therefore required the Patriarch that he would fay Prayers, that the Church might be demobuild a Theatre. lished. Callinicus the Patriarch answered with Tears, that they were wont to pray at the Building, but not at the demolishing of a Church, but constrained to doe it, he used this Expression: Glory be to God, who suffereth all things, both now and to all Eternity, and then was the Church pulled down, and a Theatre raised; the Emperour causing another Church to be erected in another part of the City bear-

13. Justinian having by these Courses incurred the extreme Hatred of the Peo-

ple, which was likely, and that in a short time to produce some dreadfull Effect,

ing the same Name of Metropolitana.

resolved to be before hand with them, and gave Order to Stephen a Patritian, and

Rusius an Officer in the Army to make a Massacre, beginning with the Patriarch. At this time it happened, that Leontius a Patritian, who having been general in the East, had managed his matters with very good Conduct and Success, but had been detained by the Emperour in Prison, two or three years, upon Suspicion that he defigned too great things for himself, was suddenly set at Liberty and made General of Greece, with Orders to ship his Men and be gone that very day. But flaying all that Night for a Wind, he had an occasion to Discourse with his Friends about his own matters; of whom feveral of them would undertake to foretell, that the greatest Fortune wouldat length befall him, two Monks especially, Paul a great Astronomer, and Gregory a Cappadocian. He expostulating somewhat with them, that they should lead him into a Fools Paradise, by promising such great matters to a Prisoner, and one that every hour expected the Messenger of Death; they all defired him not to let flip the present opportunity, than which he could not well defire a better, all the minds of the Citizens, being so alienated from the prefent Prince: He was so overpowered by their importunate requests, that taking with him his own Souldiers, he went in great filence to the Court of Guard. where knocking at the Gate, he pretended the Emperour was come about some urgent business, and so causing the Officer to admit him, he took him into Cuflody, then opening the Prifons, he armed fuch Souldiers as had therein been long detained, and leading them into the Forum, made Proclamation that all that were Christians should meet together, at the Church of St. Sophia. Thither the multitude ran in Confusion, to whom the Patriarch said, that this was the day of the Lords making, and the People cryed out, that the Bones of Justinian should be dig- Aragnagii Ta ged up; meaning, it feems, that they should pull him out of his Hole, where he bear lessmans had buried himself in all Laziness and obscurity. They all ran to the Hippodrome or Circus, and thither by break of day, caused Justinian to be brought,

whose Nose they cut off, and then banish him to Chersona, after he had Reigned near ten years. Theodotus the Monk, and Stephen the Persian, with Ropes tyed to their Feet, they drag through the Streets to the Forum of the Oxe, and there burn them to Ashes. Then with lucky Acclamations they salute Leontius Emperour.

14. In the first year of Leontius, all things were in repose. In his second, Alidis the Successour it seems of Moamed (who in the last year of Justinian had made great Depredations in Armenia) invaded the Provinces, and returned with great plunder. Sergius also the Patritian revolted and betrayed Lazica into the hands of the Arabians. The year that next followed, the Saracens making another Expedition over-ran Africk, which Leontius hearing, fent John a Patritian a Man of great Valour, with all the Ships he could make to drive them out, and that with fuch Success, as he retook all the Castles and strong Holds of the Countrey, and fending the Emperour the News, he wintred in these parts. But the Prince of the Arabians, their Protofymbulus, or Prefident of their Council upon notice Africk over-run, hereof, with a greater Fleet than ever comes into Africk, and eafily beats out John again, who not able to make any confiderable opposition takes ship for Constantinople, to require more Forces. But the Navy touching at Crete, the Officers began to enter into new Councils. They thought it would much reflect on them, to quit

Africk in this manner to the Enemy, and fearing the Indignation of Leontius, they perswaded the Seamen to revolt from him, and salute Emperour, one Apsimaras, the Drungarius of the Cipyrrhauta, whose Name they changed to Tiberius. This new Emperour comes then with all his Subjects (as yet) to Cycæ the Port of Constantinople, and found the Favour to be admitted, by some Countrey Magistrates at the Wall of Blachernæ, then seizing on the City, he cut off the Nose of Leontius, and causing him to be kept in a Monastery, banished his Friends after he had feized on their Eilates. This Conclusion had the Reign of Leontius, after it had lasted scarce three Years. 15. Apsimarus or Tiberius, thus seized of the Empire, immediately made Hera-

by Apfimarus, who feizes on the Empire.

Heraclius his

in Syria.

clius his Brother General of all the Forces, and fent him into Cappadocia, to watch the motions of the Saracens. He taking his opportunity invaded their Territories, Erother makes and piercing into Syria as far as Samosata, wasted all before him, and slew as was reported two hundred thousand of the Arabians, leaving a great Terrour of his

Name behind him. In the mean time Abderachman rifes in Persia, and expelling Chaganus, makes himself King of that Countrey in his room, but through the assistence of Moamed, whether the same we last mentioned, or another is uncertain, he recovered his former Estate, and Abderachman lost his Life, and Fortunes together. In the third year of Tiberius, Abdelus fell upon the Roman Territories, and belieged Antaradus; but neither his Force nor Arts prevailing, he returned home

The Fourth Ar. and built Mopfuhestia, wherein he left a Garrison. In his fourth, Boanes Sirnamed menia betrayed Heptadæmon betrayed the fourth Armenia to the Arabians. And the Emperour banished Philippicus a Patritian the Son of Nicephorus into Cephalenia, because he had faid he dreamed, that his Head was over-shadowed by an Eagle, as if the Empire was thereby portended to him. But, what was of more Confequence, in the year that next followed, the Nobility of Armenia role up against the Saracens, and killing all they could light on, fent to Apfimarus for his affiftence against that Nation; but Moamed timely comes in, and after great flaughter on both fides recovers Armenia, and having got together the Nobility that remained, burnt them all alive together. But that the Saracens might not think to carry all before them without controll; Azar invading Cilicia with ten thousand Men, Heraclius the Emperour's Brother light upon him, and killing most of his Followers, sent the rest in Chains to Constant inople.

Various Suc-

16. Yet did Azidas the Son of Chumeus, the following Summer make War against Cilicia, and taking the Castle Sifium, demolished it. But Heraclius ingaging with him in a Bloudy Battel, flew twelve thousand of his Arabians in the place. In the mean time Fustinian living at Chersona, was so Consident as to affirm, that for all this one day he should recover his former Dignity, which so alarmed the Inhabitants of the place, that they resolved either to kill, or to send him to the Emperour. He perceiving their intentions, stole out of the Monastery, and yourmen coming to Daras desired to have a meeting with Chaganus the Prince of the Chazari; the Monastery. who received him Honourably, and gave him in Marriage his Sifter Theodora, perswading them to go and live together at Phanogorea. Apsimarus could not be long Ignorant of such a matter, which as soon as he had discovered he sent to Chaganus with vaft Promites, inciting him either to deliver him up alive, or to fend him his Head. Chaganus promifed to doe one of them, and fent a Guard to Justinian under Pretence of securing him from all violence, that might be offered him by the Inhabitants of the Countrey; but with fecret Instructions to kill him, when ever they should receive from him such Orders. The defign was revealed by one of his Servants to Theodora, and the acquainted therewith her Husband, who calling the Guards to him killed them, and then fending her back into Chazaria, he fled to the Straits, and there taking thip came to Symbolum near Chersona, whither upon notice came to him, Bafbacurius his Brother and others, with whom he failed to the Watch Tower of Chersona, thence to Necropula and the Straits of Danaprium, and Danastrium. Here he was seized with such a storm, that all that were with him gave themselves for lost; whereupon Myaces one of his Domesticks told him, that he saw plainly they were in great Danger of Death, and therefore prayed him to make a Vow, that it God Almighty would but restore him to his Throne, he would not revenge himself upon his Enemies, to which he answered in Anger; Here let God drown me, if I spare any of them. Then coming to the Danube, he sent to Terbelis, King of the Bulgari to defire aid, offering him great rewards with his Daughter in Marriage. Terbelis with an Oath undertook to affift him, and armed the whole multitude of the Bulgari and Slavi, with which Justinian went to Constantinople. Three days he treated with the Inhabitants, till perceiving he was CHAP. IV. The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. | Iustinian II.

And recovers

more and more affronted, with a few Romans he passed up the Aqueduct into the City, and digging through it, possessed himself of the Palace in Blacherna, which being once known, Apfimarus with a great fum of Money after he had Reigned about seven years fled to Apolloneas, and so Justinian recovered his former Power.

17. He difmissed Terbelis with great Gifts and Royal Furniture, and bestowed on him part of that Roman Countrey, called afterward Zagoria. Aplimarus, Leontius and Heraclius, being betrayed into his hands, he put to Death the two former, after he had Ignominiously led them as in Triumph through the City; and had in the Shews of the Circus let his Feet upon their Necks; which while he did, the unconstant multitude repeated: Thou shalt tread upon the Adder and Basilisck, and that which follows. The Eyes of Callinicus the Patriarch he pulled out of his Head, and then banished him to Rome, preferring one Cyrus to his place, a Monk of the Island Amastris, because he had foretold his Restitution. Then in his revengefull humour, did he proceed to the flaughter of an innumerable Company of Citizens and Souldiers, which struck all Men with a Pannick fear. He sent for his Wife, and Tiberius a Son lately born to him out of Chazaria, and fet the Crown upon both their Heads. But in the third year of his Restauration, forgetting the Benefits he had received from Terbelu, he broke the League made betwixt the Romans and Bulgarians; and with a Party of stout Horse, and a strong Navy invaded Thrace. But his Men either fo Cowardly or unskilfully demeaned themfelves, that they were quite beaten, and he was forced to betake himfelf to his Rampart, where being belieged three days when he faw the Enemy very pertinacious, he Hamstringed all his Horses, and getting his men aboard, with great Infamy returned home. Here he had not long been, when calling to mind how those of Chersona the Bosphorani, and others had laid in wait for him; he Rigged every ship he could make, and on this Fleet sent an Army with express Order to kill and destroy those that lived in these parts, and to be sure not to leave one of them

Breaks the Peace with his Reftorer, and Ignominiously

18. His Orders were executed as far as possible, the poor People not being in the posture of defence, as utterly furprized, onely the Children they killed not; but kept them for Slaves. Two and forty of the principal Men, they fent to the Emperour. Some they Roasted alive, and others they cast into the Sea. Justinian was Mad, when he heard they had spared the Children, but was comforted when he heard that, no fewer than feventy three Thousand were destroyed. But imagining he had not yet done enough, though he had also killed the Children, he fends his Navy the fecond time with Charge to lay all the Countrey waste, and deftroy what ever was remaining of the People. The remainder of the Nation feeing there was no end of their Miseries, secured themselves in their Forts as well perour Philippi as they could, and renouncing Justinian, faluted Emperour Philippicus the Son of Bardanes, who had been banished by Apsimarus to Cephalenia, but now was recalled, and on his way to Constantinople. Elias the Prince of the Countrey had a great hand in this Election; whereat Justinian upon notice was so inraged, that he killed Elias his Children, then being at Constantinople in the Lap of their Mother, and forced her to lye with an Indian his Slave and Cook. Then fent he his Fleet the third time, with battering Rams, and all Instruments of Hostility to complete the Ruine of this People, which had been perfected, but that the Chazari upon their desire came in to their Relief; who made such effectual opposition, that the Army not able to doe that for which they were fent, and fearing the most Savage cruelty of Justinian, revolted also from him, and joyned with the other in the choice of Philippicus, whom, being retired for his fafety to Chaganus, they demanded might be fent to them. Chaganus demanded Caution, that they would not betray him, and required a piece of Money from every Souldier, which being given, he dismissed Philippicus, and they willingly submitted to him as to their

To whom Ju-

19. Justinian when the Fleet was fo flow in returning, guessed what was the occasion; and getting about him some Thracians and others, went as sar as Sinope, whence perceiving that it failed toward Constantinople, for Grief and Indignation he rored out, and made what haste he could to get thither, but Philippicus prevented him, and then he retired to Damatrya. Philippicus presently sent Elias against him, and Maurus a Patritian to feek out his Son Tiberius, whom he found fled with his Grandmother Anastasia (for his Mother was dead) to a Church in Blachernis, and there Grasped about the Holy Table; but they pulled the Child thence, and dragging him to the little Door of the Gate of Callinicum, there laid him on the Threshold and cut his Throat like a Sheep. Elias by Promise of security

finian's Souldiers revolt.

and other mattets, drew all Justinian's followers from him, and being thus deserted, he took him in great anger by the Throat, and drawing the Scimiter which hung at his fide, therewith cut off his Head, which he fent to Philippicus, and Jafiniamis flain. Philippicus made it be conveyed to Rome. To this end came this furious and implacable Justinian, in the eighth year after his Restauration. Philippicus the Son Philippines fue of Bardares as Zonaras calls him, or firnamed Bardares as Cedrenus will have it, was eloquent in Discourse, and once had the esteem of a prudent man, but carrying himself lightly and carelesly, and being of an evil Life, he quite lost all his Reputation. Perswaded by an Heretical Monk, who had foretold him he should be Emperour; he fet himself to abolish the Decrees of the fixth General Council, with which matters while he busied himself, the Bulgari without any Noise made an Invasion as far as to the Golden Gate of the City, and having killed and taken Captives an infinite number of People, returned home without any opposition. This happened in the first year of his Reign. In his second, when the Prasini had got the better in the Circus, it pleased the Emperour to make his Entry on Horseback, to Bathehimself in the Bath of Zeuxippus, and to Dine with some of the most Noble Citizens, or as others faid, with those that were Victours in the Sports. As he took his rest at the Noon time of the Day, one Rusus Prefect of the Opsiciani, with a company of Thracians entring by the Golden Gate broke into the Palace, and thence taking him out into the Armory of the Prasini there pulled out his Eyes, the thing His Eyespulled being utterly unknown. But when it was grown publick, the day after being Easter day, the People met together in the Great Church, and John the Patriarch Artenius the Se- Crowned Emperour, Artenius the principal Secretary, giving him the name of Anastasius. This happened after Philippicus had Reigned but one year and six

20. Artemius, or Anastasius was a most learned man, and extraordinary fit for business, and the management of the greatest Affairs. He made General of the Horse one Leo an Isaurian, a very sit man, and another as sit as he, he set over civil Matters, so that all his time, he had not much to concern himself about. Of Theodorus and Georgius both Patritians, he caused the Eyes to be put out, and confined to Thessalonica for his better security. The Arabians now making War upon the Empire both by Sea and Land, and a report going that they would fall upon the City, he caused to be Built all the light Ships his Arcenals could furnish, fortified all the Walls and Places at Land, and filled the Granaries with Corn. But being informed that the Saracens Sailed into Phanicia with a strong Fleet, there to cut down Timber, he also set out a Navy to destroy the provision that they made, commanding the Provincials also to fend their Ships to the General Rendezvous at Rhodes, and joyn with the main Fleet, which he would have Commanded by John the Deacon of the Great Church, and the General Logotheta. Being all affembled at Rhodes, the Admiral commanded them to Sail, but the Seamen, and especially the Opficiani refused to obey Orders, and when John more severely than prudently animadverted upon them, they fell into a plain Mutiny and slew him, and making The Fleet re an halt after a Confultation , some returned home , and others to Constantinople, roles and falues who in their way when they were come as far as Adramyttium falured Emperour roles and falues who in their way when they were come as far as Adramyttium falured Emperour roles are come falled our control of the Revenue, a man against his will, one Theodosius a Publican, or Collectour of the Revenue, a man utterly unacquainted with affairs of State. Artemius having notice of the Revolt, fortifies Conftantinople and goes to Nicea. For fix months the Fleet of Conftantinople, and that of Theodofius skirmished by times. Theodofius at length goes into Thrace, and there making great Levies, returns with a powerfull Army to the City, where he corrupted those that watched at the Wall and got in. The City is Plundered for the pertinacious humour of the Inhabitants, and the friends of Arte-Antennian depo- mins secured, who being brought to him still lying at Nicea, upon security given

21. But Leo an Isaurian, Captain General of the Eastern Forces, refused to submit to Theodofus, having at his Devotion Artavasdes an Armenian the Captain of Les the Harrison his Nation, to whom he had promifed his Daughter in Marriage. At the perfuatakes the Purple fion of Mafalnias the Prince of the Saracens, who had begun to make War upon the Empire, he took the Purple upon him, and with a great Army marched to Ni. comedia, where he fought with the Son of Theodofius, and defeating him, took both him and the cheifeft of his Father's Friends Prisoners, and so proceeded till he came to Chrysopolis. Theodofius saw there was no contending, and employed the Patriarch Germanus to Leo, from whom having obtained promife of Impunity, he re-

for his Life, he entred into Religion, taking the Habit of a Monk, and was con-

veyed to Thessalonica, after he had enjoyed the Title of Emperour near about

figned the Imperial Dignity, and both he and his Son were shaven and entred into Orders, after he had Reigned but one year. He died afterward at Ephefus, where he was Buried in the Chapel of St. Philip, with this word onely byliz, or Health ingraven on his Tomb. But how great a friend foever Mafalnias the Saracen was to Leo, it seems he was no friend to the Empire, for he set upon Pergamus and took it, the Inhabitants by the just Judgment of God being delivered into his hands as our Historians observe. For perswaded by a certain Magician they ripped up a Bigbellied Woman, and feething her fruit in a Kettle, as many as would fight against the Enemy, dipped the sleeves of their right Armes in this execrable Sacri-

22. Leo upon the refignation of Theodofius was owned for Emperour, and took Les owned Em- the Government upon him, on the eighth day before the Calends of April, in the fourteenth Indiction, the third year of Gregory the Second, Bishop of Rome, and the seven hundred and sixteenth year of our Lord. He was also called Conon, and sirnamed Iconomachus, because he was against the worshipping of Images. When he was young, there were certain Jews born at Laodicea, a City of Phanicia, who pretended to foretell that Izeth King of the Arabians should Reign over that Nation forty years, but he died foon after, and his Son fought for the Impostours to have them punished. They fled to fave their Lives into Isauria, where meeting with Leo then a very Youth, but tall and beautifull at a certain Well, where he was fet at Dinner, (for he got his living hardly, and had now unladed his Beast to give him refreshment as well as himself,) they prophesied that one day he should sway From what and the Sceptre of the Roman Empire. He expostulated with them for uttering such a

strange Conceit, but they affirmed it would be so, and made him swear, that in case it should come to pass, he would grant them whatsoever they desired. Not Cedreum long after he was taken into the Army by Sissinnius the Patritian, and was made within a while a Spatharius by Justinian, and at length either by Anastasius Theo- Spatharium Co. dofius was created General of the East, and so in the method and course lately men-drenu esse Rodoftus was created General of the East, and to in the method and counterfactly men among tioned came to be Emperour. In his second year Soliman with an Army invaded mania confident doct Thrace, but died within a while, and Humar was Ameras or Prince in his room, σπαθαίω δ who lost a great multitude both of his Men and Cattel by the extremity of the Spathariorum Winter. In Spring following Suphiam from Ægypt, and Izeth from Africk in great Princeps à Cure The Fleet of the Fleets passed up to Constantinople, with an innumerable company of men and quan- palate inter Ma-Sattactes loft be- tity of Arms, and the City they belieged two years, but then all the Ships were numeratur, qui partly funk by Tempests, and partly burnt, and all the men perished together & Imp. 7 ond-

23. Yet did Mardasane another Saracen Captain from Pylæ or the Straits, make another excursion as far as Nicæa and Nicomedia, but were sent back with great loss scribit. Another misreceived from the Romans, who after the manner of the Mardaitæ lay in Ambush and intercepted them. At this time so great a Famine fell upon those Arabians, that it compelled them to eat up all their Cattel, and after that to fall one upon another, and feed on Excrements, with the roots of Trees and other unnatural Great difficulties things. And this was followed by fo great a Plague, as swept away an infinite

the Saratest timings. And this was followed by 10 great a rangue, as twept away an infinite guple with the member of men, which were great rebukes, and able if not to defirer, to weaordome all. ken and render contemptible very powerfull Nations, wer full they downliked eveken and render contemptible very powerfull Nations, yet still they flourished every day, made progress in the glory of Arms and Conquests, and became more renowned by the possession of many, the most considerable Provinces and Countries of the World, amongst which they set footing in Spain about this very time. Not long after, the Bulgari made War upon them, and flew no fewer than two and twenty thousand, and many other Calamities followed; but they weathered all those Difficulties, and arrived at that Power and Fame in the World, which was included fecretly in the promife made to Abraham about Ismael's Posterity. We have heard what fuccess they had in besieging Constantinople, but to another thing of consequence this Siege gave occasion. Sergius, chief of the Spatharii and Gover-

nour of Sicily, hearing the News, faluted Emperour one Bafilius the Son of Onomagulus changing his Name into Tiberius. He disposed of places, and ordered matters thereabout as he pleafed, but Leo having notice, fends Paul one of his Domesticks to chastile him, who coming into the Island called the People together, and reading a Writing which expressed the thoughts and intentions of the Emperour, so improved the opportunity he had got of their Attention, that with lucky acclamations they owned Leo for their Prince, and renounced the Title and pretences of their new Upstart, whom with his Relations they delivered up bound in-A Rebellion in to his Hands. He cut off their Heads and fent them to the Emperour, then by promife of pardon brought in Paul, who had been the Authour of the Revolt. And

fo the West was again setled in Obedience. These things happened about the first and second years of Leo. In his third his Wife Maria brought him a Son whom Conflamine Co. he named Conflamine, and the People firnamed Copronymus, because he bewrayed prommu born the Font at his Baptilm, which was taken as a fign of much milchief he would doe to the Church. The chief of the Nobility and Senate were his God-

24. The same year Artemius living at Constantinople, being persuaded by Nicetas Xylinites a man of great Authority, went to the Bulgari, and raising an Army amongst them came against Leo to Constantinople,, but the Citizens refusing to receive him, the Balgari delivered him up into the Emperour's hands and departed Artemius put to home; Leo put both Artemius and Xylinites to Death, confileated also the Estate death for Trea-death for Trea-of the latter for he was very rich, and caused to be Executed very many others that were of the Party, amongst whom the Archbishop of Thessalonica; neither did fuch as obtained mercy to live, escape utterly without Punishment, for many he chastized bycutting of their Noses, and others he sent into Banishment. Having passed the danger of this Conspiracy, he thought of Establishing the Empire upon Young Coulum his Posterity, causing Germanus the Patriarch to Crown his Son now scarcely a year

old. While these things are in hand at Constantinople, Humar the Ameras or irince of the Arabians leaves this World, after he had Governed eleven years and four months and his Principality to Ized. Much about the same time another Ized sirnamed Mualabis set up for himself in Persia, and drew in great numbers to defend him, but the Ameras made War upon him, flew him and recovered the Countrey.

nim, but the Ameras made war upon min, new min and recovered the Country.

Green Bishop Lee the Emperour from this time forward fet himself to remove Images from Amendess, to Rame Rebells Churches, and much für arose upon that occasion, infomuch as Gregory the Bishop September of Rame rebelled against him, and making a League with the Franks, stopped the Revenue which had formerly rifen to the Emperour out of Italy. While these con-Impies Revenue which had formerly rifen to the Emperour out of Italy. While these con-Impies Revenue which had formerly rifen to the Emperour out of Italy. tentions were rifing to an height, in the tenth year of his Rergn Mafalnias takes Zanaras. Cafarea in Cappadocia, and a great Plague rages in Syria. In the Summer of the same year, a strange thing happened betwixt Thera and Therasia, two of the Islands Wonders in the Sporades of the Ægean Sea, a great smoak for many days rising from the bottom of the Sea, like to that of a Furnace, which thickning by degrees, at last grew to perfect Stones refembling the Pumice, which covered not onely the Water it felf, but in a manner all the continent of Asta Minor , Lesbus, Abidus and the maritime parts of Macedonia. In the middle of the sinoak a new Island arose out of the Sea,

and joyned it self to Hieria, even as Thera and Therasia had formerly appeared on a sudden, where nothing but water had been seen before. 25. Whether those disturbances in the Earth and Air had any influence upon

the brains of fuch as inhabited the Islands Cyclades we know not, who grew so hot upon the Emperour's War against Images, that they would needs joyn themselves Robis perified to the weaker fide, and making up a Fleet amongst themselves, undertook and expedition against Constantinople, but by artificial fire they and all their Ships perished together. In the mean time Haumar with fifteen thousand men lightly Armed, made an excursion into the Roman Provinces, and besieged Nicaea the City of Bithynia, where Manias with no fewer than eighty five thousand joyned with him, and a long time they belieged the City, but it was protected by apparitions of Saints, More invokes of as those who wrote in later Ages do tell us. Whether they were discouraged from this ill success or no we know not, but about three years, for any thing that appears to us, the Saracens continued quiet till the fourteenth of Leo, when Mafalnias made another Inrode into the Provinces, and coming into Cappadocia, took by Strategem the Castle of Charstanum. At the same time the Emperour's affairs were in no good condition in Italy, where, befides the Revolt of Rome, and the loss of his Tributes, there was no good Correspondence betwixt his Exarch of Ravenna, and Luithprand the King of the Lombards. But he fo ordered the matter, as to bring this King to his beck, and enter into a strict League and Alliance with him, and heart

Agreemene be the conditions whereof were thefe, that Leo should assist Luithprand in subduing the reven the Ex Dukes, or the petty Princes, and so promote him to the Monarchy of the Low-arch of Raises, and the on the other side, should use his utmost endeavour to reduce the of the Lambards. City of Rome to the Emperour's Obedience, which yet could not be effected according to their defires, though Eutychius the Exarch, and Gregory the Roman Bilhop were reconciled, who had so far disagreed formerly, that the Life of the Prelate was exceedingly endangered.

26. Leo being rid of the troubles of the Lombards, with whom all things feemed now to be fettled, bent his utmost endeavours to suppress the Worshippers of Images, and to the establishment of his Family. He procured the Daughter of ChagaCHAP. IV. The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. Constantinus Con.

nus, the King of the Scythians, to be given in Marriage to his Son Constantine, af-

A dreadfull

Earthquake.

Constantine

ter she was first christened, and named Irene. Against the revolted Bishop and City of Rome he fent a very confiderable Fleet, which perished by Tempests in the Adriatick Sea. He laid heavy Impositions upon the People of Sicily and Calabria, to fupply hisempty Coffers, feized on the Revenues which belonged to some Churches, and Rome, and caused Male Children, assoon as they were born, to be cessed. In the mean time, and afterward, Suleiman, the Son of Isam, invades the Provinces bordering on the Dominions of the Saracens, and wastes all with Fire and Sword, carrying along with him in his Expeditions one that called himself Tiberius, the Son of Justinian, whose Title he advanced against that of the Emperour. In the three and twentieth Year of Leo's Reign, with no fewer than ninety thousand Men, he fell upon the Towns and Castles of the East, and having taken many of them, returned home with his Prisoners and Booty without any disturbance. These Invasions of the Saracens forely afflicted the Eastern Parts, and that the more Western might have their share also of misery, and feel the inconstancy of all humane Comforts, as well as their Neighbours, in the last Year of Leo a most dreadfull Earthquake falls out at Constantinople, which overturns many Churches, Monasteries and private Houses, and buried multitudes of Men, Women and Children in the rubbish. Several Statues of ancient Emperours it removed from their Bases, as those of Constantine the Great, Theodosius, Arcadius, and others. In Thrace also and Bithinia, several dreadfull Effects of this Concussion of the Earth were to be feen. For besides many Towns and Castles, Nicomedia, Pranetus and Nicaa perished, with many Inhabitants. The Sea was so much disturbed with these subterraneous Vapours that thus disquieted the World for eleven Months together, that it was driven out of fome of its ancient Possessions, and forced to make bold with

grounds that lay most obnoxious to its violence in other places. 27. This fo publick and a great Calamity, against the effects and terrour of which the Emperour should have found out some comfort and supply, he turned to his

own Lucre, and the greater diffurbance and oppression of the poor People, if our Annalists may be credited. He diffuaded them from repairing the Walls of their Towns, but laid a Tax upon them, which being, as they thought, onely defigned Les makes an for this present occasion, was (as oftentimes it happens that an Imposition impoadvantage of it fed lasts longer than the cause that procured it,) continued upon them and their or gering Mo. Posterity. Not long after this Leo dies after he had reigned twenty five years, two

months, and twenty days, and leaves Constantine his Son, and Collegue, to the sole possession of the Empire. He as willing to keep and preserve to his own Family what was left him, in his first Year marches against the Arabians, and as he was in his way, studies how to prevent the designs of all Competitours. He had a Brother-in-Law whom he most feared, one Artabazdus, who married Anne, the Daughter of Leo, and being fometime Governour of Armenia, affifted him much in obtaining the Empire. Constantine, to make sure work of it, that the Empire

might not be transferred from the one Family into the other, refolves first to make away his Sons, whom he kindly invites to his presence, desirous to see them as his Nephews. But the old Man had fmelt out the delign, and resolving to be beforehand with him, falls upon him at unawares, kills feveral of his Friends, and forces him to fly for his Life to the City Amorium, where, with great promifes, he

persuades Longinus, the Captain of the East, saith Cedrenus, or Lacinus, the Captain of the Thracian Troops, as writes Theophanes, or both, as appears from Zonaras, to undertake his Protection against his Brother.

28. In the mean time Artabazdus fends to make Theodorus the Governour of Conflantinople of his Party, one Athanafius, a Silentiary, who finds him pliable enough, and by telling a Lye, that Constantine the Emperour was dead, easily persuaded the People to own Artabazdus for their Emperour, whom they as much extoll as a pious and orthodox Prince, as they detest and revile him whom they vainly supposed to be out of all possibility of revenging himself upon them. All things seeming now to be clear, and Anastasius the Patriarch, who formerly had sided with Leo against Images, but now, to curry favour with the rising Sun, reviled both him, his Son, and his Opinions, perfuading all Men to receive and own him, Artabazdus enters Constantinople, and the first thing he does, he seizes on the Sons of Constantine, then makes them be shaven, and clapt up in close custody. But the cheat of Constantine being dead could not long continue, and possibly the Discovery might have a quite contrary Effect upon the humour of the inconstant multitude.

To prevent all such dangers an expedient is found out by the Patriarch, who most

folemnly swears, that Constantine had uttered most horrid Blasphemies against our

Saviour, as that he was not the Son of God, but born after the same manner of his Mother Mary, as Mary his Mother had born him. The People, by this Deposition of the Patriarch, was so moved, as to depose Constantine. Now are there two Emor the People depole Constantine. Now are there two Empole Constantine. Perours. Constantine is still living in Armenia, and Artabazdus reigns at Constantine

nople, whereupon such a Civil War arose, as, if Cedrenus should be credited, the Transferm. like never happened fince the beginning of the World.

29. If fo, the more to blame he, and other Historians, who give us such a small 29. It to, the more to plante he, and other Finterians, who give as latter than they regard virus, feantling of fuch passages as deserved to be related in intire Volumes. This they ad Ann. 2. Co. tell us, that Artabazdus being to march against the Emperour, caused first Nice- stantini Cogran, phorus his Son to be crowned at Constantinople. That having made all preparation. ons possible, yet he had the worst in his attempts upon Constantine, and at length was forced both with loss and disgrace to Constantinople, where he sent Nicetas the younger to try if he could have any better fuccess; but he came off with the same disadvantage, and Constantine, as it concerned him, improved his Victories, and marched up to the City, which he straitly befieged in the month of September, at the beginning of the twelfth Indiction, long it was not e'er the belieged, who made little or no preparations for a Siege, were fore distressed with Famine, which caufed Artabazdus to fend out Anastasius, one of his Secretaries, and Artabazdus, the Comes Domesticorum, to procure Corn, and other necessaries; but going by Sea, they fell into the Fleet of Constantine, who commanded their Eyes to be put out. Thus fucceeding not, Artabazdus makes a vigorous Sally, but still came off very disadvantageously, and the Famine so much increased, that he was forced to let the People go out, and provide for themselves, which they did, some in the habit of Women, and others like religious Persons, because free egress was permitted Confiamine takes to such. At the beginning of November Constantine so pressed upon the City, that 4 November Constantine so he broke it in the Afternoon, having defeated Nicetas, the younger Son of Arta-

bazdus, whom being taken Prisoner, he had bound in Fetters, and so presented him to the view of his Father upon the Wall. Artabazdus escaped to a certain Cassle in the Territories of the Opficii, but was fetched thence, and had his Eyes put out, as also had both his Sons. Many of his Complices were put to death, amongst and his friends whom Boetangius the Patritian was most eminent, not onely for the Nobility of his put to death or House, but the extravagancy of the minimed. were cut off, and then his Head, which, with the body, for thirty years rested in a Grave, wherein they had been decently interred; but then did Constantine force the Man's own Wife to dig up his bones, and cast them into the place where the Bodies of Malefactours were wont to be thrown. The City of Constantinople the foreign Souldiers were permitted to plunder. As many of Artabazdus his Friends lost their Lives, so some their Hands, and others their Feet. Constantine coming into the Hippodrome, to the Horse-races, led Artabazdus, with his Sons and Relations, in triumph, and Anastassus the Patriarch, having first caused him to be publickly beaten, he fet upon an Ass, with his Face to the Tail, and so to be carried up and down in derision. Yet did continue this Man in his place, because he could not find out a greater Villain, if you'll believe his Detractours.

30. Constantinus Copronymus having thus in the third year of his Reign recovered his Power and Dignity, that he might fettle himself the faster in the feat of his Empire, which had lately been too hot for him, bent his endeavours to gain the affections of the People, which his cruelty had so alienated from him. At the same time as these Civil Wars made fuch commotions and diffurbances amongst Mankind, the subterraneous Vapours, as it were, keeping time with them, shook the Earth in several parts of the East, with such violence, that down fell Cities, Towns and Castles, and the Mountains in the Defert of Saba met, and united themselves together, to take Counsel, as it were, and make the stronger defence. And for some time they seemed to be in repose, but not long after, in the fixth Year of Copronymus, these Vapours, or whatever other Causes, doubled their fury. For in the preceding year, Vide Barm. from the fourth of August to the first of Ottober, as writes Theophanes, or as Cedrenus more probably, from the tenth to the fifteenth of August, there was a very great darkness, and in the eighteenth of January following happened so great an Earthquake in Palestine, about Fordan, and all Syria, that innumerable multitudes

of Men perished, and many Churches and Monasteries tumbled down, especially

in the Wilderness near to ferusalem. Neither had the Western Parts any cause to

rejoyce above their Fellows, for a most grievous Pestilence beginning about Sicily

and Calabria, as if it had been a devouring Fire, spread as far as Monobafia, Greece,

and the interjacent Islands. Little crosses, as it were made with Oil, appeared up-

on the Clothes of Men, and the Vestments of Churches, and such as had them on

CHAP. IV. The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. Constantinus Cop.

their Clothes, certainly died. The number of the dead was fo great, that the lias dreadfull ving were fearcely able to bury them, but were forced to invent feveral things for the easier carriage of the bodies. The Plague continued still raging with greater symptomes for three years, being called the Plague of Bubo's, from those tumours which, it feems, arose in an extraordinary manner.

31. It was a fingular Mercy of Almighty God, that while these inward Distempers raged in this manner amongst Christians, the foreign scourge of the Saracens Sword, though it was not sheathed, yet was employed to the destruction of those A Civil War a- that handled it. A Civil War brake out amongst them in Syria, where while monght the Sa they intended nothing so much as the destruction of one another, Manias reduces to his Obedience Emesa, Damascus, Heliopolis and Ferusalem. The Emperour thinks this a convenient time to bestir himself, and while they are busie in one part of Syria, he falls upon another, recovers Germanicia, and makes an Invasion as far as Dalichia and Affyria. Those of the Saracens that lived nearer the Sea, to weaken Emperour or divert his Power, rigged up a Fleet, which bent its course to Cyprus, with intent to perform some great matters; but the Roman Navy there met with them at unawares, and the Admiral having blocked up the Haven, so as they could not escape, destroyed every Ship, except three, which they willingly suffered to pass away with the news of their sad fortune. The year that followed, being the ninth of Constantine, on the twenty fifth of January, Irene, his Wife, brought him a Son, whom he named Leo. And now again are the fad Calamities which had fo lately

happened in the Eastern Parts renewed, as dreadfull an Earthquake as ever falling Another Earth- out in Syria, fome Cities were quite swallowed up, others half ruined, and some from their mountainous fituations brought down to the levell, and removed, without any confiderable Detriment, fix miles, or more, from their ancient feats. In Mesopotamia a Chasme was made in the ground two miles long, out of which proceeded a whitish and fandy kind of Earth, and (Theophanes tells you Eye-witnesses vide Barth affirmed it) out of it arose a certain Animal in the shape of a Mule, which speaking with a voice like that of a Man, predicted, that out of the Wilderness a certain

32. In the Year that followed, Constantine caused his young Son Leo to be crow-

People would fall upon the Arabians, which accordingly came to pass.

ned Emperour by Anastasius the Patriarch. For several years all Acts of Hostility had ceased betwixt him and his Neighbours, but in the eleventh of his Reign he raifed an Army, wherewith he took Theadofiopolis and Melitena. Conceiving the Provinces which lay towards the Bulgari to be in no good posture of defence, he built some new Forts upon the Borders, whereat they found themselves concerned, and fent their Ambassadours to complain, and defire a Confirmation of the former The Baleari Leagues; but he ignominiously treated the Messenger, wherewith they were so much offended, that they made a fudden Irruption into the Provinces, and peircing as far as to the Long Walls, with vast plunder returned home, without any let or molestation. This provoked Constantine exceedingly, yet he tempered his passion till he could be in a posture, as he thought, to revenge the Injury, which was not till fix years after, in the nineteenth of his Reign, and then being, as he thought, fufficiently provided, he made an Expedition against them. But coming to a narrow place, called Beregaba, the Enemy took the advantage of the passage, and To said the first first first defeated him, which done, he returned home with great loss of Men, and a greater me and the state of Reputation. The next Year a great Comet, which from the likeness of a Beam serial is the state of t the Greeks called Docites, appeared in the East for ten days, and afterward remo- dec. Cedennes.

ved to the Western part of the Heavens, where it shone for one and twenty more. 33. The one and twentieth Year of Constantinus Copronymus his Reign, the Annalists make infamous, for his whipping to death one Andrew, a famous Monk, in Blachernis, for reprehending his Impiety, in reference to Images no doubt, to which our Historians, as living in later Ages, wherein the practice obtained, were exceedingly devoted. The Reader must not think it improper for us to take notice of a violent Frost, which happened two years after, both because we are too much at leifure to doe it, and the remarkableness of it renders it a fit Subject for an Historian, though never fo grave and wary. It began on the first of October, and froze

A ftrange Frost, so hard, that both in the Eastern and Western, as well as in the Northern, Parts, the Sea, for an hundred miles from the shore, was covered with Ice thirty Cubits in thickness. On this Ice fell a Snow twenty Cubits deep, which made it pasfable for Men, and all other forts of Animals, no otherwise than the firm ground it felf. In the month of February a Thaw came, and diffolved this Ice, and Snow upon it, into many Heaps, or Mountains rather, which being by Winds driven to Dampfia, and the Chapel, crowded through the Straits, and came as far as Con-

flantinople, nay to Propont is and Abydus, furrounded the Islands adjacent in the Sea, and filled all the Maritime Coasts, as Theophanes himself was Witness, who, with thirty others of his Acquaintance, patied down upon one of these pieces. One of them Vide enad. did some mischier to the Calle at Constantinople, another shook very much the Wall, and then being broken into three other pieces, compassed the Town from Mangana, as far as Bosphorium, being higher than the Walls themselves. The month following, or that of March, the Stars feemed to fall from Heaven, and Doomsday

The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. Constantinus Cop. PART III.

was generally thought to be at hand. And these wonders were followed by as strange a Drought, which caused both Rivers and Fountains to fail. 3.1. Much about this time, or a little after, Constantine made Peace with the Bulgari, but it feems he did it to furprise them, for as privately as he could he marched with an Army into their Countrey, but proceeding as far as Tutia, did nothing memorable, burnt onely a few Cottages, and fo returned home with small Reputation. But the Year following he thought to redeem his Credit, and therefore not onely prepared his Land Forces, but a great Fleet also, which he commanded to fail to Anchialus, but coming to Anchor in the Road of Thoris, fo violent a North wind feized upon it, that it almost utterly perished, and he commanded Nets to be cast into the Sea, and as many dead Bodies as could be drawn out to be decently interred. So write Theophanes and Cedrenus, concerning this expedition. to Anchialus, adding, that the Emperour returned with difgrace to Constant inople, but Zonaras tells us quite another story. The occasion, he saith, of this Expedition

Different Relatives was taken from a Sedition lately rifen amongst the Bulgari themselves, who have ving put to death all their Leaders, that were descended from their Princely Families, advanced one to the Dignity, who was much more meanly descended, Telentza by Name. He tells us, that the Emperour at this Instant set upon them both by Sea and Land, particularly at Anchialus, where the Fight continuing from eleven a Clock till evening, many were flain, the Captain of the Bulgari faved himfelf by flight, and many Barbarians being killed, and no fewer taken Prisoners. multitudes also revolted to the Emperour of their own accord, who, as Conque-

rour, entred Constantinople in solemn Triumph, in Armour at the head of his armed Troops, with his Captives in Chains, according to the custome, whom, after

the pomp and folemnity ended, he put to death.

35. The next Year being come, he caused to be crowned Eudocia, his third He Crowns his Wite (for it seems he had three) upon a Scaffold of nineteen cubits, and on the Wise and Chill-Wife and Child first of April, being the Monday in Easter Week, created Cæsars his and her two Sons, Christopher and Nicephorus. Nicetas the Patriarch praying the while that the Emperours invested them with their Robes, and put on them the Casarean Helmets. Their youngest Brother Nicetas was also created Nobilissimus, being invested with a Robe, and a Golden Crown fet on his Head, which folemnity finished, they went in a folemn Procession, casting several forts of Money to the People, according to the custome. A year after Irene coming from Athens, was also crowned, and married to Leo, the eldest Son of Constantine. Phadalus, Captain of the Saracens, within two years, invaded the Roman Provinces, and took five hundred Captives. but the Inhabitants of Mopfuestia laid in wait, and killing a thousand of these Arabians, recovered all their booty. The following year Constantine undertook another Expedition against the Bulgari, but his Success was such, as inclined him to submit to a Peace, which they, it feems, never intended to observe any longer than they could get a convenient opportunity to break it. For they fent not long after twelve thouland Men to make themselves Masters of Berzetia, which being made known to the Emperour, he hasted with an Army against them, and falling His Noble War on them at a place called Lithoforea, cut them all in pieces, and then returned home. He was wont to call this his Noble War, because in it not one Christian perished, but it seems the Victory was obtained by Treachery, and that could not render it to noble, as if it had been atchieved by Valour and good Conduct. For Elerichus, Prince of the Bulgari, found that he was betrayed, but because he knew not the Traitours, he had this device to know their Names. He wrote to Constantine, telling him, that he was resolved to quit his present Office, and come to him to Constantinople. He desired therefore he would send him his Letters of safe conduct, and to fignifie to him what Friends he had amongst the Bulgari, that he might commit his Person to their Trust, and with them repair to his presence. Constantine overjoyed at his intimation of a Revolt, fent him the Names of those that held Intelligence with him, which as foon as he knew, he put them all to death, laughing in his fleeve to see how he had cheated the Emperour, who could no otherby the Bulgarian Wife amend the matter at the prefent, than in a fury by revenging himself upon

his Beard which he plucked up by the roots in the height of his Paffion. 36. But counting every Day a Year, till he could put himself into a posture to be revenged, the Spring following he marched against Elerichus with another Army, but before he could doe any thing of moment, was feized with a Carbuncle. or Inflammation of his Thigh, by the Greeks called Anthrax, the anguish whereof cast him into an acute Fever. He returned therefore back to Achadicpolis, and there took his Bed, and in this case was conveyed to Selimbria, and thence by Ship Confiamine dies. to a Castle called Strongylum, where in the Territory called Chelandium he died, at-

ter he had reigned thirty four Years, two Months and fix and twenty Days, coming onely nine days short of the Reign of his Father, if we believe Baronius . Vide Baronius who in one place will have Theophanes to give thirty four Years, three Months and ad Am. D. 741. two days to the Reign of Leo, whereas formerly treating of Leo's Death, he cites man it the fame Historian, reckoning onely twenty five Years, two Months, and twenty Days, of that Emperour. Never was man worse spoken of by Theophanes, Cedrenus, and other later Historians, especially by Baronius, but how great Credit is to be given to them herein may be impartially examined, when we come to treat of the cause of their prejudice, onely saying thus much by the way, that where Interest and Passion bears sway, Truth usually truckles to the Pen of the Authour. Lev his Son fac- His Son Leo, begot on the Chazarian Woman, succeeded him, without any trouble, and understanding that he had intrusted one Theophanes with a great Treasure,

to be employed for the use of his younger Children, he seized on it all, and left his Brothers destitute, and at his own Mercy. This Leo, though of his Father's Perfuafion, as to Images, yet thought it Wifedom to comply a little with a those of the contrary party, till he could be fettled in his Government, which the better to effect, he caused his young Son Constantine to be crowned Emperour; upon April Bar. what occasion, and in what manner, we shall tell the Reader from Theophanes.

37. The whole City of Constantinople, with all the Nobility, and the People in general were so taken with the gentle and bountifull demeanour of Leo, that they came and petitioned him to make his Son Constantine Emperour. He told them, (as the Emperours were wont) that he was his onely Son, and that he was in fear, left if any thing happened otherwise than well to him his Father, they would deliver him into the hands of some Usurper of their own preferring, being yet an Infant, and not able to shift for himself. They with Oaths affirmed they would slick to him, and in case he died, none but this his Son should reign, and from Palm-Sunday, till the latter end of the Week, the multitude, in the Hippedrome, flocked together, with great earnestness requiring the thing might be done, and then on Fryday Leo demanded an Oath of Fidelity and Allegiance of them, which as well those of the Army as the Senate took, and all other forts of People, subscribing a Paper, whereby they professed they would admit none but Leo, or Constantine, or their Issue, to reign over them. On the morrow then, or Easter-Eve, the Emperour ascended a Throne, railed nineteen Cubits high, where first he created Nobili simus his Brother Eudoxius; his other Brother, Anthimius, having already received this honour from their Father. Then, with the other Cafars, three Nobiliffimi, and young Constantine, he went in folemn Procession to the great Church, where changing his Habit, as his Predecessours were wont to doe, he, with his Son, and the Patriarch, mounted the place proper to such solemnities, and the People being let in, laid down their subscribed Papers upon the Holy Table. This done, the Emperour thus The manner of addressed himself to them: Look, my Brethren, I grant your Petition, and give his making his you my Son for your Emperour; fee you receive him from the Church, and the Hand

of Christ. They with earnesiness replyed, Be thou our Surety, thou Son of God, as from thine Hand we receive our Lord Constantine for Emperour, to preserve him, and, if occasion require, to die for him. On the day following, which was 8. Cal. Mait. Easter-day, in the fourteenth Indiction, assoon as it was well light, the Emperour and Patriarch went into the Hippodrome, where the Patriarch, in the full view of the People, first prayed, and then crowned young Constantine, which done, both the Emperours returned with the fame Train and State, together with the two Cafars, and the other three Nobilifimi, to the great Church, not through the Street of Embolum, but by the brazen Gate, and the Church of Catecumenius, with the Sceptres born by the Scholarii before them. After they were past, followed Irene the Empress, and concluded the folemnity.

38. This Ceremony happened at the latter end of April, and in May following His Brother Ni- Nicephorus Cafar, the Brother of Leo, his Appetite after Sovereignty, it feems, becaphorus bamiling whetted by fuch a fight, conspired against the Emperour, and being conviction a Compile ing whetted by fuch a fight, conspired against the Emperour, and being convictions as a constant of the constant of ted, was, with his complices, who were beaten publickly and shaven, banished to

CHAP. IV.

Chersona. But the contrary Operation had a good Conscience, and a Sense of Religion upon Telericus or Follerigus, King of the Bulgari, who came to Constantinople, and was baptized, refolving to change a temporal Crown, for an heavenly Kingdom. Leo received him with wonderfull kindness, and having made him a Patritian, gave The Iling of the him in Marriage the Coufin Germane, or Niece of his Wife Irene by her Sifler. This Bulgari Gapriz- it's probable, the King of the Bulgari did out of choice, and therefore much more deserved a kind Reception than Tellerigus (so Cedrenus calls him) King of the Lombards, who the preceding year, forced thereto it's to be thought by necessity, betook himself also to Leo, and had kind Entertainment. In the third year of this Emperour, an Expedition was made into Germanicia by the Roman Army; where taking Prisoners a great multitude of the Syrian Jacobites: Leo gave them convenient Habitation in Thrace. Nothing more of moment occurs in his Reign; but that being exceedingly inamoured of Gems, he longed to be Master of the Crown of Heraclius, which being very Rich, was deposited and dedicated in the great Church. His longing was so violent, that needs he must have it, and having taken it out of the Church, he wore it when he went abroad. But on a certain time, when he was returned home, Carbuncles (they tell us) arose on his Head, and he was feized with a violent Fever, which exacted his Life as the price of his Sacrilege, after he had Reigned five years and ten days.

Irene with her Son Constantine Reigns.

Les dies.

39. On the fixth of the Ides of September, in the fourth Indiction, and the feven hundred and eighteenth Year of our Lord; Irene with her young Son Comstantine, a Boy of about ten years old began her Reign over the Roman Empire. But forty days were hardly past, when the Nobility taking distaste at the Sex of Irene and the Youth of Constantine, notwithstanding the Oath made to him and his Father, began to enter into Councils, how to prefer Nicephorus Cafar to the Throne, which she in time discovered, and after they had been beaten with Rods, banished them from the City into several Islands. Awakened by this danger, to prevent the like for the time to come, the caused all her Husband's Brothers, as well the Casars as the Nobilissimi to take Orders, and on Christmas day to give the Communion to the People; at which time, the and her Son offered again that rich Crown which Leo had taken out of the Church, While she busied her self thus about settling her Family, the Eastern Provinces were in danger, which the Arabians upon News of the Emperour's Death, and the hopes of disorders thereupon to arise, had invaded, but fuch Forces as could be got together were fent against them, and quite expelled them out of the Coasts. Fortune thus favouring her on all sides, she thought sit to procure a strong Alliance by the Marriage of her Son, and considering all the Princes, her Neighbours thought none to fit to have Amity with, as Charles King of the Franks afterward Sirnamed the Great, and Crowned Emperour of the Well. She sent her Ambassadours, to desire his Daughter might be given to Constantine, and the offer was so well liked as our Greek Historians write, that Elifæus an Eunuch, and Notary was left behind; to teach her the Language, and instruct her in the Manners and Customs of the Roman Empire. 40. But the prosperity of Irene was interrupted this same year, by the Rebellion

Helpidius rebells and is defeated.

all his Treasure, and living securely in that Countrey, was by the Saracens in oppolition to Constantine, owned for the Roman Emperour. They were glad of this opportunity, and having added what Fuell they could to the flame, fell upon the Eastern Provinces, which to waste Madi their Prince, sent Aaron his youngest Son (his eldest was Moses) who managed his Matters with such Industry and Conduct. that Irene to preserve the Empire, besides many Gifts she sent made it Tributary to this People; an Annual pention being to be paid to their Prince. Having thus made what Peace she could with the Saracens, the year following she sent Stauracius a Patritian, and Logotheta against the Sclavini, who had seized on Greece and Peloponnesus. He brought them all to obedience, and imposing on them a Tribute, returned in Triumph with great Booty to Constantinople. Not long after, Madi Prince of the Saracens dies, and Moyfes his Son succeeds him, but after little more than a year is taken away also by Death, and gives place to his Brother Aaron; who being a Man much addicted to Arms, reigned three and twenty years, a most deadly Enemy to Christians.

of Helpidius the Pretour of Sicily, in behalf of the Cafars, for the reducing of

whom a strong Fleet was sent, under Command of Theodorus the Patritian, who

drove him out of the Island, and made him fly into Africk : Yet he escaped with

41. Constantine the Emperour growing now towards mans Estate, had his mind all this while fixed on Rotdindris the Daughter of Charles King of the Franks, and impatient he was to Consummate the Nuptials. But though the Marriage was

CHAP. IV. The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. Constantine IV.

A Much beting and the Daughter of

Son to Mar-

ry an obscure

agreed on, the Confummation was deferred for feven years, and at length the matter was absolutely broke off by Irene his Mother. The cause the Greek Hi-Kathaliteral State of the Greek Hi-Kathaliter florians ascribe to the Ambition of *Irene*, who having a great delire fill to \$43m & onar-continue her Power, feared the Accession of the Friendship of *Charles* might make *12m of the state of the s her Son too confiderable for her to Govern. Others that have a kindness for the The The Table of the The Table of the The Table of the of the France booken off, and Woman, think she took offence at Charles; because he had invaded the Dukedom δια την αγχιών of Beneventum in Italy, which the Emperours had taken into their Protection, as Zanaras. and that inraged at this Action, the both broke the Marriage, and made War upon

Charles, wherein the had the worst; Fortune favouring him in all his Enterprizes. There are others, who out of Respect to Charles and his Posterity, thinking it more Honourable for him to refuse than be rejected, write that he himself broke off the Match, and that thereupon Constantine to be revenged, ordered Theodorus a Patritian the Governour of Sicily, and other of his Captains to invade the Borders of Beneventum, which he got into his Power. But the great reason of the Breach feems to be fetcht from the Inclinations of Irene her felf, who had no mind to the Match long before the business of Beneventum happened, else she had time and opportunity enough in fo many years to have had it accomplished, and the great have forces her Enmity which upon this occasion fell out betwixt Mother and Son, shew plainly, that he thought her to be principally Guilty, she forces him to renounce the Contract made with Rotdrudris, though exceedingly in Love with her, and to espouse an obscure Maid, an Armenian by Birth, some say a Paphlagonian, by Name, Mary, who had nothing in the least to commend her, not to say fit her, for the imperial Throne; but that she was Daughter, or some say Neice to Philaretus, a Man that

was very eminent for Acts of Charity.

42. Now, as it ever happens in such Cases, there are not wanting those, who endeavour on both fides to widen the Breach, and blow up a little heat of Indignation into a flame of Malice. Her flatterers tell her, the Empire cannot subsist without her, that it is both indecent and unfafe for her, who had now aguired the Art of Government by long Practice and Experience, to quit and refign it to a young raw Youth, whose Age would brook no other Maximes than what were founded upon Ease and Pleasure. His Attendants impatient of delay, till they could have to doe with Offices and Management of Affairs, put him in mind that he is now about twenty years of Age, which ripeness though he pleaded not his Quality, was fufficient to discharge him of the Bonds of Pupillage; and they provoke him to take by force that Inheritance which will not voluntarily be refigued. Their great Spleen was against Stauratius a Patritian, and Logotheta, who Governed all under Irene at his Pleasure; it was resolved therefore, that he in the first place, should be seized and banished the Court, and when he was removed they feared not, but they could have Quarter good enough at the Empresses hand. But Stauratius founded the depth of their Delign e'er it was ripe for Execution, and revealing it to Irene, Order was prefently taken with the Conspiratours; of whom most were beaten and shaven, and then sent into Exile. Her Son she chastized with her own Hands and Tongue, and constraining him to keep within, caused the Senate and Souldiers to take an Oath of Fidelity to her felf, and not to permit her Son to Reign as long as she lived. This though with great unwillingness was swallowed by all, but the Armenian Legions, who professed they would adhere to Constantine, as they were bound by Duty and Allegiance.

43. The report of the Resolution of these Armenian Legions, coming to other Souldiers, who were Quartered at a distance had such Effect upon them, notwithstanding the Oath they had lately taken, that consulting what to doe they closed with them, as having more Equity on their fide; and coming to a Rendezvous, they all required that Constantine might Reign over them. Irene now feared the violence of the multitude, and therefore dismissed her Son out of his honourable Imprifonment, who being received with lucky Acclamations fet himfelf to recall his Friends out of Banishment, to put them into places of Trust and Profit; and to revenge both his and their Quarrel upon fuch as had been either Authours, or Instruments in their late afflictions. Stauratius and others, being beaten and shaven were sent into Banishment. His Mother with great Respect he led out of the Palace, and brought her to her own House, which she her self had built in Eleuther ium, and where the had laid up a vast Treasure. While these disturbances happen at Court, and He deposeth his shake the whole Empire, an horrible Earthquake as it was suitable that Nature her felf should express the Horrour and Effects of Man's Ambition, made all things quake and totter at Constantinople, where the Citizens durst not stay in their Houses; but pitcht Tents in the Fields, and there continued till the violence was

The Souldiers

fianine Reign.

CHAP. IV. The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. Constantine IV.

abated. The Court was also disturbed by a Fire, which burnt to the Ground a very fair Banquetting-Room called Thomaites, with all the Rooms under it, wherein lay the Commentaries upon the whole Scripture, written by St. John Chrysoftome. The Emperour animated by his Liberty, and the unexpected Injoyment of his Power. will now make War against the Bulgari and comes off with the Victory, as writes Cedrenus, though Zonaras faith it was a drawn Battel, and with no great harm either done or received, each one retired to his own Place. Not fatisfied with the Reputation it seems that he got by this Expedition, he undertakes another as far as Tarfus against the Arabians; wherein one says, he took many Prisoners. and another affirms, he returned without any memorable thing performed. 44. But all this while he was not fo Circumspect over his Mother and her Party.

but that they were very close at work; so hard a thing it is for those, who have once tasted of Sovereignty and Dominion, to relish any thing of a lower Gusto. Knowing there was no Force now to be used, they betake themselves to Intreats, and feek by little and little to fcrew up Irene into her former place. By Arguments drawn from filial Duty and good Nature, they perswade him to admit her again into the Court, and to the Title of Empress, which the Armenian Souldiers, more fensible it feems of what would follow than any others, vehemently opposed, and desired, that one Alexius Mosoles might be sent them, which Confantine construed, as he had some reason, as if they would rather promote him to the Empire, than bear the Domination of a Woman, and therefore he caused Alexius to be beaten and shaven, and committed him to his Custody. Having strengthened himself, as he thought, by the Conjunction of his Mother, he betakes himself again to Arms, and will needs fall upon the Bulgari, being by some false Prophets incouraged with a Promise of certain Victory. This so far pussed him up, that he neglected his business, as thinking it a thing needless to be solicitous for that which of it's own accord would fall into his hands; and therefore in this fecurity as he lay, the Bulgari took their advantages, and gave him a very notable defeat. Besides a great number of private Souldiers, many considerable Officers, and the chief Men of the Empire lost their Lives, with Pancratius the Astronomer, who by his lying Prophecies had given the occasion of the overthrow. Constantine having nothing left to clog him, for both Army and Baggage, and all was loft, fled with all speed; but brought Infamy enough with him to Constantinople. 45. This defeat opened the Mouths of his Adversaries and Emulatours, who

were not wanting to descant upon each particular, and more than call his Prudence and Conduct into Question. He himself was Conscious of his Errour; and Confequently Jealous, that no better an Interpretation was made of it than it deserved, which Humour those that were near him, indulged with little stories put into his Head, and great Dangers suggested to him, which filled him with such Conceits as were not to be removed without some extravagant Diversion. It was told him, He is Jealous of that the Souldiers now lying in Town, had a delign to promote Nicephorus his Uncle to his place, which report so disordered him, that he caused not onely his Eyes to be put out; but those of Christopher also his other Uncle, and cuts out the Tongues of another Christopher, Nicetas, Anthimus and Eudocimus; his Mother, and Stauratius, finding him in this Humour, strike in, and perswade him to put out the Eyes also of Alexius, whom the Armenian Legions had demanded to be fent them at fuch a time, as they protested against her Restitution; telling him, that in Case he were spared, the Souldiers would infallibly make him Emperour. But when the Armenian Souldiers received the News, they presently fell into a Mutiny, and committed to Custody, Camilianus their Captain. 'The Emperour dispatches away against them Constantianus Artaseras, and Chrysochires with a strong party, but they had the mis-fortune to come by the worst, and being taken Prisoners had their Eyes put out. Constantine therefore marches against them himself, and with better Success. He utterly defeats them in Battel, and getting them all into his Power, the Officers he puts to Death, deprives the rest of their Estates, and a thousand of the ordinary fort he causeth to be led in Chains to Constant inople, where they had these words, An Armenian Traitour, stamped with Ink upon their Faces, and then were dispersed in Sicily and other Islands.

46. This succeeded to the good liking of Irene, who all this while seeming to fatisfie her felf with the Title without the Power; yet cast in her Head, how she might again be Mistress of both. Her great Adversaries the Armenian Legions were now made an end of, yet to attempt any thing against the Person of her Son, was not altogether safe, besides unnatural; but she rejoyced in his missor-

tunes, and comforted her felf in his want of Reputation, which that he might lose still more and more, she was resolved nothing should be wanting on her part, and she hoped to push him on to such actions, as should render him odious, and so make a kind of necessity of returning the Government into her own Hands. Knowing that he had no fancy for his Wife Mary, to which he had been preferred by her worthy care and forefight, the perswaded him to shave her, and put her into a Monaftery, which done, the finds out for him another honourable Match Theodota one of the Maids of her Chamber, which Damofel is crowned with the Imperial Diadem, and the Wedding kept with great pomp for four days together in the Palace of St. Mamas. This unequal Marriage made much for her Defign, and she improved the advantage to the utmost, for great contentions falling out amongst Churchmen concerning the Lawfulness, or unlawfulness of the Match, she still sided with fuch as spake against her Son, and promoted their interest all ways possible, though fecretly and as much in the dark as she could. But some other things happened, which seemed to thwart all her purposes by recovering the Reputation of her Son. For, renewing his Wars with the Arabians he had good fuccess, as also against Cardamus or Cardames the Prince of the Bulgari, who sending to him to demand Tribute, and threatning if he had it not, to come to fetch it as far He is successfull as the Golden Gate of Constantinople, he fent him some Horse-Dung for Tribute, and against Barari withall this word, that seeing he was an old Man, he would not have him take the pains, nor undergo the labour of so great a Journey , but he himself would come and wait upon him. And gathering together a confiderable Army he went, but the Barbarian, when the Armies came in fight of each other, in a kind of a

pannick fear fled away. 47. In the seventh year of his Reign, (when he Reigned alone,) he waited on his Mother to the Baths of Prusa, and in the following month or Ottober, news was brought him that he had a Son born, whom afterward he named Leo, Overjoyed at the news, he left his Mother and departed speedily to Constantinople, giving a fair opportunity to her, to Caball with the Officers of the Army, and what by gifts and vast promises she so improved it, that they promised to depose her Son that she might Reign alone, and that they would watch for a convenient opportunity to effect it. While she and they gaped after this defired time, the Emperour refolves to undertake another expedition against the Arabians, and with twenty thousand men accompanied with Stauracius, and other Creatures of his Mother in the month of March he begins his Journey. Stauracius and those with him perceiving both him and the Souldiers, to be full of hopes and courage were very thoughtfull left he should return Victorious, and their Plot should not take, they therefore procure the Scouts to report that the Saracens were fled, and that it was no purpose to proceed. Constantine frustrated as he thought of a glorious Victory, in much discontent returns to the City, and on the first of May Leo his young Son Dies, which overwhelmes him with excessive grief. In the middle of July those of the Conspiracy attempted to seize on him, which he having discovered endeavoured to make his escape, but his Mother so quickned them by her Letters, threatning that if they did not speedily put a conclusion to the business, she would reveal the whole matter, that fearing both her and the People, which flocked fo to him that they were all afraid, and he thought once of fending fome Bilhops to perfwade him to retire to a private Life, they laid hands on him and conveyed him He blinded and to Chelandium. On the Saturday morning they brought him to Conflantinople, and is unatural there flut him up in the House called Porphyra where he was Born, and about of his unatural there flut him up in the House called Porphyra where he was Born, and about his unatural the Cladk in the Abrancon most wickedly and cruelly though by his Mothers three a Clock in the Afternoon, most wickedly and cruelly though by his Mothers orders, digged his Eyes out of his Head, even in such a manner that Death prefently followed, after he had Reigned seven years by himself, and ten together with his unnatural Mother. Upon this blinding and Murther of the Emperour, the Sun was darkned for seventeen days, so exceedingly, that the Ships at Sea lost their

courfe, and all men affirmed that because Constantine had lost his fight, the Sun was also hoodwincked, and for this very reason withdrew his beams. 48. But Irene little concerned it feems for fuch a Prodigy being now rid of her Son, thought the could not yet be very secure because of her Husband's Brothers, who had taken Sanctuary in the Great Church at the periwalion of some of their Wellwillers. She sent them therefore down to Athens, where having entertained fome Councils tending to the deposing of the Empress, and advancement of their own Fortune, they were killed as it's faid by the Inhabitants, and fo the Race of Copronymus was totally extinguished, she, to shew what manner of Person now she is, is drawn into the City by four Horses in a gilt Chariot which is staid by the

hands of Patritians, and the casts money amongst the People, as was usual at a solemn Coronation. But what joy foever was at Constantinople upon this occasion, The Saracens there was fadness enough in the Eastern Provinces, which the Saracens now invaded under Conduct of *Habdimelech*, who refused to grant any Peace at the desire of Irene, and as confident to overpower a Woman, marched up through all the Countries as far as Constantinople it self, the Suburbs of which they Plundered, and having ranged the Countrey without Controll, at length departed home. They were no fooner gone, but another danger hung over the Head of Irene, and fo much greater as a fecret Traitour is more dangerous than a known and open Enemy. And who should this be but Stauracius himself, who in all his Councils for feeding the Ambition of this Woman, had an Eye it feems to his own advancement. What Service foever he had formerly done her, he now went about to render it all fruitless, conspiring to take the Diadem from her Head to set it upon his own, but he was timely discovered. She having a regard (it's probable) to his former kindnesses, (though such an act as this usually obliterates the greatest impressions of that kind,) onely forbids all men to keep him Company, after which opprefled with forrow, either for his Fault or for his Punishment, he falls into a bleeding from the Lungs, and so ends his days, his Ambition and Sorrow altogether.

49. Irene perceiving that those she most trusted, had more respect to their own

advancement, than the fecurity of her Estate, and therefore that she stood in a ticklish condition, thought it best for her to oblige the People. In her fourth year, trees indecatorists to be fine remitted the Tribute wont to be paid by those of Constantinople, and promoted of the People. the Commerce of Abydus and Hierum by all means possible. This had the wished effect, for it procured her the hearts of the Multitude. But it could not procure her the fidelity of her Servants, who all this while had wrought their own ends by her, and made her Service onely an advantage for their future preferment. One Ætius an Eunuch ruled all in the Palace, and being by his Commands over the Eaftern Provinces exceedingly inriched, despited all the ancient Nobility, carrying himself very saweily toward them, and thought of no lefs than promoting to the Empire his Brother Leo, for whom he had with much labour, procured the Government of Thrace and Macedonia. The Nobility fmelt out his defign, and refolperceiving a de- ving to oppose it whatever should happen, consulted how to make Emperour one Nicephorus the General Logotheta. Getting their Company together, they went to the great Palace, and there telling the Guards, that it was the pleasure of Irene her felf that Nicephorus should be Emperour on purpose to obviate the designs of Ætius, easily got admittance, and sending their Emissaries about the City before Midnight, prepared the People for what they meant to act the day following. When it was day, they clapped up Irene close Prisoner in the Palace, and then went The depole I. When it was day, they chapped up Irene close Priloner in the Palace, and then went rene and make and Crowned their new Emperour in the Great Church, having neither Acclama-Emperour Nice- tions nor good wishes, but Curses and reproachfull Language from the People. profus the Ge-neral Logotheta. Thus was Irene dealt with after a Reign of five years, though not in so severe a manner as she treated her Son, for she was but shut up in a Monastery of her own Building. But a circumstance there was which made the affliction much more grievous. She was just now courted by Charles King of the Franks, who had lately assumed the Title of Roman Emperour, and defired by him in Marriage, that the East and West might in their two Persons be again happily united. She her felf was not averse; but Ætius the Eunuch hindred the conclusion of the treaty, by rubs continually laid in the way, driving that Trade we lately mentioned for his Brother; and then in the mean time happens the Conspiracy of the Nobility, for Nicephorus and his Promotion. The Ambassadours of Charles were still in Town, and were Eye witnesses of this sudden Revolution.

AN

AN INSTITUTION General History:

The History of the World.

OOK

Of the Kingdom of the Franks in Gall, (formerly one of the Roman Provinces) Contemporary with the Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

CHAP. V.

The Original of the Franks, their Seats, Kings and Exploits, before their coming into Gall.

SECT. I.

Reat things which proceed from fmall and contemptible Principles Sect. To when they have once arrived at their Grandeur are apt to despife their Originalls, and to gain greater Reputation from superstitious Minds, feek after fuch Heralds as can draw them specious, though false, Pedegrees. Such as of old time amongst the Heathens arrived at more than ordinary Power, Knowledge or Dexterity, in any respect, must needs be derived from the Gods themselves; such Nations as have had a more modern beginning, or the Original of whom is unknown, by reason of later Discoveries, have been more than ordinarily ambitious to derive their descent from the so much famed Trojans. The flattering Heralds are the Poets who have thus blazoned the Coats of Romans, Veneti, Britains, and others. And in later times the Franks have by their flatteries been advanced to the same degree of Honour.

2. By these Impostours they are derived, both as to Original and Name, from the original of one Francism, a supposed Son of Helder, to doe them Honour. But John Tiliua redifferently, and jects both the Project and the Reason thereof, affirming, that such as fetch their Gallicia, lib. 1.

Original out of Germany, do really, and in truth, contribute more to their Reputa- at intimm.

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Sect. 1. tion than those who make them descendants of the Trojans. That Countrey having in many respects been more renowned, and deserving more praise for opposing to long a time the warlike Romans, and for giving the Mate to that capacious and dreadfull Eagle, than that famed City, for being overcome by fuch weak Oppofers. At this day Learning is more prevalent than to fuffer fuch Dreams to pais without contradiction, and therefore all knowing Men now joyn with Tilius, in the renunciation of that Title. Yet is there great difference in opinions touching the reason of the Name, and the Original of these Franks. Some (besides what we Humibaldin, have faid of that fabulous Francion) derive the Name from Francus their first King, have faid of that fabulous Francism) derive the Name from Francis used that same, who reigned many Years before the Birth of Christ. Others, and those not a few Make Francisco. by Valuatinium the Emperature Arthur Greek. will have them named Franks in the Attick Tongue, by Valentinian the Emperour, Turonen, Abia from their Courage and Ferocity, some modern Writers held, that the Name was Urspangensin, from their Courage and rerocity, some mouern writers need, that the skillering framed upon occasion, at what time such amongst them, as protested themselves skillering, 6. their Leaders and Abetters, in recovering their Liberty, named themselves Franks, biens by which word the Germans in their Language, understand such as are free, and void of servitude. Hotoman, in his Franco Gallia, takes pains by instances to make this good; and Matharell, in his Answer to that Book, (which he terms no better than a fcandalous Libel) doth affent to it; and long before them Aventine was of the same opinion, decluding the Mame from the same, as revisely and Projume in the Teutonick Languages which Structures yet given to the Francoust; being vulgarly called De Freye France, or in English the free Franks.

3. But as the Story of Francion, the Son of Hellor, hath no other foundation than that of Lyes and Fables, fo that of Valentinian hath as weak an Argument to support it; for, to fay nothing of the Etymology of the word, this People had not onely the Name of Franks, but as fuch were very famous, even in Roman Writers, before the time of Valentinian. Against the Opinion of Hotoman, and his Fel-Origin, France lows, Joannes Isacius Pontanus, a late most learned Critick, opposeth, that Frank 1, 179. fignifieth free, no more than anciently Cretian fignified a Lyar, Sybarite denoteth a voluptuous Person, Cimber a Thief, to which we may add Lydian, by which word was sometimes signified a Man very effeminate. For the Franks being those who principally above the rest of their Countreymen, contended for Liberty against the Roman Encroachments, thence came their Name to be used in this signification, especially amongst the Galls; and indeed what Aventine cites in behalf of his own opinion, doth really make against it, Frank signifying free, in case that the word Freye was added to it, in which fense they say at this day the Vry Freisen, or the free Frisians, whereas if any one should term them Francke Freisen, or Frank Frifians, it would quickly be feen, that the word Frank, in that idiome, hath not the fame force and fignification of that of free, and consequently apprehend a great difference betwixt them. Neither doth Procopius, as he is made to speak by Hotoman, fay that the Franks were first called Germans, and then called Franks, after they had passed beyond the Limits of their own Countrey. For he plainly writes that he would explain first how they got this Name, and then how afterwards they invaded Gall. And his mistake of Tacitus is as great, in thinking that he makes the Lib. 4. Franks part of the Carnifates, for they lived behind the Rhine, in the Continent of Germany, but these on this side this River, within the Limit of the Roman Empire.

or rather, as Pliny hath it, inhabited within the River Rhine it felf. 4. Some will have this People called Franks, as frey on cy, or free from Tribute, Adrianus Junion fignified by the word cy, or Fransi, that is Fry Ansi, which later word, in the Go-Hornans, (44) thick Idiome, denotes those who excell other Men in Fortune and Wealth, in respect 8at. p.73. whereof Hansi and Ansi are the Appellations of the greater fort of Nobility onely. But cy ought to be writ Cyur, and is not of Teutonick but Latine Original, being derived from Census. And in writing the word Fransi, violence is offered to the word, the latter fyllable whereof ought to be spelled ci, and not fi. That Opinion of Goropius Becanus, that they were called Franks, as Verranken, or Vryranken, from the Palm-trees, which largely extended themselves; and that of Lazius, from the Fraca of the Hebrews feem too light and sporting to be seriously confuted. There have not been wanting who derive the word from Freyancke, which they Eymola Grinterpret free Servants in the Teuconick. But no opinion is so ridiculous as that of man. Althous Turpin, a Monk, little more elegant in his Writing than his Name, who, in the Life of Charles the Great, delivers it for truth, that he who first contributed money to the building of the Church of St. Denis, had the name of Francke, as if the name had been formerly unknown, and came first into use in the days of that Emperour. Amongst all these Opinions Pontanus interposeth his, which he thinketh most congruous to the nature of the thing, as well as the ancient fignification of

the word. His opinion is that they were called Franks, from a certain Weapon Sect. 1. they used, which hath the name of Francesca in several Authours. From Gregory Turonensis it appears, that this Weapon was wont to be worn as well by Kings as common and ordinary Souldiers. This being more truly writ and pronounced Franca or Franga, might by writers not acquainted with the Language, and by other Foreigners be termed Francesca, and by Tacitus corrupted into Framea, which German, in this Authour appears to have been a fort of Weapon peculiar to the Germans, and more than that, an Enfign of Respect and honour. None might bear Arms till approved by the City wherein they Dwelt. Then in the affembly, either the Prince, the Father, or fome other relations of the party adorned the young man with a Target, and this Framea, which was the same with them, as the Gown amongst the Romans, and the first step to Honour. Now if it be natural that the fame way things are constituted, in the same they be dissolved, as taking off Enfigns of Degree and Order, hath ever been used for Degradation, as well as putting them on for Creation, or (as the word explains it felf) Investiture, then by comparing this manner of Promotion or Creation of Souldiers mentioned by Tacitus, viz. by adorning them with this Framea, with what Gregory Turonensis mentions of King Clodonæus his Exauctorizing or casheiring a certain Souldier, by causing him to cast away his Francesca, we may Judge them the same kind of Weapon, and to have been in great use and repute, and that for a long time amongst the Saxons. It was a fort of Spear or Javelin, whereof the Iron was short and narrow, but so sharp and convenient, that they could either fight therewith Cominus at hand strokes, or Eminus after the manner of missive Weapons, far off and at a

5. It is certain that feveral other Authours, (as Procopius and Agathias as well as others.) make mention though not by the fame name, of fuch a fort of Weapon amongst the Franks, and this is to be said in behalf of Pontanus his opinion, that these Franks might as well receive a name from a certain Spear or Javelin, as the Saxons their Countreymen from a Skeeve or Scimiter, which they called Saxe in their Language, for that the Saxons were thence so called is more probable, being the judgment of most Learned men, than what he instanceth in the Quirites of Rome, and the Gæsatæ amongst the Galls, whereof the former he would have so named from Quiri a Spear, and the latter from Gefis another fort of Weapon, these Etymologies which we have formerly in their due places given of each, feeming altogether as proper both as to name and matter. The formation of the word Francefca, he rightly judgeth as easie and natural as those of Daciscus from Dacus, and Syrifcus from Syrus. The Weapon he thinketh might have the name from Frey and Ainke, Frey being Free, and Ancken; 'as Kikanus tells us, in the old Netherland Dutch, to run in or fasten in, fignifying the commodiousness of Fighting, either Cominus or Eminus with this Instrument. But why may it not be objected out of Isidore, that the Franks were not so named from this Francesca, but this Francesca from the Franks ? Doth not Francesca seem rather Relative to, and Derivative from Francus, than Francus a more simple word be derived from Francesca? The word feems to father it felf, were it not as easie to say a Frank blade, or Francesca Framea, (if we amongst others may lawfully spend our Verdict, the adjective Francesca having a relation to some other word,) as we say in English, a Bilboa Blade, or a Sheffield or London Blade, or for shortness, this is a Bilboa, &c. The Instrument receiving it's name from the Place and People, not the People from the Weapon. Neither doth Pontanus his reply at all weaken the objection, viz. That the Saxons themselves called the Weapon by the same name. Why not for distinction sake? Would an Inhabitant or Artist in any of those places formerly mentioned, disdain to call the Swords or Knives there made by their proper names? No difgrace is it for a People to own by the mark of its own name, any thing which is the product of its own Industry and Ingenuity. But on the contrary we may shew Pontanus, that Nations have been shie, though not to give, yet to take a name from fome fuch accidental thing, fome inconfiderable Adjunct or other which their Neighbours discovering in them and distinguishing them most by, (as that which appeared to them most remarkable,) did thence at first denominate them. We can eafily instance in those which call not themselves by that name whereby their Neighbours know them, which yet the Franks never disowned.

6. To conclude this contest about Names, the matter is very much in the dark, and not to be clearly discovered by any light we have from Antiquity. Yet what Pontanus brings in confirmation of his own opinion, rather makes us esteem and approve than reject, and condemn that of Hotoman and his followers. The instance

he maketh in the Cretians and Sibarites concludeth nothing, for as things in their case have been denominated from persons, (as Drunkenness and Lying,) yet it is certain that elsewhere persons have been also denominated from things, as is clear in the case of Names and Sirnames, where Sonship or Relation is not expressed to all who are skilled in ancient Etymologies. If the name of Protestant from one fingle act of Protestation hath been given so many Professours of Religion, though of leveral Nations, and not altogether of the same Judgment, because the nature and remarkableness of time and affairs was such, as made it stick where once it fastened, and a convenience of distinction absolutely confirmed it; Can we doubt but upon fuch an occasion as fighting for Liberty, opposing and invading Enemies, a profession of publick concernment and protestation against the security and laziness of others, might well leave a note upon the agents, and a mark and name upon fuch as headed an affociation for the prefervation of Laws, Rights and Liberty? Especially amongst a numerous people, such as these Northern Nations were, and that rather than a fort of Spear or other Weapon. His objection that Francke without Free, doth not at this day fignifie Free, is too weak to conclude that it never did so, although in English it self, that sense and signification in some cases still remains. Although Procopius his meaning may be that they were called Franks before they passed out of their own Countrey, it concludeth not but there by their profession and indeavours to oppose the Incroachments of the Romans, a sufficient occasion might be had to raise this Name. And whether they were part of the Carinfates or not, it's not very material to the main Question. Let us therefore pass on from the Name to the thing, and fee if we can more clearly make out the perfons and places of these Franks. 7. Although as we faid before, the palate of this age be too quick and fensible to

relish, and approve the insulse and obsolete Trojan Title. Yet it will not be amiss to give the Reader a taste of it, both for that to recite will be to confute it, and he may judge what gust they had, who in former times have liked and approved it. Their Original The Original of the Nation of the Franks, Saith Abbas Vrspurgensis, is to be fetched from the ancient Stock of the Trojans. For at such time as after the Destruction of Troy, Aneas came into Italy, some of the said Trojan Exiles in like manner arrived at the Marishes of Mootis, which chusing for their Seats, they inlarged their Bounds as far as Pannonia. They Built the City Sicambria, and there inhabiting very many years, grew into a great Nation and were first of all called Sicambri, for driving away the Alani from the Fenns of Maotis, Valentinian gave them the name of Franks with remission of Tribute for ten years. These ten years ended, be sent a certain Captain to them to raise Tribute, but they being of a sierce Nature, disdained to be any longer subject to Tribute and Slew the Messengers. Then Reigned among st them two who bore the ancient names of Priamus and Antenor. The Emperour being acquainted with their Faction, and too much incensed, commanded all the Roman Forces, with many Exteriour Nations to fight against them. In the Battel, after many had faln on both fides, the Franks at length overpowered in numbers were put to flight, and there was slain Priamus their King; departing from Sicambria they came into the Countrey of Germany, to a Nation the most inveterate against the Romans, and inhabited sometimes in Thuringia with Marcomicus the Son of Priamus, and Sunno the Son of Antenor. The same Story is related by Aimonius, Ado Archbishop of Vienna, Gaguinus and Æneas Sylvius, onely Sylvius mentions Francion for their Leader to the Fenns of

Maotis, and whereas he and Orfpurgenfis fay they came thence into Thuringia and Franconia; Ado brings them into the uttermost parts of the Rhine.

8. A flory most a-kin of all others, to the British Romance of our Geoffrey of Monmouth. If Enegs and Antenor secured themselves, and got safe from the Deftruction of Troy. What Poet, not to fay what Historian mentioneth any other? Who ever made mention of any fuch Son of Hellor, or any other besides Astyanax or Scamander and Laomedon ? What Geographer ever found out fuch a City as Sicambria in the Fenns of Maotis, or Historian met with their passage from Troy into that Countrey ? The story of Valentinian his treating of them, and their removal into the inner parts of Germany, is as true as that he first gave them the name of Franks, and fuch a fardle of lies as none conversant in the Histories of those times can bear. Not one Authour or testimony can they produce for such an affirmation, but violate all order of times, making them so named first by Valentinian, and to have first passed into Germany in his time, whereas we can shew their name was known above one hundred and fixty years before, and they inhabited toward the lower parts of the Rhine, below Colein in the days of Galienus the Emperour. In the time of this Valentinian, who began his Reign about the year of our Lord four

hundred and twenty. The Alani whom the Franks are faid to have Expelled, lived not near the Marshes of Maoria, but in the inner parts of Germany. In the Chronicon of Prosper published by Pithæus, we meet indeed with one Priamus, but this is no other than Priamis mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus as we shall see hereafter. And whatsoever some produce concerning the Ruines of a City Sicambria near Buda, can alledge no greater Antiquity than the days of Tiberias Cafar, during whole Reign Sairnus Poppeus making War againft the Thracians, was affilled by the Coborts Sicambrica as they feem to have read it, whereas Tacitus from a mif-domal. No. 4. understanding and wresting, of whom this fable is thought to be raised, calls it Cobors Sugambra which can make nothing for their purpose.

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9. The opinion of Johannes Goropius Becanus is half as extravagant, who denying them to be the Posterity of the Trojans, or to have travelled from that Countrey, yet maketh them Originally of the Fenns of Meetis, and thinks them the fame that Herodotus mentions by the name of Free Schitte. This his opinion he frames upon no argument, but a very weak conjecture of their free and large Extention, and propagation of themselves after the matther of Vines, upon which idle conceit he derives their name from Vercancken or Vryancken. As to the time and way of their March and Travel from the Marshes of Maotis, he neither produceth any thing out of Antiquity, nor pretendeth any knowledge thereof, confessing his ignorance, and therefore as an idle fancy, his conceit is to be exploded. John Bodin Method. Hift. a very Learned Frenchman, but one who careth as little to make false Flourishes, and use adulterate Colours, to set off the lustre of his own, as to cast Dirt upon other Nations, denieth the Franks to have been the off-spring of the Trojans. And yet by ftrange ambages and wrested methods in conclusion derives them from that Original. That he may elude the testimony of Tacitus, who affirms the Germans to have been Indigena, and least of all others mixed by the Inrodes of other Nations, he makes a retreat and fetcheth all forts of people from the Caldwans, in the Countrey of whom or near unto it, he supposeth the Ark of Noah to have rested. Betaking himself to Moses and the Rabbins, he layeth it down for granted, that the most fertile Countries were first inhabited, whence after mankind increased, Colonies were afterwards fent into more waste and barren places. Hence he gathereth that Afia and Greece were first peopled e'er the Northern places were replenished with Inhabitants; and thence concludeth, that the Galls received their Original from the Greeks and Trojans, and those same Galls overpowred in process of time with multitudes, and straitned by the narrowness of their Countrey, sent Colonies into Germany beyond the Rhine, from which Colonies being Inhabitants of Franconia Orientalis and Neighbouring unto Gall, he will have his Franks to have iffued, and afterwards Conquered their ancient Countrey. And he takes that Franconia Orientalis beyond the Rhine for part (at least,) of those most fertile places of Germany whereof Cafar speaks, occupied by Colonies of the Galls about the Her-Debells Gallier cinian Wood.

10. Cefar indeed hath such a passage, concerning the Galls sending Colonies in-Pait tempar cum to Germany, but so sar from afferting that this was done into void places, that the Germany Gulle expressly slaith that they had Wars with the Inhabitants, and that the Volce Tello-virus speared expressly slaith that they had Wars with the Inhabitants, and that the Volce Tello-virus speared with the same of the Could want with the same of the could Jages feized upon those most fertile places, which indeed least of all could want ren as poster possessions. It's a pretty shift in a controversic, to slie to the first Planters and In-hermin modifihabitants of the World, in whom all Nations must needs be United. But why impian trans doth Bodin bring his Franks from the Trojans, having first denied that they procee. Rhoman coint ded from them will any one if he doth it, imagine that Germany and Gall were minteren, have not Planted and Inhabited before the time of the Trojans. Were not the Sandy and fine demants. hot places of Africk and Arabia inhabited by Cairis Pollerity, as foon as the more local circumstriction. Fruitfull Countries of Asia and Europe? If we granted as we readily shall, that the quantity Europe is the property of the countries of Asia and Europe? Galls sent Colonies into Germany, certainly he shall not constrain us to admit, that if it quitoslam therefore the Germans were the Posterity of the Galls, more than the Italians, Gre-vide quantili cians, and Afaricks into the Countries of whom we reade that they fent out afto Evintean appelmany Colonies. But what truft is there to be given to Bodin, or what shall we law Vote testiment think of his Cause, which must stand in need of not onely true but salfe and seign stage economic, think of his Cause, which must stand in need of not onely true but salfe and seign stage it is engoleted Stories to maintain it? He cannot be consent with a few Exemples which have true inter Appair and Tacitus supply him with, but must draw in Polybius to his Party, and some Polyman Assets. make his Noble Authour speak that which he never faid nor meant. Citing a past- full Bail inde Efage out of the third Book of his Histories, that the Boii, Eganes, Senones, and fenones juxta A-Avanes passed over out of Gall into Germany, whereas it is most certain from the driaticum mare same Authour, that their removal was not into Germany but Italy, and as for both Ger-rum onnium inmany and the Rhine, they were utterly unknown to Polybius. His fancy that Ger-columnat, lib. 2.

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PART III.

many was peopled from Gall, is not framed upon any Authority. It's probable they might both be inhabited by the same People, being both known by the name of Celtre of old, and if Strabe be credited, the Germans being fo called by the Remans, because they seemed the Germaine or true Brethren of the Galls. Certainly it is a greed on by most, that their Languages were Originally the same as in due place

11. But the Gallick Language was not the same with the Greek, if we may bemay be discovered. lieve Varre, the most learned both of Greeks and Romans who affirm, that the Massilienfes or Inhabitants of Marfeilles in Provence speak three Languages, Greek, Latin, and the Gallick confifting of, or bordering on, fo many Nations. For first Colonies of the Phocenses were thither sent out of Greece, then afterwards was a Colony from Rome there placed, and the Galls if not mixed with them, yet were their next Neighbours, which vicinity and a confequent entercourse must needs teach them the Gallick Tongue. But Bodin in deriving the Franks from the Gallis, and bring. Vid. Pounting in Process in ing them out of Francosia where he will have the Tethofages to have taken up their and their them. Seats, is out both in his Geography and Chronology, for they first Inhabited about the lower parts of the Rhine, lower than the Colonie of the Thii, where Cafar and Ptolemy both place the Sicambri, then afterwards after many attempts Wars and alterations, having brought under all betwixt the Rhine and the Meufe with those about Strasbourg, the Vangiones and Nemetos, they invaded Thuringia and Franconia, called afterwards Oriental or Eastern in relation to the Western, which at this day is called France, whither as well as to other places they extended their Victorious Arms. Seeing therefore that before the very name of the Eastern Franconia was heard of, the name and people of the Franks inhabiting their most ancient Seats were very well known to the Romans, it ill becomes one who pretends to write a method and direction to others fo far to forget himfelf, and to confound times in fuch a manner, either through ignorance, or more probable wilfulness. As for his Tellofages, it cannot be at all probable that they should doe such Exploits in the World, whom Cafar witneffeth in his time to have been content with the possession ons they had already gotten; whereas the Sicambri, Suevi, and others were formidable to all, both Romans and their Neighbours. Beatus Rhenanus his Opinion is rather to be admitted, who thinks they were feated upon the River Nicer, where as yet remains an old Castle called Teck, retaining the first Syllable of the Name, that People which fome rationally Conjecture was the Remnants of those Galls; Plant, 1, 2, 4, 11 who pierced into Greece and Bithynia, called by Stephanus Toliftobogi, who are Pinal says fometimes confounded with the Tettofages. In Conclution, for what Bodin brings us caf. Ball. Gall. out of Ammianus and Cæfar, we may repay him with Interest out of the same Auinterest out of the same

by the Incroachments of a troublefome Sea.

quoque ab itsiss ufluxisse & tractibus trans Rhenanis, Go.

12. As this Frenchman out of his inclination to his own Country, makes Authours and Books speak that they never intended, so most German Writers out of Science 2 the fame Propention, will needs have Franconia the most ancient Seat of the data there.

Franks; and some of them for that purpose, make nothing of wretting a place distance of Secretary where Bellow have the second of Secretary where the second of Strabo, where Belyacon lying betwit Norici and Vindelici, they will need algoritis to found to foun constrain to fignific Franks. But for Betyzon, in that place they ought to dain popula, reade Belovar, as more agreeable to certain places in Horace and Pliny, and it's evia agree blands dent from Florus, that both the Norici and Brenni were People living about the get printer allows, and so nothing a kin to the Franks. Neither can Melandbon and Pencer, possible from Confident plants. Neither can Melandbon and Pencer, possible from Confident plants. bly gather from thole words of Strabs, that the Brenni inhabited betwirt the Norici in the state of the state and Vindelici, his words being these; The Vindelici and Norici possess the exteri Batti on Batti our Mountainous places for the most part, with the Brenni and Genanni, who now be guid-parties our mountainous places for the most part, which deceive them, who not being is stated long to the Illyrici: So that their fight did much deceive them, who not being is standard content to reade Brenci in the Room of Brenni and Franci instead of it, make also time Room of Brenni and Franci instead of it, make also time Room of Brenni and Franci instead of it. forfirange a Transposition of places. Against these Opinions as well as others, enterprise the control of the c to trange a transportion of places. Against the companies and needless to relate, it will be both tedious and needless to relate, it will be both tedious and needless to relate, it will be both tedious and needless to relate, it will be both tedious and needless to relate, it will be both tedious and needless to relate, it will be both tedious and needless to relate, it will be both tedious and needless to relate, it will be both tedious and needless to relate, it will be both tedious and needless to relate, it will be both tedious and needless to relate, it will be both tedious and needless to relate, it will be both tedious and needless to relate, it will be both tedious and needless to relate, it will be both tedious and needless to relate, it will be both tedious and needless to relate, it will be both tedious and needless to relate, it will be both tedious and needless to relate, it will be both tedious and needless to relate, it will be both tedious and needless to relate the relation of the relation tedious and needless to relate the relation ted to r might fuffice to oppose that of Procopius, which affects the Countrey by the Franks banksis in Gril inhabited, to have lain almost at the Mouth of the Rhine; where were many beautiful inhabited. Marish Grounds. And that generally the Panegyrists in their Orations, tell of the Regimber of Firacies exercised by the Franks, so that they must needs, not onely have lived near ansaparation the Mouth of the Rhine, but upon the Northern Ocean also, and as the Panegyrick manipularity of the Mouth of the Rhine, but upon the Northern Ocean also, and as the Panegyrick manipularity of the Mouth of the Rhine, but upon the Northern Ocean also, and as the Panegyrick manipularity of the Northern Ocean also, and as the Northern Ocean

to Constantine the Great phraseth it, the farthermost Barbarian shores. To be Sect. 1. fure Eutropius speaking concerning Caraufius, tells us, that at Bologne in Gall, he undertook to scowre the Seas on the Coasts of Belgium and Armorica, which the Initio Hist. apad Franks and Saxons by their naval Expeditions had iniested. Agathia however, Ponum. srajin. out in other things testifies that they lived about the Rhine. An old Chronicle Franc. c.uli p. belonging to Holland, written in Rhyme almost four hundred years agoe, speaking Inter Sensines de of them before they Conquered Gall called them Rhine Franken. But St. Hie-Admann gent rome, who lived before either Agathias or Procopius, and e'er that the Franks had you tum laist the state of the s passed the Rhine, and in good earnest attacked Gall, describes their Seat most accu-sud Historicas rately in these Words: Betwixt the Saxons and Alemans, a Nation not so great, as Germania nunc strong, by Historians called Germany, but at this day Francia.

13. For understanding this place of St. Hierome, and clearing the Ambiguity of the word Germany; it's feafonable to remember, that whatfoever lyes betwixt the lower part of the Rhine and the River Elbe, and betwixt the Ocean and the German Catti, Tacitus the Historian calleth simply by the Name of Germany or Germaines, without any distinction of Superiour or Inferiour. He tells us, speak- Annal, I. s. ing of the Death of Varus, and the flaughter of the Legions that the Germaines revolted, which word can be taken for no other, than that Tract of ground now menti- Lib. 2. oned. In another place, he brings in Tiberius speaking of his Brother Drusus, and oned. In another piace, ne brings in 1 toerius speaking of his brother Drujus, and Apad principium faying, that in no place except apud Germanias was the Title of a General, and a Agri Batavi in Laurel to be obtained. Neither can he be otherwise understood, where he dest data anner Rhe-cribes the River Rhine flowing in one Chanel, till it come to the Borders of the displace mone for Batavi; to which he adds, that, Then it is divided into two Streams, and retains violentiam curboth its Name, and the violence of its Course, as it passeth by Germany flowing to his qua Germawards the Gallick shoar, in a broader and a gentler Stream. In this Tract of Land ad Gallican vicalled Germany, by a peculiar Name did the Franks inhabit, betwixt the Saxons and pamilation to pla-Alemans. For on the North and North East were the Saxons, the Suevi and Alemans possessed whatsoever lyes about the River Meyne, and the Southern part of the Rhine, almost as far as the Danow; whereupon the Franks must have been seated at the Western part of Germany, and of the Rhine. The Saxons therefore lay at their Backs, and the Suevi with the Alemans, closed their Eastern and Southern sides. Oroffus tells us, that the Saxons being feated on the shoars of the Ocean, and unpassable Marishes, and making a dangerous Eruption into the Roman Borders, were in the Territories of the Franks overthrown by Valentinian. St. Hierome in the Chronicon of Eusebius at the Year of our Lord 389. notes that the Saxons were beaten at Deuson the Region of the Franks, which passage Ammianus who served under Valentinian at that time, placeth to the third Consulship of that Emperour, and his Brother Valens, Pontanus rationally conceiveth this Deuson the same, which fucceeding Historians called Duitssum, at this day Duyts standing over against Coloine; where long agoe a stone was found in a Monastery, with an inscription importing that that Fortress was placed in the Land of the Franks by the Emperour

Constantine, wherein Souldiers were to lye in Garrison for the defence of Gall. 14. Johannes Jacobus Chifletius, a learned Physician of Brussels will have this place to be now called Duisburck, fituate on the other fide of the Rhine, about Colonia Trajana (a Village of Cleve at this day called Kellen) but Micæus in his Chroni-Vindicia Hispacon of Belgium, interprets Deuso as Pontanus doth in Latine Tintinum, and Duyts nice, cap. 9. in the Language of the place. Whether it was this or that: The Provincial Chart which Beatus Rhenanus faith he faw at Ausburg in the hands of Conradus Pentinger, and drawn in the Reign of the later Emperours, reconcilerh the difference. This Chart or Table published by Ortelius at Antwerpe, through the Care and Induflry of Marfus Velferus; hath from the Mouths of the Rhine as far as Coloine all along (the faid River defigned fo plainly, as well may be imagined) from the part of the great or Western Germany, this word Francia Characterized by Capital Letters, and towards the Mouths of the Rhine and the Northern Ocean, these Chamani qui & Franci, and Chauci Vapluarii Chrepstini, Gregory Turonensis Lib. 2. makes the Franks opposite to Ninesum (or as Micaus hath it Nonesum) a Town now called Nuys, and feated upon the Rhine, as also to Coloine, or the Colony of Agrippina. Aimoinius also expresly writeth, that Clodio the second King of the Franks from Pharamond, held his Court at Dyspargum, the same Town which Chifletius takes for Deuso, called at this day Duisburck, and seated betwixt Wesel and Dysfeldorp. For all the Nations whatsoever, inhabiting over against the Sun-setting, betwixt the Rivers Rhine and Elbe, though amongst themselves, they had their particular and diftinguishing Names; yet generally, and taken all together, were at this time called by that of Franks.

15. It's

CHAP. V.

Sect. 1.

15. It's certain, that these Franks amongst ancient Authours sometime go under the Name of Sicambri, other whiles of Chauci, and Chamani: As for the Sicambri, The Franks go both Suetonius and Tacitus tell us, that Augustus Cassar translated them into Gall, under the Name of Sicambri. yet Strabo witnesseth that in his time, they were not quite and altogether remo-Lib. 7. of Sicambri, yet Strabb Withelieth that in his time, they were the strab withelieth that in his time, they were the strab withelieth that in his time, they were the strab with the strab that they and the Cimbri, were most known of all the Nations inhabiting betwixt Elbe and the Rhine. Their Seat was probably, where at this day are the Territories of Arnheim, and Velaniæ (especially where it joyns upon the River Isala, now Ifel) reaching farther towards Coloine, and stretching out wide as far as the Rivers Luppia (now Lippe) and Rura whereof that washing the Walls of Wesel falls into the Rhine, and this mixeth it's stream with the same River at Duifburg. But Strabo not onely placeth these Sicambri upwards upon the Rhine: but maketh them stretch also as far as the Ocean, which seemeth manifestly to contradict the Geography of Tacitus, who placeth the Frisi upon the Maritime Coast, from Rhine or Ilel, as far as the Chauci. Yet must we stick to the Letter of Strabo, and with Pontanus eafily suppose that in the time of that Geographer, and of Cafar the Name of Frisi was unknown, and the same People known by the other of Sicambri, which was then fo Famous as to strike Terrour into the Romans themselves. The words of Strabo do not a little confirm this Opinion. who makes mention of Melo a Captain of Sicambri, whose Name is no other than Frisian, as appears by several others, as Bonnones, Poppones, Fanthones and Millones, and as The Enimius a learned Historian hath evinced in his own Name. Neither doth Tacitus, feem at the least to weaken this Conjecture, from whom it is evident the Name of Frisi became famous in the Reign of Tiberius, upon the miscarriage of Apronius.

The Chauci

16. The Chauci had their Habitation from Amasis (or Ems all along the shore as far as Elbe) Ptolemy divideth them into greater and leffer, whereof these inhabited the shore betwixt Amasis and Visurgis (new Weser) and they that Tract lying beyond this River as far as the Elbe, so that Tacitus who maketh them to extend within the Catti, admires they should possess and fill so much Ground. The Chamani fome call by the Name of Camani, by fome thought the same with the Campenses or Campani, at this time differing onely in one Letter; now to come to our purpose. Poets do not onely call the Franks by the Name of Sicambri, but their Countrey, or Francia, also by that of Sicambria, as is notorious in Claudian and others. Aufonius includes them, in the other of Chamani: But all things confidered, it's Judged that the Sicambri were the true and Germine Mother People 110. 2. 6.5. (as one may fay) of the Franks. First, if we consider the situation of both, as well the one as the other, having inhabited both the Banks of the River Rhine to the West, and the shores of the Ocean whence they had such opportunity of Piracy, that the Franks not onely therewith infested Spain, but vexed and plundered London the Metropolis of Britain, by their Incursions from their Ships, as the Panegyrist in many words expresseth it to Maximian, their Predecessours having in the time of Probus roved about the Coasts of Greece, Asia and Africk, whence they were driven back by the Garrison Souldiers of Carthage. Secondly, if we confider the Authority of the Ancients, not onely those of Claudian, and others formerly mentioned. Trithemius, the Abbat, makes mention of the faying of Remegius the Bishop, ingraven in a Marble and extant at Rhemes, who speaking to Clodonæus King of the Franks being about to be baptized, used these words, Mitis deponas colla Sicamber, or O Sicamber, gently put down your Neck; which passage Gregory Turonenfis confirmeth, mentioning the very fame words, but adding thereto, Adora quod incendisti & incende quod adorasti: Adore what thou didst formerly burn, and burn what thou didst formerly adore. And Venantius Fortunatus an Authour, rather more ancient, who flourished about the 570 year of our Lord, calleth Choribert King of the Franks, by the Appellation also of Sicamber. Neither do the several dispositions of each Nation compared together less persuade, concerning the fame Original. Strabo noteth the Deceitfulnels of the Sicambri, and Vopiscus taxeth Franks with unfaithfulness. The Sicambri were so dreadfull to the Romans, that Augustus, having composed all other differences throughout the World, yet delayed to flut the Temple of Janus, because they committed some Hostility against the Galls, and their Neighbours upon the Rhine. No less terrible, in following Ages, were the Franks not onely to the Neighbouring Saxons and Alemans, but the Romans themselves, which Egonhardus Chancellour to Charles the Great testifieth to Posterity; writing also a Proverb, that, One should chuse a Frank for a Friend, Anticy your but not for a Neighbour: We might add much concerning their Apparel, their man-low type of their man-low type. ner of Living, the Adornment of their Bodies, especially the wearing of their Hair. But these things in another place will be more convenient.

17. But having been so large in these former Discoveries, we cannot well pass the matter over, without taking notice of a more late Division of our Franks into several Tribes or Divisions, Ansuarii and Salii, as we have them marked out Advision of the by Ammianus Marcellinus. Pontanus thinks them the same with the Ansinarii. Frank into An whereof Tacitus maketh mention, who having been beaten out of their Habitations by the Chauci, got Possession of those Territories, out of which the Frist had been driven by Command of Nero. The Historian calleth them a more powerfull Nation, than that of Frisi. And Pontanus judgeth them to have been a People without any certain place or Possession, ready to joyn themselves to any other as they could find it Advantageous. That by Virtue of this Principle at fuch time as the remainders of the Sicambri, and the other German Nations lying toward the Northern Ocean, changed their former and ancient Names for the more honourable Name of Franks, these Anguarii being given to Arms, willingly affociated themselves with the said Franks, jointly to atlert their ancient Liberty against

any whomfoever, and hereupon, though received as Partakers in the common chance of War and Fortune, yet did they so far still receive their old and honourable Name, that they would be called Anfinarii Franci; whether one might not gather from this passage of *Pontanns*, that his Judgment at the writing thereof was for the Name of *Franks* to be derived from their profession of freedom, rather than a fort of Weapon, as in another place he expresseth himself, we leave it to the Reader to judge. But these Ansuarii were involled amongst the Roman Auxiliaries, being in the Notitia of the Empire read Arupfinarii, and reckoned among the Pala-

18. What the Original of these Anguarii was, seeing Antiquity is therein silent, and whence they had their Name, we can onely conjecture. The Etymology of the word feemeth to point at fomething extraordinary, which, if it be written Hanfuarii, with an afpiration, a thing neglected and omitted both by Greeks and Romans, then it betokeneth some thing noble and excellent, Hansi in the Teutonick and Gothick Idiome, fignifieth those who in Fortune and Riches excelled other Mortals, as being rather of an Heroick Nature, and transcending the ordinary bounds of humane capacity. Jornandes faith expresly, that the Goths having overthrown the Romans, and Ilain Frascus their Captain, named their Noblemen, as those who had conquered Fortune it self, not mere Men, but Demy Gods, that is to say, Hanses. Neither is this fignification of the word wholly at this day abolished, fignifying alfo fuch Gentle or Noble Men as are elevated above the common and ordinary fort. Anshelm, Ansbrecht, Answald and Ansfrid, seem to challenge no other Original, as neither the Teutonick Hanse, or the Hanse Towns of Germany associated and united, as it were, with the League and Oath of the Ansinarii. This Etymology much more suiteth those Towns than either that of Anzee, as it were situate upon the Sea, feeing that most of them are at a considerable distance from the Ocean, or the other of Goropius Becanus, who will have them derived from Anfie, fignifying Society, from the German word Ansie to look back. For it appears by sufficient Testimony, that the Ansinarii were, both as to their Nation, and by reason of their Arms, Men of Reputation, but though in one Society scattered here and there, without any certain Seat or Habitation, and so are these Towns separated far from one another, four of them onely are Metropolitical, Lubeck, Dantzick, Brunfwick and Colen, yet seventy two they are reckoned in number, many other famous Towns having been of old time joyned with them in the communication of Rights and Privileges.

19. The Salii were the other fort of Franks, who having invaded Taxandria, And Salii Fran (now Brabant, the place where we reside at the writing hereof,) lying betwixt the Rivers Meule and Sceld, were driven back by Julian out of these Roman Territories into their own place, as Ammianus relateth. Some, as Beatus Rhenanus, de-Lib. 16. rive them from a River Sala, which falls into the Meyne. Others, as Paulus Æmilius, fetch them from Sala, which empties it felf into Elbe. But Pontanus rationally concludeth, that from neither of these Sala's could the Franks be so denominated, because the one runs through Thuringia, and the other through Franconia, (afterward to called) whereof a great part of the former, and all, or most, of the latter, were at that time held and possessed by the Alemans, Ammianus hinting as much, where he writes, that the Bucinobantes, a Nation of the Alemans, inhabited over against Moguntiacum, or Mentz, near to the Alemans the Burgundiones inhabited in these ancient times, it being out of the Road of all true Antiquity to suppose the Lib. 19.

Franks

Sect. 1. Franks then held any part of these Countries, their Seat being Westward, and ower down upon the Rhine, which appears partly from the fame Ammianus, who adds, that whilst Julian was busic against the Alemans, the Franks taking that opportunity from their own Seats, over against Colein, passed the Rhine, and fell upon Juliacum (now Juliers) and the Rhemi or Rheims in Champagne. It is not worth the while to relate how Sidonius Apollinaris derives the word from the Latine Salio. as if their Leaping and dancing had procured this appellation. But much more extravagant is that of Goropius Becanus, who, according to his Custome of strange allusions, will have them named Salii, from Sala, the Ornaments of Horses, or from Sadell, as it is in Dutch, or Sadle in English, as if they first had invented and fitted it to Horses.

20. That is most rational which Pontanus brings of the Salii being so denominated from the River Sala, at this day called Isala, or Isel, near, or upon, which they inhabite. Hence is also to be deduced the name of Sallandia, or the Countrey lying beyond this River Ifel, it fignifying no more but the Land or Territory of Sala. Zorimas the Historian speaking of Julian, by occasion, maketh mention Lib. 3. of the Salii, who being part of the Franks, and driven by the Saxons from their Seats, passed over into the Island of the Batavi, bordering upon them. And Claudian the Poet makes them to have inhabited upon the Rhine, and there where it divides it felf into two branches, over against which place that River of Sala, or Ifel, floweth; fo that the Countrey of these Salii not onely comprehended what as yet bears the Name of Solland, but took up also part of that we now call Westphalia. These Salii also, as well as the Arupfinarii, were enrolled amongst the Palatine Auxiliaries. But from all the disquisitions laid together, we may take a short view of the ancient Seat of our Franks, and conclude with Pontanus, the old Francia, comprized not onely all the space beyond and over against Colonia Ubionum. (or Couleines) betwixt the Rhine and the ancient Sala, (the old Seat of the Sicambri Rhenensis) at this day taking in part of Westphalia, and the Dukedom of Cleve, but also the whole Transsfulania, and what ground soever, as far almost as the utmost Chanci, Teucteri, Tubantes and Brutteri, both the greater and lesser Phrygians possessed, which at this time are called Zatphenians, Drenterians, Tuentenians, the Western and Eastern Frieselanders, a large, ample Territory, and inaccessable of old time, by reason of Fenns and Woods about the River Visurgia, now commonly called the Weser. Neither was there any other Franks, or France, known to Trebellius Pollio, Vopiscus, Ammianus Marcellinus, Eutropius, Ausonius and Claudian. Poets, the most ancient Authour of Pentingers Table, or other Historians, Geographers, or Panegyrists, to the Age of Valentinian the third. 21. Having discovered their Original and ancient Seat, we shall now take notice

of fuch Affairs as the meannels of their Condition by degrees prefents unto us. And by the way, though we feek for truth and reality, yet we cannot but take a little notice of the Romantick stories which are dependents of their Trojan Pedegree. Hunibaldus is the blazoner of these false pretended Titles, who though by confent of all judicious and understanding Men he be accounted no other than what he is, fabulous even to Barbariim, yet some have not been wanting to receive, publish and cry up his Lyes, and amongst the rest, Trithemius, the Spanhemian Abbat, who as his great admirer, epitomized eighteen Books of his Histories, and fears not to call him the Solid Historiographer of the Franks. But the Fountain of Trojan Vanities is of fuch a depth, that it hath afforded matter for all forts of Cheaters, thence to draw and obtrude upon the World, out of which abyss many, both French Funcious, Ga A Catalogue of and German Writers, following the Dictates of their Mafter Hunibaldus, derive guinas, Latius, Francis and Signature of The Control of the Con a Series of French and Sicambrian Kings, ancienter not onely than the Age of Christ, but that of Alexander the Great. Of these Kings they make two Ranks, some being Boshpharians, and of the Race of the Trojans, who, being accounted strangers, were reckoned amongst the Sicambri by the Germans. He that leads the dance is Marcomirus, in whole Reign the Trojan Scythia (afterward Franks) defcended through the Countrey of the Saxons into Germany, and near the mouths of the Rhine, (where now the Westfreislanders, those of Gueledrland and Holland do inhabite) four hundred and twelve years before the Birth of Christ, died in the twenty eighth of his Reign, and twenty one after their descent into Germany. After him, in good rank and order, follows his eldest Son Marcomirus, in the Year of the World 3500, who deserves special notice to be taken of him by us, because he married, you must know, Cambra, the Daughter of Belinus, one of our Geffrey of Monmouth's Kings of Britain; from which Woman the People was called Sicambri.

22. After him those Sicambrian Kings took their places. Priamus, one of Tro- Sect. 1. jan Race, Helenus, Diocles, a most doughty Champion against Goths and Galls, Helenus the second, who being good for nothing, was forced to give his Diadem, and refign his Chair to his Brother Basanus, a very brave Man, who built the Castle Bafambucum, in the Countrey of Juliers. Him followed Clodomirus Nicanor, Marcomirus the Second, Clodius, Antenor the Second, another Clodomirus, Merodacus, Cassander, and Anthorius, who brings up the rere of this first Rank or Order. His Son Francus begins the Second, from whom our Sicambri were named Franks, who making a perpetual League with the Germans, Saxons and Doringi, the Romans, were so affrighted therewith, that they sent an Army against the Saxons, the Leader of which, Lollius, was slain by Clodio, the Son of Francus, as Lazius, Funccius, and others, tell the flory. Clodio, or Clogio, as well he deserved, succeeded his Father, in whose tenth year, they tell, our Saviour Christ was born, and who stoutly demeaned himself against Tiberius the Emperour. He was succeeded by Heumerus his Son, whom followed Marcomirus, Clodomirus, Antenor, Ratherus, who, after many Wars against the Galls, built Roterdam, (rather Ratherodam) and so we are to him beholden for Erasmus, that three-tongued Coryphæus, as Lazius calls him. Next comes Richimerus, who fought stoutly against the Galls and Romans; after him Odemarus, who took truce with the Enemy, Marcomirus, by whom Francfurt was built, or rather, now named, being formerly called Helenopolis, A. D. 149. After him are reckoned Clodomirus, Pharabertus, Sunno, Hildericus, in whose time it became a Proverb, Das ift oin gut all Franchisck werck, because then our Franks applied their minds to building. Then did Bartherus take the Sceptre, in whose tenth Year, when the Romans under Galienus had given themselves up to Idleness and Luxury, the Franks undertook an Expedition into Italy, destroying all with Fire and Sword as far as Ravenna. And afterward affifted by the Saxons and Bavarians, they invaded Gall, whence marching by Tungeren, and so through the Bellonaci, or Beannieisin, beyond the Seine, they passed with slying Colours into

23. The next King in order was Clodio, during whose Reign the Franks, for the space of seven years, possessed a great part of Gall, about the Year of our Lord 298. Him followed Waltherus Dagobert, and another Clodio, who fighting valiantly against the Romans, was slain on this side the Meuse, A.D. 319. He was succeeded by his Brother Clodomirus, in whose time the Thoringi offered the Franks a large part of their Countrey, lying betwixt them and the Suevi on condition of being protected against Invasions and Injuries of these potent Neighbours. The Franks closing with this offer, about thirty thousand armed Men, with their Families, departed into this new Countrey, under conduct of Genebaldus, the King's Brother, with that condition, that this Colony should ever remain in obedience under command of the Franks. And so began the Dukedom of the Oriental Franks, who were governed four hundred and fourteen years by twenty Dukes, descended of the fame Stock fuccessively. But after Clodomir followed Richimir his Son, in whose time a fight was fought betwixt the Franks and the Romans, under conduct of Tiberianus, A.D. 338. Next Richimir came Theodomir, who in the Tenth Year of his Reign was, together with his Mother, taken by the Romans. At this time the Kings of the Franks dwelt in the borders of the Timgri, beyond the River Meuse, in a Castle anciently called Duisspergi, from the Borders of the Franks the Galls inhabited as far as the River Ligoris, or Loire, beyond which reigned the Goths. After him came Clodio, in whose time Julian had War with the Alemans, and the Franks possessed Gall, as far as the River Seine, and Valentinian sought with the Saxons in their Borders, on this fide Odera, not far from the Sea.

24. The next in order was Marcomirus, during whose Reign Jubalchus, with fifteen thousand Franks, was cut off in Aremorica, or Little Britain, by Maximus the Tyrant. And Marcomir himself was slain, A.D. 393. by the Romans, who invaded the Franks under Conduct of Valentinian. After him (who left no Son behind him) was his Brother Dagobert created Interrex, in whose time Valentinian named them Franks, rather for their Fierceness than their Liberty. The second Interrex was Genebald, after whom Pharamond, the Son of Marcomirus, Duke of the Oriental Franks, was preferred to the Kingdom, A.D. 419. His Son Clodio reigned twenty Years, and having invaded Gall, died in the Year 446. His Son Meronius having governed with much honour, died A.D. 458. though fornandes and Sigonius place his Death at the Year 455. Him succeeded Hildericus, who warred with the Alemans, who then inhabited betwirt Italy and the Suevi, and died in the Year 484. or, as Sigonius hath it, 481. Lastly, after him reigned Clodonæus

22. After

Sect. 1. thirty Years, who overthrew the Alemans, and being baptized by Romigius, died in the Year of our Lord 514. Hitherto Trithemius extendeth the Hillory of those Kings which Hunibaldus had digested into eighteen Books, from whom also he asfirms, that those Franks in the City of Troy ipake the Language of that Countrey, in Scythia the Scythian Language, in Germany the German Tongue, and in Gallia that of Gall, in like manner as Eneas at Troy ipake the Trojan Dialect, and in Italy the Italian Language.

The Original of the Franks.

25. Though Trithemius, with his Companions, Lazius, Beroaldus, Rofiniocus, and others, give credit to those tales, induced, as they imagine, by the Antiquity of Hunibaldus, the broacher of them, who as they believe him, himself flourished in the days of Clodonæus, five hundred Years onely after Christ, yet can they bring no Evidence, onely his fingle Testimony, which in a Man's own behalf is not to be regarded. On the contrary, it is objected against him, that besides the staleness of the Trojan Project, which at the first fight the wisest Men are apt to reject, there are very probable, not to fay pregnant, Arguments against his Antiquity. It is Vid. Poman. are very probable, not to lay pregnant; Angular and favours not at all of that Elegancy which Orig. Franc. first alledged, that his style was barbarous, and favours not at all of that Elegancy which lib. 3. cap. 3. yet, in that Age, the Latine Tongue retains, as appears in Boetius, Sidonius Apollinaris, and others, of whom he is a pretended Contemporary. His talking of Roterdam, that noble Town of Holland, discovers the cheat, which being so named from the River Rota, or Rotera, (as Amsterdam from Amster, on which it is seated) not yet sour hundred years ago, as Hadrianus Junius, and others, have observed, whom he Luries there in the eighty ninth year of Christ. Who can be so flupid as to believe him, that if this City had been built at that time, by so great and eminent a King as he makes him, Tacitus, Dio, Suetonius, Pliny, and the rest of the Roman Historiographers, who are very curious in their Remarks upon these Batavian Countries, would not both have mentioned the Building of the Town, within the Roman Pale, and committed to posterity the Records of so great Exploits, as Hunibaldus will have this King to have performed against the Romans? It is also a wonder not easily to be removed, that Gregory Turonensis, who lived six hundred years after Christ, and consequently was junior to this Hunibaldus, who makes such disquisition, and took such pains in searching out any thing that might conduce to the discovery of the Affairs of the Franks, the Names and Succession of their Kings, should not in the least mention Hunibaldus, nor take notice of a Catalogue of Princes, so elaborate and formally digested.

26. But if we examine a little his particular Stories, we shall find them altoge-Compared with ther difforant to the course of History and Geography, and discover them to be Chimæra's of an idle and impotent Brain. First, he brings Marcomirus the King, out of Scythia, whereas his Name is merely German, and most of those of the same Classis no other than plain Greeks. He makes him pass through the Territories of the Saxons to the Mouths of the Rhine, as if the Scytha and Saxons had been Neighbours, and as if there had been such a Name as that of Saxons above four hundred years before the Nativity of Christ. Yet there hangeth a tale by this story. Ado Viennensis writes, that in the days of Valentinian and Valens, the Franks passing from Sicambria Maeotidis, came to the utmost parts of the Rhine, and there, with their Captains, Marcomirus and Sunno, took up their Habitation for some Years. Which passage this Impostour hath corrupted to his own Design, placing that several Ages before Chrift, which indeed in no Age ever happened. It is very fond Geography for him to place the Sicambri near the Mouths of the Rhine, where now the Hollanders, those of Guelderland and Westfreisland inhabite. Who would not imagine that he was contemporary and acquainted with our Geoffrey of Monmouth, and that they too made up the match betwixt Antenor and Cambra the Daughter of Belinus, King of Britain, from which the Sicambri were forfooth fo named? They two, and Berefus, (whom Annius of Viterbo railed from the dead) were certainly Companions, and rare Heralds, in deriving the Pedegrees of People, Cities and Persons, from unknown and unheard of Records. But if they were named Franks first from Francus, the first King of the second Classis, what then becomes of Francion, the Son of Hellor, from whom they must have been denominated in the Trojan times? but as well from the one as the other; for though this Francus is supposed to have reigned above thirty seven years before Christ's Nativity, yet at that, and for some time after, the Name of Franks was utterly unknown, and that of the Sicambri very much flourished, till the latter end of the Reign of Augustus, who, under the Conduct of Tiberius, translated a part of them that had yielded, from beyond the Rhine into Gall. 27. His

27. His flory of Lollius is ridiculous above measure, both as to matter of Histo-Sect. 1. ry and Geography. First, it is not probable that the Name of Saxons was up at that time, if it were, how could Lollius come at them, who yet in the days of Ptolemy, the Mathematician, lived beyond the River Elbe, without invading and infelting other Nations of Germany. But Lollius neither invaded Saxony, neither obtained any Victory, nor was flain in any Rancounter in these parts, or elsewhere. For as Dion Cassius expresly writes, the Battel was fought on this side the Lib. 14. Rhine, (Germania Cisrhenana) these Nations of Germany, Sicambri, Usipetæ and Teucleri, having passed over that River, and circumvented not the Person, but Forces of Lollius, upon whose preparations for a fresh encounter, they retired into their old places, and Lollius, as is evident from Velleius Paterculus, was after Hift. I. c. wards appointed by Augustus, Governour to Caius Casar, his Grandson, who then warred against the Parthian, in which Expedition he died. That which follows concerning Clodio, Son of this Francus, agrees as well as the other with the ancient and authentick Roman Writers, from whom it is also as evident, that he could not fight with Tiberius in the fourth Year of his Reign, who as then had nothing to doe with the German War, it being managed by his Brother Drusus, as yet living. His story of Hilderick his thirty Kings must needs provoke Laughter, in whose Reign he faith the Franks first began to build and apply their minds to Architecture, whereas he had formerly mentioned the building of Roterdam, by Roterus his twenty third King, and of Francfurt by Marcomirus his twenty fixth in order: Concerning Bartherus their King, under whom they should have invaded Italy, there is not one fyllable to be found in any Authour. Neither of Genebaldus his leading a Colony into Thuringia, and there fettling a Dukedom in the three hundred and twentieth Year of our Lord, that Countrey being at that time possessed by the Alemans and Suevi, neither the Name of Thoringi being as yet known. The Cassle Duytsburck, where he writes the King of the Franks to have lived, was not in Thuringia, but below Coloine, fituate in Germany the Great, and upon the Rbine, not on the Meufe, as this learned Geographer feems to place it. Still as good fluff he writes on the Saxons being overthrown by Valentinian on this fide Odera, which runs its course beyond Elbe. His Memory, contrary to the Art of Lying, is very bad, in telling the Tale concerning Valentinian his naming the Franks from their ferocity, having formerly derived the appellation from his doughty King Francus. His Dagobert's Person is a fiction, as well as his Office of Interrex. Indeed in Thuringia are many footsteps of such a Name, as Dagoberstera near Ertford, and Dagoberthusa near Marpurge in Hassia, and another Village of the same Name near to Coloine, but these received their name from other Dagoberts, whereof one lived in the Year 632, and the other 716. when the Name of Oriental France came to be in use, and the Franks possessed all Thuringia or Franconia, whereas at this time of this supposed Dagobert, or A.D. 394. there was no such thing as Orientalis Francia, or Franconia. But this Impostour, perhaps a Native of this Countrey long after, as well as others in later times, to doe it honour, hath not been sparing to obtrude false and coined stories upon the World, and brings this Dagobert out of that place to insert him amongst the Kings of the Franks, that from him passing to Genebald, he might from Genebald bring the Title and Honour upon Pharamond, as derived from

28. Having already been more tedious than the nature of our design may seem to require, induced by the Greatness and Glory of the French Nation, in discovering the cheats of Hunibaldus, and his Companions, we shall address our selves to the ancient Monuments of authentick Writers, and thence fee what may be had concerning the true Series and fuccessions of their Kings. To let pass those of the Sicambri, whilst that Name onely obtained, and come to the time of Galienus the Emperour, in whose Reign the Name of Franks became first to be known, the first we meet with in any good Gradullar the Name of Franks became first to be known, the first we meet with in any good find known, that have the Title of Kings, after that time, are Genebaldus and E.C.a. Lege Pantan. with Franks.

Leck, during the Government of Diocletian. A.D. 288. being both named in a Pa. Språ, lib. 3: teck, during the Government of Diocletian, A. D. 288. being both named in a Pa-fapt, lib. 3. negyrick of Mamertinus to that Prince, and Maximian his Collegue. After them are to be found Ascaricus and Radagisus, the same Maximian governing the Empire.

his Dukes of Oriental France.

Mearicus and

together with Constantius, A. D. 292. Who breaking the Peace made with Constantius tius, were too cruelly punished by Constantine the Great, his Son, as Eutropius writes, being cast to wild Beasts, which Fact yet Emnonius, the flattering Panegyrist, extolleth. In the days of Constantius, the Son of Constantine, A.D. 142. we meet with Malarichus whom Pontanus judgeth a King, though called onely by Marcellinus the Rectour of his Countreymen in the Emperour's Palace, for Constantius thought it better Policy to oblige them by good turns, and by promoting them to

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320 Sert. I.

Honours to keep them in quiet, and use them against the Alemans and other German Nations, than to imitate the severe example of his Father. After him Melebandus flourished with the Title of Tribune in the Court of Constantius, who in the Reign of Valentinian, Valens and Gratian was King of the Franks, at that time the good Friends and Allies of the Empire, and as Ammianus, an Eye-witness, tells us, was Comes Domesticorum, and a very valiant Man, by whose conduct the Romans had a great Victory over the Alemans, whereof a great number was flain, together with Priarius their King, and Gratian improving the Victory, passed over the Rhine, and there atchieved so much Renown, as the Awe thereof continued in Peace the Western parts of the Empire. Neither was Melobandus less valiant and victorious at home, Ammianus giving him the name of Bellicofus, and for farther confirmation, relating how Macrianus, King of the Alemans, invading Francia, was circumvented and flain by his Arts and Policies.

Richomerus.

29. The next that follows is Richomerus, or else Theodomerus his Son. Richomerus Was Comes Domesticorum to Gratian, and did many eminent Services for the Romans, but it should seem from Gregory of Tours, the Historian, that Theodemerus in Consularities revolted, and practifing fomething against them, was put to death, with Afeila his legiman Theathrevolted, and practifing tomething against them, was put to death, with Africa in meron Regin Mother. Richomerus was Conful the last Year of Gratian, A.D. 384. fo that the Francoum file. death of his Son must have happened afterwards, in the Reign of Theodossus or Ar. un Richmani quendam of Ascadius, about the Year 400. These two were succeeded by Marcomirus and Sun-cilam Marcom Marcomirus and no, two Brothers, who are mentioned in the Affairs of Valentinian the younger, que endin mer-

presently after the Death of Gratian. Gregory adds Genebaldus, a third to them, fedon concerning whom, forafmuch as the History of Salpitius Alexander, whom he cites, is lost, nothing can be certainly affirmed. But as for the other two, their valiant Exploits are upon Record, especially those of Marcomirus, who at such time as Maximus was besieged in Aquileia by Theodosius, invaded the Lower Germanv. and making great havock with Fire and Sword, struck great terrour into those of Coloine. Afterwards he was banished into Hetruria, and his Brother Sunno appearing in his behalf, was made away by the People. From this Marcomirus (counting from that time when he is first mentioned in History, during the Reign of Theodofius) unto Pharamond, are reckoned about thirty years, which might give occafion to several Chronologers, as Sigebert Gemblirensis, Ado Viennensis, and others, to think Pharamond the very same of Marcomirus, although there be no certain testimony of such a thing to be discovered in Antiquity; for neither Gregory Turonenfis, nor the Chronicon of Prosper, (which Scaliger calleth Consulare, and hath added to the later Chronicon of Eusebius) make mention of Pharamond. But of Clodio, whom they make the second King of the Franks, after Pharamond. both Gregory, Sigebert, Ado and Sidonius Apollinaris his Contemporary makes ample mention, though fometimes for the verses sake called Cloro, now Clodius, otherwhile, as by Caffodorus, Hlodonicus, and Clogio, but by Aimoinius, as he is now commonly read expressly Clodio. After him are reckoned Meroneus, Hildericus

and Clodoneus (or Hlodonicus, as Remigius calls him) the first Christian King of

Meroneus

the Franks.

Clodio.

SECT.

SECT. IL

The Atchievements of the Ancient Franks, from the Reign of Genebaldus, to the Death of Childerick.

The space of one hundred ninety six Years.

ROM the time of Gallienus and Valerian, wherein the Franks were Sect. 2. first known to the World, to the Reign of Clodio; from which, or else from Pharamond, the Modern French Historians begin their Annals, passed about one hundred and seventy Years, in which space of time very Eminent Actions, and great Atchievements were performed by them, on both fides the Rhine against the Romans. Those effects of theirs tending

to the Destruction of the Western Empire, and at length effecting it in a great measure, are already described and illustrated in their proper place, and therefore we shall but here give the Reader a short view of them, for the recalling of them The Frank affift to mind, by presenting him with a short Recapitulation: The first thing therefore we themius a them of them, is, that they affisted Posthumius against the Emperour Gallienus,

the Emperour. and after that, as well the Traitour as the Prince was flain, fell in upon the Fortifications, and demolished those which had been raised by the same Posthumius seven years before; being by Trebellius the Historian, sometimes called Franks. fometimes Germans. Under Valerian they passed the Rhine, and undertook an Pulling the fometimes Germans. Under Valerian they patied the Rhine, and undertook an Alies, are best-expedition of no less Confequence, but were after much Michief done to the Roman facilities. mans, let upon by Aurelian at unawares, who slew of them leven hundred, and

fold three hundred for Bond-flaves. Some of them ferved yet under this Aurelian. when he was fent Vicar to Ulpius Crinitus in the East, but when their Countreymen grown bold upon the absence of the Romans from the Borders, roved through Gall as far as Spain; he being now declared Emperour, clearing all Gall of them, drove them back into their own Countrey, and restored the Limits of the Empire (viz. the Rhine and those parts about it) to their Ancient quiet and

2. But this quiet and fecurity, continued not long, nor Gall free from their Incursions, which in the Reign of Tacitus and Florianus they renewed, and presently were with much violence profecuted by Probus; who was refolved to clear both the upper and lower parts of the Rhine, of fuch ill Neighbours, which made him joyn with Proculus and Bonosus, who took then upon them the Purple at Coloine : Yet did they betray Proculus to him, who had fled to them, and pleaded Kindred with them, as Vopiscus writes. Probus having taken many of them Prisoners upon Promife, as it feemeth, of quiet and dutyfull demeanour, gave them a Territory to inhabit about *Proportia*; but they making as little Conscience of their Faith to the *Romans*, as those did of their Fidelity to their Princes, and acted by that itch of Glory and Wealth, which in these late Ages had so irritated those Northern Nations, feized on a great Company of Veffels, wherewith they roved about the Coasts of Afia and Greece, invaded Sicily, and took Syracufe it felf, so Famous for it's zorim. lib. 1. naval Victories; then Coasting about, and doing much damage to the Coasts of Africk, they were at length repulsed, by the Garrison Souldiers of Carthage, and passing through the Straits of Gades, came back by the Coasts of Portugal and Spain into the Chanel, and so into their own ancient Countrey, which lay part upon the Rhine, and part upon the British and Northern Ocean. But upon report, of the Death of Probus, both they and the Saxons thought they had an opportunity put into their hands, which they improved to good purpose by Inrodes, made into the Roman pale; for Caraufius, whom Diocletian had fent against them, bore They fitze of himself rather as one that would part stakes with them, watching his opportunity part stands. how he might seize upon Britain, and assume the Title. The Franks therefore making use of this Distraction, infested the Roman Empire both by Sea and Land, and

Sect. 2.

feize upon the more Maritime parts of Batavia, where they fix themselves: This and other Difficulties, caused Diocletian to make Maximian his Collegue, who coming But being beat to Batavia fets upon them, though in almost unaccssiable places; and after much to Batavia iets upon them, though in mind unactual them to fubmit. Their Kings Ge-Cum profess, nebaldus, and Efareck as he is (corruptly fure) called by the Panegyrift, received up-num reagent on their Submiffion; the one his Kingdom, and the other fome great Gift. Yet Genebaldus, on their Submiffion; the one his Kingdom, and the other fome great Gift. Yet Genebaldus on their Submiffion; the one his Kingdom, and the other fome great Gift. Yet Genebaldus on their Submiffion; the other forms great Gift. not with standing, Maximian removed a great number of Families into the desert num accepting, places of Gald, that they might with their own Labour and Service, replant and Materinar repair what they themselves had wasted, that their Countrey might be drained of many themselves had wasted, that their Countrey might be drained of many themselves had wasted, that their Countrey might be drained of many themselves had wasted, that their Countrey might be drained of many themselves had wasted. and the Roman Territory supplied with Inhabitants. Or, it being all most impossible for want of Corn upon the Borders to defend them against those Rovers, who fill by their continual Wars and Exercises, learnt more Experience and Discipline, that the Grounds might be Tilled by those had wasted them, and by taking their. Youth into the Roman Legions, in process of time they might oppose Franks a-3. Politick Resolutions, especially if sounded upon Martial Actions, meet with

gainst Franks.

many Rubs, and feel most commonly the force of the Change, and Vicifitude of humane Affairs. What was thought to have done the Work, and completed the business about the Franks, did but increase and stir them up to a new Attempt, as foon as time and opportunity would favour them. When the Rhine now by extremity of Frost, and a very hard Winter was Frozen over, a great number of A second Inva them under Conduct of their Kings Ascaricus, and Radagifus, the second time infion of Batavia. vaded Batavia: By this time Maximian had given up the Charge of Gall, and the Western parts of the Empire to Constantius Chlorus, who making ready for an expedition into Britain against Alectus, who had killed Caraufius, and invested himfelf with the Purple, and Authority, had the Work done to his hand by Afclepiodatus, the Prefect of the pretorian Guards; by whom Alectus was flain near London, and a great multitude of Franks, having escaped into the City, when after they had loaded themselves with plunder, they thought to escape, were put to the Sword; having made up the greatest part of Carausius his Forces, and maintained the Quarrel so long in desence of him and Alectus his Successiour: Presently after this, Constantius making the same advantage of a Thaw, as they had done of the Froit, conveyed his Army over the Rivers, and fo straitly belieged them, that they were constrained to beg Peace, and a great number of them were again transported into Gall, to learn Civility, and cultivate their Barbarous dispositions. But Constantius being Dead, the two Kings despising the Youth, and Rawness of his Son Constantine, and breaking the League made with his Father, invaded the Roman Territories, having passed over their Forces near the division of the Stream, into the Rhine and the Wale. Constantine conceiving his Honour nearly touched, sent his Army against them, which taking them at unawares made great slaughters, 4.D. 292. and among other Prisoners took Ascaricus, and Radagifus the two Kings; whom with as many of ripe Age as were taken, he subjected to various Torments, and finally cast them to Wild beasts in the Theatre, for which brave Fact he is extolled. by the flattering Panegyrifts, who yet doe them fome kind of Honour in comparing them to the two Snakes, which Hercules in his Infancy (as Constantine in his infant Government) is faid to have strangled. This being done, Constantine invaded their Territories, as far as the Drutteri, where he made great Havock of the Countrey, and glutted Wild beafts with the multitude of those Franks, who were so flout by Confession of their Enemies, as not to start at the Terrour of the Punish-

Radagifus French Kings

of fierce and cruel Lions. 4. Constantine having thus succeeded, that he might for the time to come, have a free and ready passage into their Countrey, or rather to shew how little he stood in fear of them, and to awe them with the Majesty of the Empire; built a Bridge over the Rhine, where it ran by their Countrey. Yet did not these things so affright or awe them, but that still they took hold of all fit opportunities to invade the Roman pale, which caused this Emperour afterwards, being himself otherwise diverted, to fend his Son Crispus to defend the Limits against their Inrodes. After the Death of the Father, they affifted Constantine the Son in the Invasion he made into the Territories of his Brother Constans, who after Constantine was Murthered at Aquileia waged War with them, and at length compelled them to retreat into their own Countries. After the whole Empire had fain to the share of Constantius, by the Death of his two Brothers, he so far considered their Natures, that thinking them not capable of being beaten into better Manners, he resolved

ment; but willingly would look Death in the Face, and that in the Countenance

PART III.

to try them with Kindness. Therefore did he give them what by Force they had Sect. 2. fo long attempted; removing them into the adjacent parts of Gall and Germany, and preferred the chiefest of them to Commands, and honourable Employments about his own Person, as Malarickus the King, Mellobandes, Laviogaisus and Sil- A.D. 342. vanus, who Governing the lower Germany with great Wisedom and Courage, was falfly accused to Constantius, as if he affected the Sovereignty, and plainly Forced, when the Emperour could by no means be brought to have a good Opinion of him, and he was made to believe, that the Franks his Countrey-men would not harbour him, to take upon him the Purple, which done, he was betrayed, and flain by his own Men, who by great Words and fair Promises, were corrupted by Constantine. Besides the knowledge of Arms, and the Conduct and Valour of a Commander. joyned with an honest mind, and the Merits of Bonitius his Father (which Commendations, Ammianus Marcellinus an Eye-witness gives him) Aurelius Victor, witneffeth in his behalf, that he was of a most Courteous and affable Disposition, and though of barbarous Extract, fufficiently adorned with the Learning and

Breeding of a Roman.

CHAP. I.

5. Either his Conduct, his Interest, or both sufficiently appear in this, that as his Countreymen kept themselves still, during his Government, presently after his Death, as if the obstacle was now removed, they bare down all before them. They again in and passing over the Rhine, over-ran a great part of Gall, having taken forty Ci-let the Roman ties situate upon the River, and therein an unspeakable number of Slaves, besides infinite Booty. For this and other Causes, Constantius took Julian his Cousin German into the Partner-ship of the Empire, who e'er he came to the Charge of Gall and the Borders, received the News of the taking of Coloine by the Franks, wherewith he was so struck, that he was often heard to mutter to himself, that he had gotten nothing more by his late promotion than to perish in greater Employment. He took Augustedunum (now Autun) which the Franks had seized on, and thence adventured upon Antifiodorum (at this day Auxerre) whence marching to the Tricassini, he was set upon by numerous Enemies, but had the better, taking or putting them to flight, how resolute soever. Piercing farther into the Countries, and fending far before him the Reputation of a Conquerour, he almost as soon took as faw the City of Coloine, having it rendred up by Composition after a Peace made with the Enemy. During this Peace, he made use of the Franks against the Alemans and others; but it was not long e'er they broke it, and when he was employed elsewhere, seized on a Castle seated on the Bank of the Meuse, which retaining yet it's Name in part (Kefell) he besieged, and fearing that they within might take the advantage of a dark Night to escape over the Ice, he caused Boats to be continually rowed by the Souldiers up and down to keep a Chanel, and thereby compelled them for want of Necessaries to yield. Taking up then his winter Quarters at Faris, he returned and unexpectedly fell upon that fort of Franks called Salii in the Spring; who not long before, had taken the Boldness to plant themselves The Salii forced in this Countrey of Taxandria, now Brabant in the Roman Soil. Who fent a Meffenger to defire of him, that they might live peaceably in their new obtained Poffessions; but he caused them to yield themselves to his disposal. Having handled the Chamani, who followed the Example of the Salii in the fame manner, he repaired the Castles, which being formerly built upon the Meuse the Frank. had razed.

6. But how these Salii came to take up their Quarters in Taxandria, or here about Breda, we must not fail to take notice out of Zozimus. The Saxons for some Lib. 3. reason or other unknown to us, bore them mortal Hatred (their onely Crime it's probable, was the Convenience and Fertility of the Soil) and therefore making a strict Alliance with the Quadi, a People bordering on the Sarmatæ, resolved utterly to destroy them; and so they had done, but that they were awed by the Fame and Glory of the common Name of Franks. They forced them to quit their Habitations, fome passing over into Taxandria or Brabant and others, seizing on the Island of Batavia afterwards: The Quadi either set on by the other, or moved by the defire of Gain built them Vessels, and passing down the Rhine by the old Francia entered Batavia, whither the Salii had been driven back by the Saxons, refolving utterly to disposses them of the Island, which they had as it were made their own by primer Occupation. Julian received the News of this their Boldness with much Stomach, and Commands the Quadi to desift from their Enterprize, which they durst not but obey, and wherewith the Salii perceiving themselves delivered of an imminent danger in way of Gratitude gave up themselves, and all they had into the Powerand Protection of Cafar. The Quadi, though they had lost their prime Gain, yet were resolved not to sit quite out, Robbing and risling on

the Sea-Coasts privily, and by stealth as they could whereby they rather much disquieted, than endamaged the Roman Subjects. Julian yet affected that by cun-The Quadi fub. ning, which he could not doe by plain Force, and brought them to fuch firaits, that they were forced to submit, which being done, he listed many both of them and the Salii in the Legions, of whom the Companies continued till the time of Zozimus. But as for our Franks, though the Salii had reason to be quiet, who were either permitted to continue in Batavia, or were removed over the Water to other Convenient Seats: Yet the Ansinarii would not contain themselves, but made Incurfions afresh into the Neighbouring parts of Gall, at such time as Constantius suspecting that Julian aspired after the Empire sent Letters to Check and Admonish him to keep himself within the modest bounds of Cæsar. Being saluted Augustus by his Army left he should be blamed for Idleness, having returned a Message to Confantius, he marched into the Borders of Germania Secunda, and passing speedily over Ammian, lib. 2. the Rhine fell unexpectedly upon the Anfinarii, who expected nothing less than fuch an attack, trusting to the difficulty of the passages, through which never yet any And Anfinarii Prince had Pierced. He eafily overcame them, killed and took many, and gave those that remained such Conditions as him best pleased, having got this advantage by this Expedition, as he imagined, that by the Terrour thereof, the Neighbouring Barbarians would be kept in good Order, and the Borders remain in a fet-

7. As long as he lived it fo came to pass, these Nations beyond the Rhine thought it fufficient, that none molested them within their own Territories. But Lib. 4. he being Dead, Zozimus tells us, they were presently up again, resolving to make War upon the Romans. Ammianus makes it a Common, and united defign of them Lib. 26. and the Saxons together, which that he might be able to withfland and prevent for the time to come; the Emperour Valentinian, not onely disposed his Forces of Horse and Foot into convenient places and Garrisons, but strongly fortified the Borders of Gall, all along the Rhine from the Rhetii, as far as the Ocean, with Castles, strong Forts and Towers. The Franks hereupon defisted, but the Saxons proceeding in their defign, were first overthrown by Severus the Roman Captain, and after they had submitted, and had Peace given them, were perfidiously cut off by an Ambush laid for that purpose, in the place called Deuso, in the Countrey of the Franks, (as is Conjectured) Deutzium a place fituate over against Coloin. At this time Mellebandus or Mellobandes, was King of the Franks, the Comes Domesticorum as is formerly faid, in the days of Valentinian and Gratian; against whom Macrianus King Methbandus the of the Alemans, having made a Peace with the Emperours, advanced with an Army, wasting all the Countries with Fire and Sword, but was received, and by the Strategems of Mellobandes overthrown and killed. Now were the Franks. the Allies and Affociates of the Romans, many of them flourishing in such Grace with the Emperour; that Mellobandes arose to the very Dignity of Consul, which Honour he obtained, not onely through the Favour of Gratian, who was indeed very well inclined towards his Nation; but also for his fingular defert and good Service performed in the Wars, in respect to which he was made General, by Valentinian against the Quadi, and Sarmatæ. Mellobandes afterwards under Gratian overthrew a great Force of Alemans at Argentaria, a Town fituate upon the River Hebellus above Strasburg, in which Battel Priarius (by fome corruptly called Priamus) was flain, and with him thirty thousand of his Men, as Ammianus writes; who also in the War of Thrace, which Valens unfortunately managed, gives to Richomeres, the Frank, the greatest praise of preserving the Roman Army. Valens miscarrying in this Expedition, the Northern Nations still continue their Inrodes, which caused Gratian, who being himself but twenty years of Age, had his Brother for his Collegue, but thirteen years old, to falute Theodofius with the Title of Emperour. He being fick at Theffalonica, and the Barbarians out of Thrace, invading Macedonia and Pannonia; Gratian was constrained to fend Banto and Arlogastes, two Franks, against them, who overthrew the Goths in Macedonia, and forced them to return back into Thrace.

> with Clearchus, and in the next that follows Banto joyned with Arcadius Augustus. But three years after, we have other News of the Franks; who at fuch time as Theodosius besieged Maximus the Tyrant in Aquileia, under the Conduct of Genebaldus, Marcomirus and Sunno, pass the Rhine, and invade the upper Germany, wasting all things as they march along; and having got much Booty, leave behind them Countrey. Of those that were left behind many perished, and such was the Suc-

8. The year after the Death of Gratian, we have Richomeres Conful together A.D. 384. many of their Company to drive the same Trade, and return back into their own

cess against them, that the Roman Captains consulted, whether they should not im- Sect. 2. prove it by an Invasion of Francia it self. Nauxius would by no means yield to fo dangerous an attempt, and returned to Mentz; but Quintinus his Collegue (for to them two had Maximus committed the Care of his young Son, with the defence of Gall) animated by the importunate defires of the under Officers would needs proceed, and passing the Rhine about the Castle Ninessum (at this day Nuzs) found the Villages void of all Inhabitants, which he Commanded instantly to be fet on Fire. But passing farther on, they were cunningly by the Enemy drawn in Green. Turnst to Bogs, Woods, and unpassable places, where by the envenomed Darts of the Frank signific, its. 2. they were out-right killed, or died of lingring Deaths, iwallowed up by the Quicks, or disadvantagiously fighting, were most of them cut off and slain, very few escaping through the darkness of Night and covert of Woods. This overthrow and Difaster is by some esteemed not much inferiour to that of Varus in the time of Augustus, considering that Quintinus would not against so Valiant a Nation, whereof his Collegue stood so much in fear, lead less than three Legions. And whether Arbogastes who being appointed General by Theodossus, against Victor the Son of Maximus, and had discomfited and slain him after the fight, thought that by reason of so great a Disaster received from his Countreymen, he himself and those about the Court were in danger, out of hatred to the two Kings Sunno and Marcomirus, or really being bent according to his Oaths Military and of Allegiance, to advance the affairs of Rome though in the destruction of those of his own bloud, he advised the Emperour to require fatisfaction for what injury had been done, and to give up these persons who had been the Incendiaries, the procurers, and fomenters of the

CHAP. I. Contemporary with the Const. Roman Empire.

9. The Emperours were fo prudent, as to confider what Tacitus the Hiltorian Caret Gasthese long before had afferted, that the onely way to Conquer the Germans was to fet transfermants for some line of the control of the state of the them at odds amongst themselves, and therefore gave him Commission, to exercise manonum at certe his Enmity or private grudges in fuch a method as his own Judgment should best often in quantificate to him. He marching to Coloin in the sharpest time of Winter, resolved to peri fair in invade them at that season, when the Trees being destitute of Leaves should afford restart forms as little shelter and covert as could be, and passing the Rhine fell upon the Quar-massis possing quam Marcomirus and ters of the Brueleri and Æsia, a Village inhabited by the Chimani none appearing lib. de movibus ten by Arbya. to make any refishence except a few of the Ansinarii and Catti, who under Con-Germanorum.

flera Frank but duck of Marcomirus onely shewed themselves upon the Mountains, and as well at this time as upon other occasions he so bestirred himself, that for two years the Franks dared not to make any attempt of moment upon Gall, or any other place of the Empire, till folicited and induced by the same person, that now so zealously withstood their invasions. Arbogastes elevated much with his success, and that favour and countenance he had received from Gratian, was by this time heightned to fuch confidence and refolution as to brook no Superiour. Being by Gratian preferred to the place next to Banto his Countreyman, after his Death he arrogated to himself the chiefest command, without any commission or consent of Valentinian the young Emperour, having all the Souldiers at his Devotion, whom he fo much obliged by a feeming contempt of money, (though he had great wealth, and through his good Conduct and Prosperity in all attempts,) that he would plainly countermand fuch Orders as were given by the Emperour how just and convenient foever. The young Prince patiently enduring what he was not able to remedy, at length when he understood that the Barbarians inhabiting about the Danow were about to invade Italy, resolved to march in person, and use his utmost indeavour for the relief of that Countrey. He acquaints therewith Arbogastes, who according to his custome of contradicting whatsoever he propounded, dislikes the design, which fo inraged the Emperour, that he drew his Sword and had therewith made at him, but being hindered by an Attendant, fell upon him with Reproaches and reviling Language; Boyling still with Indignation against him, on a time he gave him into his hands a Paper, whereby he abrogated his power, and revoked his Commission, which after Arbogastes had perused, being moved to a great degree of Passion, he plainly told him, That as he did not give him, so neither should he take from him his Authority.

10. By these and other means an implacable hatred and capital Enmity was begot betwixt them, which the poor Prince wanting Power could not improve to any real disadvantage towards his adversary. Arbogastes let him feel the first effects of his Strength in thutting him up in the Palace, and devesting him of the Honours due to his imperial Dignity, to fuch a measure, that he little differed from a private man, and what attendants and respect he had being worse than none, because

They invade

Sect. 2. performed by Franks and fuch as observed more the nods of Arbogastes, than the Commands of Valentinian; Hereupon the Emperour by Letters implored the Affistence of Theodofius his Collegue. But the Barbarians hovering over Italy, St. Ambrose the Bishop of Milan was desired to go to Valentinian, and invite him to the defence of those Provinces, which he understanding rejoyced, hoping the Bithop by his Authority might interpose and get him better Quarter from Arbogastes. Upon a report flying of the Emperour's coming, Ambrose according to the pleasure of those who were concerned, put off his Journey, which Valentinian understanding, desired him by Letters that he would not defer to come to him. He having received the Message made what haste he could, but having passed the Alpes understood of his Death, which Arbogastes procured by corrupting the Eunuchs that waited on him in his Chamber, as we have formerly related, there being but little distance, as One more glorious in his fufferings hath observed, betwixt the Prisons and Graves of Princes. Arbogastes having done the Fact, though already in his mind he had swallowed the Imperial Authority, yet would not himself take the Ensigns, but therewith invested one Eugenius his dependent and Servant, (as Claudian the Poet calls him,) who had been first commended to him by Richomeres his Countreyman. Treason when once come to such height as to admit no pardon, must be Rigorously prosecuted. He perswades his new mock Prince the stronger to confirm him in his lame Title, to take to him the Alliance and Affistence of the Nations beyond the Rhine, and to make strict League with the Franks and Alemans. Having raifed a confiderable Force, they feize upon the Straits leading to Italy, intending to obstruct the passage of Theodoflus, who yet removed the obstruction, and by the mercy of God obtained the Victory against the Pagan upstart, (who bore the banner of Hercules,) although the Franks and other Barbarous Nations omitted nothing of their Duty. Arbogaftes after the dilaster and Death of Eugenius having sled into the Mountains, when he perceived all ways were laid, and all means used for his apprehension, fell upon his own Sword, lest it should be said that Arbogastes was killed by any but Arbogastes himself. A great man, a complete General by confession of his Enemies, in whom those abilities which in others are but scattered and distributed, did truly concentre and unite. And by such true and proper humane means, he still arrived at his end, viz. Prosperity and Success, preserving Theodosius in his Imperial Dignity, depo-sing and destroying Vistor the Son of Maximus, and now had from a Scribe or a man of very low Condition, advanced and established Eugenius in the Throne, had not God Almighty himself interposed, and in a miraculous manner (as Christian Writers acknowledge,) dashed in pieces this Pagan's Project.

11. Theodofus the Emperour Died not long after, leaving two young Sons which he committed to the Cuftody of Rufmus and Stilico, with the care of the Eaftern and Western Empires. Stilico in the West made a League with the Franks, who when the Vandals invaded Gall, did what they could to oppose them, but being inferiour in number and strength, were forced to retire into their own Quarters. Stilico being Dead, they thought themselves it seems loosed from the Tye and Obligation of the League, and left the Vandals should get all, pass over the Rhine, break into Gall, and besides other Cities, take, Plunder and burn that of Triers the Metropolis of that Tract. The Vandals as desirous to keep what they had, as they were greedy to obtain it, make presently Head against them, but were totally defeated, twenty thousand of them Slain, lost Godegishus their King, and had every man They beat the been cut off, but that a party of Alans seasonably interposed. The Vandals, Alans Vandals killing and Suevi having enough of this Rencounter, left they should any more have to their King. doe with the Franks, made Gunderick the Son of Godegifflus King, and march to the

Pyrenæan Mountains, which having passed, they enter Spain the first day of October, A.D. 409, where they reduce much of the Countrey under their Obedience. Upon rumour of this notable Victory, the Britains fearing fome attempt upon themselves, stand upon their own Guard, and so do several Cities of Armorica, (now little Britain) shaking off the Roman Yoke, and modelling themselves into a new fort of Government. Yet did the Franks retreat back into their own Countrey, leaving the Burgundians alone with a party of Alans, to domineer over the

12. The Franks for two or three years contained themselves quiet within their own Bounds, onely they fent a party to the affiftence of Gerontius the Britain, who had flain Constantine the Usurper, which was cut off and destroyed by Constantius General for Honorius the Emperour, who having fent Ulphilas his Lieutenant against them, he cunningly let them pass by till he could fall in upon their Rere, at such time as he knew Constantius had reached their Front. Honorius by the Conduct of

this Constantius had by this time destroyed the Usurpers, removed the Goths out of Sect. 2. Italy into Gallia Narbonensis, and the Vandals were thence driven away, so that he celebrated Garnes for this Freedom of Italy as one overjoyed, onely the Burgundians were an Eye-fore, who having passed into Gall with the Vandals, still continued forfaking their Companions when they understood their expedition into Spain. Constantius therefore resolved to fall upon them, which they being aware of, and knowing themselves unable to bear the Shock defired Peace, and to be received into friendship and confederacy with the Romans. He fearing lest by some ill accident and uncertainty of War, he should blur the glory of his former Atchievements, was not averse to their Proposals, and according to their request giving them Peace, entered into a League of Friendship and Society. This coming once to the knowledge of the Franks, they disdained exceedingly, that the Burgundians a People not much confiderable either for Reputation or Strength, should there obtain quiet and peaceable Possession, where they themselves hitherto, notwithstanding so many attempts and expeditions, could not fix at all, speedily therefore raising a great Army, they pass the Rhine and take and burn Triers, under Conduct of Marcomirus, if we Macconinus and might believe Sigonius, who forgets that Marcomirus and Summo had been either ba-Summo put to nifled or put to Death by Stilico, as Claudian the Poet hinteth not obscurely. Against them was sent Castinus the Comes Domesticorum, (forasmuch as Constantius returned to Rome to take Possession of the Consulship,) who hasting into Gall, overthrew them in feveral Ingagements, and forced them notwithstanding all their courage and refolation, once more to retreat and cross the Rhine.

CHAP. I. Contemporary with the Const. Roman Empire. Pharamond.

13. About, this time it must be that the Franks had Pharamond for their King, in Pharamond King the room of Marcomirus his Father. It's very strange that Gregory Turonensis a grave of the Franks. and diligent Authour, should not once mention this Prince. But Aimonius both names him and placeth his Reign at this time, and so doth Prosper Tiro in his Chronicon published by Scaliger and Pithæus, who lived about this time, and therefore good credit is to be given to him. This Chronicon in the Edition of Scaliger at the 25 year of Honorius hath these words, Pharamundus regnat in Francia, or, Pharamond Reigns in France, after which follows the year 26, and at it this Note, Solis facta defectio hoc Anno, The Sun was this year Eclipsed. If therefore it be certain that Pharamond Reigned the year preceding the Eclipse, he Reigned in the year of our Lord 417. For there was not any memorable Eclipse in any of these years, except that which happened on the 19th of July, A. D. 418. Which was total throughout Africk and Ægypt, being mentioned by the Chronicon of Alexandria with this addition, that it fell out on the 14th. of the Calends of August, on the day of preparation to the Passover, the eighth hour of the day. Idatius also affigneth the same fourteenth day of the Calends of August, but the heedles Printer or Writer reckons the fifth Teria or Thursday, whereas Friday was the day, the Noon thereof the time, almost two hours later in Italy than it fell out in Ægypt. Pharamond therefore began his Reign in the year 417, not the 420 as Scaliger imagined, who thought that this Eclipse happened in the year 421 following Bunting in his Calculations. For in this year, no Eclipse of the Sun could be seen through Europe or Africk, by reason of the Southern Latitude of the Moon, which still increased through the accession of the Parallaxe.

14. From the Death of Marcomirus and Sunno, or rather from the time wherein Authours speak nothing of them, the year 395 to the beginning of Pharamond, intervene 21 years, during which space it's conceived by some that the Franks continued quiet, and contained themselves within their own bounds, as also it is probable that they so did during the time he Reigned over them, else it's a wonder he should not be mentioned by Gregory, and so little spoke of by the rest of the Historians. There be fome who conceive him so busie at home, that he could not attend Foreign matters, so taken up with making Laws, that he could not have any leifure for Warlike Employments, so addicted to the Society of his Wifegast, Lesegast, Widegast and Solegast, by the affistence of which Sages he compiled his Salick Law, that his Ears were deaf to all other Councellours. But Chisterius Physician to the Arch-Duke at Bruffels, though in another Book written ten years before, he thinks the Salick Law to have been made by this Prince beyond the Rhine, yet in his Anastasis Childerici he judgeth it agreeable to truth, that he seized on that part of Gall called Belgica Secunda, which contained ten forts of People, as the Remi (inhabiting about Rheims in Champaigne,) Suessiones (those about Soissons,) Catalanni (those

at this day,) Atrebates (Artesiens,) Nervii at this day those of Hannault, whose

about Cataloni in Champaigne, Silvanecles, Bellonaci (about Beanveism,) Ambiani Belg. pag. 518. (the Metropolis of whom was Samarobrina now Amiens,) Veromandin (Veromandous

Metropolis according to Ptolemy was Banacum now (Banay,) and the Morini inhabiting in part the Western Coast of Flanders, and so called because they Lived amongst the Fenns then in the Teutonick called Moeren, whence our English Moores are derived. This Belgica Secunda (the Metropolis whereof was Darocottorum Remorum, (or Rheims in Champagne,) he will have him to have seized, being already wasted and weakned by the incursions of the Vandals, and held it to his Death, his Argument being taken out of an old Manuscript Genealogy, preserved in the Palace at Bruxells, which faith be was Buried according to the Rites and Custome of Alamantturbe Barbarians at Rheims without the City, towards Landunum in a little Hillwhich builtur. in Latin may be called Pyramis, it being the manner of old, as Servius noteth, for Inline. Article great men to be Buried either under great Hills, or in the Hills themselves, whence it came to pass that Pyramids or great Pillars were wont to be raised upon Graves. Wheresoever he was Buried, Signbert writes that he Reigned eleven years, so that his Death must then according to the former account fall into the 428 year of our Lord. His name is by some thought to have been truly written Waramund, signifying the truth of the Month, War being truth, and Mund Month in the Teutonick. But Scaliger denieth that W could degenerate into F, and bids us enquire of Peter Emmidat. 11000. the Lombard what Fara, of which Faramond is compounded, doth properly fignifie. lib. 6. For the Language of Franks, Goths, Lombards, Vandals and Burgundians, with

those of other Northern Nations was the same, being all Teutonick in their

Original. 15. From the faid Peter therefore we understand that Fara significant a live Ge-Lib. 2. c. 9 de 15. Front the san reter intended with the carmon speech eith Laws of Lombardy and the carmon Speech eith Laws of Lombardy and the carmon Speech eith Laws of the Daws at this day, who to express the Inhabitants or Generations of leveral laws me pia. of the Danes at this day, who to express the innantants or Generations of several fulpha mapping. Countries, to the name of the place add that of Fara, as Selandfar, Hollandfar, and familiary in the Intelludfar, to that Faramand must denote the Month, Source, Original or defence of pour fifteen Nations, Generations or Off-springs. That many names of Men do end in Mund, is runtiming to most notorious to any one meanly skilled in the Teutonick Language, especially until the state of the Country of the Saxon Dialect, to which that of the Franks if we may consider their Neighbour. bardown Franks hood, must have had a great affinity. And here we must take notice that not one- id of generation hood. to have been no other than truly German. But to leave off this Discourse and Etymology of Names, to Pharamond succeeded his Son Clodio, in the fifth year of the

Cisdio fucceeds. Reign of Theodofius the younger. By this time Ætius the Roman General hadfallen out with the Goths, who had formerly been removed out of Italy into Gall., and having beaten them in several Rencounters, forced them to beg Peace, by which stirs the Franks thinking they had a fit opportunity presented, made a new irruption into the Roman Territorics; Gregory of Tours writeth that Clodio their King lying incamped at Dyspargus in the Borders of the Tungri heyond the Rhine, fending out his Spies as far as Cameracum, (now Cambray upon the Schelde,) after he had understood that all was sase and passable, invaded Belgica Secunda, and setting upon the City Cambra, overpowred the Romans there lying in Garrison, took the City and subdued all as far as the Rivolet Somna. But as to this Expedition, and Pontan. orig. the place from whence it is taken, there is much difference amongst some modern Writers, some, according to what is alledged from Gregory, will have Pharamond to have kept himself quiet beyond the Rhine, and these places in possession of the Franks at this time, on this fide that River to have been feized and injoyed in the Reign and by means of his Son Clodio. Others will account Pharamond a Prince of Vide Chiffaii Afuch Conduct and Valour, that the Romans durst not attempt any thing against him, apply clitterin, but that he both obtained and kept what of their Territories he had got into his see. 6. hands, and these stirs that happened in the time of his Son, were occasioned by his Youth, and want of experience, whereof the Romans took the advantage.

16. That Clodio held his Royal Seat at Dylpargus or Dysbargus, is affirmed by Himonius, and by neither party can be denied. But one contends this Castle was Lib. 1. 6.4 beyond the Rhine, and another affirms it was Seated at no leffer distance from that River, than betwixt the Cities at this day called Bruxells and Lorrain. Pontanus Lib.2. 0.9. alledgeth the testimony of Gregory Turonensis, who saith it was Seated in the borders of Tungri, and Chistetius telleth us of a Manuscript of Cambray, or History of the Acts of the French Kings which hath to the same purpose, Habitavit Clodio Rex in Disburgo Castello in finibus Tungrorum; or King, Clodio lived in Dispargus a Castle in the borders of the Tungri. Now the Tungri lived partly beyond, and partly on this fide the Rhine, in that Territory to which that very place or Castle is very near at this day called Dinsburg, betwirt Wefel and Dysfeldorp; and that the most ancient

Copies of Gregory Turonensis read Tungrorum, and not Thoringorum, (which being so Sect. 2 corrupted, is swallowed by Sigebert, and those that follow him,) Pontanus appealeth to the Testimony and Edition of Morelius. Notwithstanding all this acted, both out of Gregory and his own alledged Manuscript, yet Chiffletius recants what he had formerly written in behalf of Tungrorum, because he was deceived in thinking this Duburg the same with Deistheim, where Henschenius wrote there were two Caftles, whereof one called Disburg, which the Inhabitants themselves stifly denied, affirming the place to be fimply called Burg. But at last he thinks he hath found out the matter, by discovering two Towns, or Castles, bearing the Name of Duisburg amongst the Franks, one beyond the Rhine over against Coloine, at this day called Duysburgh, (in old time Castrum Deusonis) the same which Philip the Emperour pawned to Henry the first, Duke of Loraine and Brabant, in the Year 1204. Another Duysborcke, a large and noble Town near Tura, almost in the midway betwixt Bruffell and Loraine, which his Friend Wendelin thinketh might possibly be within the Diocese of the Tungri, seeing that St. Hubert, a few days before his Death, A. D. 727. dedicated a Church at Tura, and Loraine, with the Territories about it, was certainly of the Tungrian Diocese, as far as the River Dilia, so that this Duisborck was in the Borders of the Tungri, if not within the Diocese it self; Gramaius also in his Antiquities of Brabant, makes honourable mention of this Duysburg, noting in the Margent, that it was wont to feal with a Castle, bearing two Banners or Enfigns.

17. Chiffletius adds, that at the writing of his Book (A. D. 1655.) there were those alive who could remember the ruines of the old Castle of Dursburg, in the place where now stands the Village of John de Mulder, in the Suburb called Tieren, that the Pastour of the place reported from the testimony of ancient Monuments, that two hundred years before Tura this Duisburg was a Castle of the Dukes of Brabant, wherein the Princes and Nobility were wont to confult about State Affairs. He produceth a cutt of the Seal mentioned by Gramaius, wherewith the Scabines time out of mind have been wont to fign their publick Instruments, and with his Friend Wendelin, he affirmeth, that the Dyspargus mentioned by Gregory, much more agreeth with this place, than that beyond the Rhine, and that this was the very Castle which Clodio made the Seat of the Kingdom, all this Tract being made famous by the feveral Castles and Dwelling-houses which the Princes of Brabant (descending from those French Kings) chose and appointed to themselves at Bruxells, Loxain, Fara and Duisburg. But nothing doth Chiffletius by his favour produce, which necessarily concludeth this his Daisburg to have been the place. It is ordinary for Colonies to name the places of which they are the new Possessours. after those Cities and Towns from whence they came, and whence they are descended, so that this Castle near Loraine might be both built and named long after this flory of Clodio. The Diocesses of places have been wont to exceed their Civil Limits, neither can Wendelin make out, that the religious Borders are here meant by Gregory. It feemeth that Clodio first seized on and made this Castle the seat of the French Kingdom, and he might doe it in either place, because the one was beyond the Rhine, and the other within the Limits of his Expedition. But why doth not Chiffletius answer to the Testimony of Gregory Turonensis, that Duisburg was beyond the Rhine, in reference to him who then lived and wrote in the middle of Gall it felf? And what will he fay to the affertion of Ado Viennensis, who writes, that Clodio marching from the Castle Dysporus, (as he calls it corruptly) passed over the Rhine, and worsting the Romans, Seized on Sylva Carbonaria, as far as Camacacum, and there he took up his Quarters. If this Sylva Carbonaria was part of the Sylva Arduenna, or that called now Boild Ardenne, lying about the Meuse, and the Countrey of Leige, Clodio must have made a fine progress, first Northwards, from this Duisburg, lying betwixt Bruxells and Loraine, and then backwards again as far as the River Schelde, and the City Cambray. Certainly had he formerly taken up his Seat in that part of Brabant, he would first have so cleared the Coasts as not to leave an Enemy at his back, neither could he be folittle skilled in the Countrey, as to think the nearest way to the Schelde, was to go quite contrary, except intending to leap over it, he took that course which those observe who leap Ditches, by going backwards to fetch the longer run, and so to be carried over with the

18. But if Clodio placed the Seat of his Kingdom at this Duisborck near Bruffels, Pugnaftis parihe can fearcely be faid there to fix it, fo small a time did he enjoy his new obtained this patentes Conquest. For although Gregory, Aimonius, and the rest, take no notice of it, yet Archanum terit appears from the Verses of Sidonius Apollinaris, that Ætius the Roman hearing of rin perusperat,

On the Bridge leading over the Schelde, which was but narrow, flood Ætius, and

under, or below it, Majorianus; whence, faith he, the Wedding which was kept on

an hill, nigh the Bank of a River, was disturbed, and (to the unspeakable grief no

doubt of the Bride) ended in Bloud and Slaughter. That this was a great defeat of

the Franks, sufficiently appeareth from Sidonius, but whether as a punishment of

their fecurity and carelefness, they suffered expulsion quite out of Gall, and were dri-

ven back beyond the Rivers Meufe and the Rhine, cannot by any thing he faith be

determined; fome think the contrary, confidering that the Poet writing a Panegy-

Clodio and his

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ther to translate his Body. 19. After Clodio reigned Meroneus, not his Son, but his Kinsman, one of his Lineage, in the twenty fifth Year of Valentinian. The ancient Manuscript Genealo- proper Gree. gy of the French Kings, formerly mentioned, and to be feen in the King's Library Manuscra que mentioned at Bruffels, tells us, that being not the Son of Clodio, but his Kinfman, he caused erat Chilli file. at Bruyets, tens us, that being not the son of his Predecessour. The Manuscript us, set in summer to be made King, excluding the Sons of his Predecessour. of Cambray, called Gesta Regum Francorum, gives him the name of Meronechus, who see being of the stock of Clodio, succeeded him. Pontanus makes a great Argument to em, classifier peing of the Hock of Cloato, increased that Cloato lost not all he had got on this dut, out east, confirm what he formerly had afferted, that Cloato lost not all he had got on this dut, out east, connern what he formerly had ancietos, that the base had been supported by the state of the Rhine, because this Meroneus, prefently after his death, as several Writers excluded the filler enjoyed what bordered on the River, without any trouble or contest, plans the filler end for the River Axona (now Ayfne or Difne) in the Boreas films Bug & received from the filler end for the filler end of the filler en of the Rhenni, and was called upon by Valentinian and Ætius for succour against lin. Attila, the common Enemy, to all those that possessed any thing in Gall. He grants therefore that Ætius and Majorianus might expell Clodio out of Secunda Belgica, but not out of Germania secunda, or the Inferiour Germany, the Metropolis whereof was Coloine, and which contained two forts of People, especially, viz. the Whii and the Tungri, to which all, or most of the rest may be referred. For under the Name of Tungri are those contained whom Casar calleth by the common Name of Germans, as the Eburones, (the Inhabitants of Luych or Leigh) Condrusti, (those about Condreux or Condrox) Pamani, Segni and Særesi, which five Nations, together with the Adnatici and Batesii, were in later Ages comprised under the Name of Tungri. But the Franks being summoned by Ætius, sought most valiantly in that famous Catalaunian Battel, wherein a great number, if not the greatest part of

Scot. 2. this irruption the Franks had made into the Atrebates (or Artefiens) in conjunction Claudesam as with Majorianus, marched with great secrecy against them, and overthrew the fubation Army of Clodio, which they fell upon unawares as they were celebrating a Marriage home, family, in all Security. The Vertes of Sidonius make mention of a Village called Helena, mul feb traming main an occurity. The vertex of Sharmon short or French Virgin was married, as judgeth have where this (Scytbian as he terms her, or) French Virgin was married, as judgeth have where this Containts, who thinks it the fame with that at this day called Hedin le views, fitture that the same with that at this day called Hedin le views, fitture that the same with that at this day called Hedin le views, fitture that the same with that at this day called Hedin le views, fitture that the same with that at this day called Hedin le views, fitture that the same with ate in Artos, upon the River Cancus, or Cancius. But Chiffletius blaming all other miferat Agger Expositours and Commentatours upon this place of the Poet, for their Igno-

rance in Geography affirms it; that very fame which Baldericus calls Lenenensis fab is Castrum, a Town now known by the name of Lens. He will have the whole Ex- Majoriana E. pedition and Affair thus managed. Clodio having entered the Sylva Carbonaria (but calle profinance) pedition and Affair thus managed. Clodio having entered the Syrva Carbonaria (but talk penhape that he did it from Duisborcke not a word) passed on in the military high way leaBeatricus.

that he did it from Duisborcke not a word) passed on in the military high way leaBeatricus.

from the did it from Duisborcke not a word) passed on in the military high way leaBeatricus.

Sphiking claim

Sphiking claim. thers of these artificial and publick ways met, as from Virovacum (now Verinck) Tor- ren

thers of these artificial and publick ways met, as from Production (Moral) Camera-Naddon standard flavo nenna, (Teroane) Nemetacum, or as Hortius calls it Neinetocenna (Arras) Camera-simila nova negta cum (Cambray) and Ponsscaldis, or the Bridge of Scaldis, at this day Escanpont, all mario, which Ways, High-Streets, or Causways, meeting together, Sidonius expresseth by histern spranit. his Countes claudebant angulta vias. Now Ætius and Majorianus having in their crepinsbat ad it. passage taken the Village Helena, expected the coming of Clodio, and at length the joined Battel with him in a very difficult place, betwixt Tournay and the Bridge.

rick to Majorianus, would not have omitted a thing so notable, making for his purpole. However * Prosper in his Chronicon express writeth, that part of Gall near * Chron. Cast the Rhine, which the Franks had possessed, was recovered by the Arms of Count Ætius. Pars Gallharm And Cassiodorus, who lived at this time, addeth, that † in the Consulship of Felix and profinquin Rhom Taurus, Ætius having slain a great number of Franks, recovered that Trait beyond sheatan acquire Rhine, on which they had seized. As for Clodio, notwithstanding this ill suc-ran Æticamin cess, yet Gregory writes, that he was a profitable and most noble Prince, Ado Vi. The Plate & Tannens will have him to have reigned twenty five years, but Profper sets his death n Const. Ein at the 448th Year of our Lord, which contracts his Reign within the number of main Francis one and twenty years. As for his being buried at Cambray, the modern French payerant projection. Historians, who tell the story, have too great a tale to make good that that City quantitative was then in the Power of the Franks, if not, that his Subjects had the courage this tem receive.

Contemporary with the Const. Roman Empire. Childerick.

them lost their Lives, and the remainders returned home with Meroneus their King. Sect. 2. By Rocico the Monk he is called Meronicus, who writes, that he was chosen King, inthroned in the City of the Ambiani or Amiens, and that from him, in respect of Gest. Franc. L. L. his Prudence and good Government, those called formerly Franks were after him named Meroningi, being held in fuch Veneration, that he was esteemed no less than a common Father. Upon this account he is, in a Manuscript Book containing the Life of Charles the Great, in a Table of the Images of the French Kings thereunto In Biblioth. Rerated from Clodio. He reigned seven Years. The place of his burial is not vat.

prefixed, made the Head, or Original of the first Generation, being wholly sepa- gia Brazell, ser-

20. These were the Atchievements of the ancient Franks for one hundred and se-

venty years, and fuch were the beginnings and rudiments of the French Power and Dominion in Gall, which if as well the modern as more ancient Historians of that Nation had duly confidered, they had not so much doted on the vain Trojan Title, nor attributed so much to the fabulous Narration of thier Hunibaldus. By what we have already faid, may be fufficiently discovered, which was the most ancient Seat of the Franks, how by degrees they arrived at their Conquest, when, and upon what account, they passed the Rhine, and that they had many Kings before the time of *Pharamond* and *Meroneus*, though utterly unknown to *Gregory* Bishop of *Tours*, their most diligent Historian. Now we have brought them into Gall, we must see how they there behaved themselves, and what Progress they made till fuch time as they became Mafters of that renowned Province. But for a clearer Method and way of proceeding (the greatest help to Learning, and best part of Logick) let us first tell the Reader how this Countrey stood, and who were those that inhabited it at the time of their Invasion. At that time therefore Gall The Polleflours was possessed by three forts of Nations, or People, viz. Romans, Burgundians and Goths. The Romans held all from the River Rhine, as far as Ligeris, or Loire, in Gallia Celtica, except certain Cities of Aremorica (now Britain) which revolted, and put themselves under a new form of Government. The Goths beyond Ligeris possessed all Aquitain. The Burgundians whatsoever lies about Rhodanus, towards the upper part of the Rhine, a few Cities excepted, which retained their fidelity to the Romans. The hither part of Spain was held partly by the Goths, partly by the Romans, and the farther and more remote, by the Vandals, and their Affo-

21. To Meroneus then succeeded Hildericke, or Childerick his Son, who was born at Samarobina, the City of the Ambiani (at this day called Amiens) about the Year of our Lord 436. Being fifteen years old he was taken Prisoner by the Hunnes. together with his Mother, but was rescued and delivered by Wiomadus a Frank. Having succeeded his Father in the Year 455. with whom he was continually brought Fredez, cap. 11. up and learnt the Discipline of the Camp, he resolved to recover what he had lost, and burnt with defire of inlarging the Power and Dominions of the Franks, having a good opportunity put into his Hands by the death of Ætius and Valentinian. It may be gathered from the verses of Sidonius Apollinaris, that after their death he added to the conquest of Secunda Germania, and Belgica Prima, (which last contained Belging fearfour Cities, or People, viz. the Treveri, Mediomatrici, Leuci and Veroduni, the Metro-di polis being Augusta Treverorum (now Triers) made by Clodio and his Father, the TriRhenning, sero umphs of Germania Prima and Secunda Belgica, whereof the former contained the Van-Alemanne bib: giones (under whom were of old reckoned those of Wormes and Mentz, but Moguntiacum, but, Gr. or Mentz, being afterward built by the Romans upon the place where the Meyne falls into the Rhine, it came to be head of Germania Prima and fo at this day continues) the Nemetes and Tribocci. Neither yet herewith content, he invaded and fubdued almost all as far as the River Loire, with which Enterprize Anitus, the Roman Emperour, then awakened, committed the care of what remained on the other fide of that River to Agidius a Patritian, and the Magister Militum. Anitus being laid aside, Majorianus took the Ensigns of the Empire, who having done great things against the Vandals, and others in Africk, entred Gall, to clear that Countrey of all Intruders. He resolved first to begin with the Alans, as those that were more inconfiderable than either the Franks or Burgundians. But whilft this game was playing, Childerick, King of the Franks, plaid fuch prancks with the Wives and Daughters of his Subjects, that he speedily turned Banckrupt, both of Kingdom Goes into exile, and Reputation, having rendred himself very odious to his Nobility for his great Exactions, but especially for his many and notorious Adulteries, he was either torced out of his Kingdom, or foreseeing a storm, prudently retired out of the danger.

Gregory of Tours writes, that perceiving his Life to be way-laid, he departed into

the Countrey of the Thoringi, as the present Copies have it, but Pontanus thinks that Tungri is to be read, both because the same corruption is notorious elsewhere in this Authour, and it was much more easie for him to fly to them, and convenient to continue amongst them, who were near at hand both on this and the other side of the Rhine, than to make a long Journey into the territories of the Thoringi, betwixt whom and the Franks, were the Alemans, and several other Nations, not at all inclined to shew any Hospitality, or afford any Kindness to a Frank.

22. Indeed it appears from the Story, that he intended not in his retirement to be far out of the way. For he left behind him Wiomadus (or Windomalus) his Greg. 1.2. 6.12. trusty and faithfull friend, to lie as it were Leiger for him, to observe and watch all fit occasions, to mollifie the Spirits of the People, to assist time in wearing out all Prejudice and Regret from exulcerated Minds, and then to give him a fign when there should want onely his Presence to perfect the good inclinations of his Subjects. mu, Annal, like.

Ægidius got the He cut in two a piece of Gold, whereof the one part he left with him, and took A 13. the other himself, commanding him to trust to no other Token, but sending that piece carefully to him upon occasion, thereby to prevent the fraud and cunning of the adverse Faction. He being thus withdrawn, the Franks reject all of their own Bloud, and commit themselves into the hands of Agidius, a Roman Captain, to whom Anitus, when Emperour, had given a Command amongst the Suessiones upon the River Loire, and he governed them as King, for the space of eight years, being a Person excellently accomplished with all Endowments of Body and Mind. which received greater Lustre from his Profession of the Christian Religion. All this while Wiomadus was not idle, but being for the repute of his Prudence and Industry received amongst the number of Ægidius his Friends, improved the advantage thence afforded all manner of ways, to the Service of his old Mafter, and when many of his Enemies were removed out of the way by Death, others brought over to his Party, and the greater part either moderated by time, or touched at length with the fense of some Impropriety in the thing, that they should be governed by a mere Stranger, he thought things ripe enough, and fent him the piece of Money, as had been agreed betwixt them. Sigebert tells us expresly, that his 4.D. 469. Subjects returned to their Duty, and defired his Return, wherein he was not flack, and being joyfully received by the major part, with little trouble he drove away

Ægidius his Competitour. 23. But Fredegarius, in his Epitomized History of the Franks, tells a story of co. 11. Childerick his betaking himself to Constantinople, to Mauricius the Emperour, and of his return thence by Sea into France, a very pritty piece of Anacronism, the Emperour Mauricius living no less than an whole Age after Childerick. Wilthomius his Chronicon, written in the Year 810. mendeth the matter by reading it Martianus, who though he lived not so long before this Exile of Childerick, as Mauricius did after, yet died in the Year 457. whereas the flight of Childerick happened about the Year 461. and his restitution eight years after. But were it for no other Reason, than that Gregory of Tours, who was more ancient than the rest, and lived in the next Age to Childerick, makes no mention of it at all, the Story were justly to be suspected. It makes nothing for his Sea Voyage, what Aimonius ex- Lib. 1. (2).7 prefly writeth, that the King being in the middle of his way, fent to give Winomadus notice of his coming, with orders speedily to meet him, which he as readily performed, with the French Nobility, and found him at the Castle of Barrum, the Inhabitants whereof he had commanded to receive him with all Respect and Honour. They fo fully complied with his Commands, that they went out to meet him, and conducted him into their Town, with which Office of Duty and Kindness Childerick was so much pleased, as in Testimony of his Acceptance of so ominous a beginning, he remitted to them the Tribute they had been formerly accustomed to pay. This Barrum Franchett would have Barrum Ducis, or Head of the Dukedom Lib. 2. a. 15of Barre. Belleforest takes it for Barr upon the Siene. But those two are far later Lib. 1. 6.5. than this Barr now in question; neither was the Dominion of the Franks at this time fo large in Extent, being bounded with the River Somona, otherwise called Phrudus, now the Somme; Olivar Vredius in his description of the ancient Flanders, will have it some Fort in Brabant, or else Batavia. Chiffletius concludes it was a Town belonging to Brahant, at this day called Per, it being a Custome of the Romans to change their Teutonick P, into their B, as might be made appear by many Examples. This Per, he tells us, was an ancient Castle, where now is to be seen an House of Nunns, and he is the more strengthened in his Opinion, considering that upon supposal of Childerick his slying into Thoringia, this place would lye convenient for his Journey. From Amiens, the Residence of Childerick to Erfurd,

or the Royal Castle of Thoringia, (the Ruines whereof are yet remaining) are rec- Sect. 2. koned one hundred and thirty Brabant Leagues, in the middle whereof is Coloine feated on the Rhine, where he supposeth Childerick to have staid, and thence sent to Wiomadus, who presently met him at Per, or Ber, fifty Leagues distant from Amiens, and from Coloine fifteen. But this is altogether uncertain.

CHAP. I. Contemporary with the Const. Roman Empire. Childerick,

24. What way soever he came, he was followed by Basina, the Wife of King Basinus, by whom he had been entertained, a Woman that had broke her Conjugal Faith formerly with him, and finding, as she did not shame to tell him, Gregor, Tur. & his great abilities that way to fatisfie her Appetite, came for that very purpose, that she might still cohabite with him. To this Relation Fredegarius and Aimonius add a Story of the shapes of several Beasts, as Lions, Unicorns, Leopards, Bears, Wolves, Dogs, and leffer forts of Animals, feen by Childerick on his Wedding night, with the Interpretation made by Basina, upon which account Trithemias calls her a Witch, although the Flemmings at this day call a wife and provident Woman by the name of Basinne, and diminutively Basinneke. But after his Restitution Childerick, to make amends for his former Loosness and Injuries offered to his Subjects, pursued the Wars with all alacrity and vigour. Baronius, out of Ad An. 456 the Acts of St. Genonefue; relates how the City of Paris being long belieged by the Franks, the People oppressed with Famine were miraculously relieved by that Virgin; yet they took the City, and therein Childerick placed his Royal Seat. Sige- A.D. 475. bert writes, that the Frank's invaded Gall, not so much to plunder and spoil, as now to make it their perpetual Habitation, took Colonia Agrippina, or Coloine, having put to flight Ægidius the Roman Captain, and flain a great number of the Romans. Rocico the Monk adds, that Childerick at this time fell upon the same City, which after too much flaughter made, he fubdued, being then governed by Ægidius the Roman, who, not able to refult fuch a Force, betook himself to flight, and so escaped the rage and fury of the King. Both these Historians farther tell us, that the Franks proceeding, befreged and took Triers, fituate upon the Mosselle, at which 4.D. 476. time Ægidius, the Tyrant of the Romans, as the Monk calls him, died, and Siagrius his Son, in the City Suessio, was advanced to his Father's Throne.

25. The Year following Childerick, with his Army, marched as far as Aurelia, or Orleance, which having with too much cruelty wasted all the Countrey about Signer. it, at length he took it, and pursuing his Victory all along the Loire, as far as Gregor. Rocico. the Mouth of the River Meduana, on which stands the City Andeganus, or Anjou, Paper the year following he took it in also, and burnt it, putting to the Sword Paulus, a

Count and Governour of the Town. Rocico tells us, that there he defigned to have met with Adonagrius, General of the Saxons, who had taken and hazarded the City, but he fled away by boat, and left Paulus to keep the City, who therefore thus perished in his Stead. Yet from Sigebert it appears, that Childerick this same year made a League with this faid Captain of the Saxons, whom he calls Andorackrius, both of them together subdued the Alemans. Gregory adds, that Odoacrius made a League with Childerick, and that they subdued the Alemans, who had invaded part of Italy, which Alemanni fome think no other than the Alani, being Gallo Germans, who in the time of Tacitus inhabited betwixt the Rhine and Danow, afterward passing over the River, infested Gallia Belgica with their frequent Inrodes. Rocico the Monk tells us for a conclusion, that Childerick, desirous to return to his own House, or the City of the Ambiani, was taken with a Fever, and left his Kingdom to Clodoneus his Son. But he omits his last Expedition, mentioned both by Gregory and Sigebert. Having reigned twenty four Years, as Aimonius computeth, he died in his Return, at Ternacum, or Tourney, and was buried there on the left hand of the military way, leading to the Town, at one hundred and fifty foot distance from the faid way, towards the North, and fix hundred from the nearest Eastern Bank of the River Scheld, being interred according to the Roman Custome, which required, that betwixt the Sepulchre and the Highway should be left a spot of Ground facred

and rare, that it cannot be passed over without some significant and special Remarks. 26. The City of Tourney is divided into two by the River Schelde, which also An account of the Diocele of Cambrey from that of the Atrobates and Tourney. On the fide minute of his of Cambrey Diocele are three eminent Parishes, of St. John, St. Nicholas, and of Anglishis childer. St. Brixius, standing betwirt them both, most large and considerable, whereof ring per chiffeinthe Parson Pattus perceiving the House of the Treasurer, and the Alms-house of um Ammeria, the Parish, which stood near the Church-Yard, and his own House, to be very ruinous, after he had taken advice with the Æditici, or Churchwardens, resolved to

to the Dii Manes, just so many foot large, as that betwixt this and the military

way. But for the proof of the place of his Sepulture, we have an Argument fo notable

Sect. 2. pull it down, and build up another stronger and upon more deep Foundations. In the Year 1653. the twenty seventh day of May, at three of the Clock in the Afternoon, when they had digged to the depth of feven Foot, or more, lighting of a kind of a stony Rock, there was found a Button of Gold, and presently after a bundle as it were of rotten Leather, wherein were contained more than one hundred Golden Coins, by one Hadrian Quinquinus, a Labourer both deaf and dumb, who by his inarticulate Voice and Gestures, called as well as he could the Neighbours together. Pattus with two of the Wardens came to the place, with intention to feize on the Treasure for the use of the Church, and furthering the building. There they found moreover about two hundred Silver Roman Coins fo eaten with Rust, that they could not be read, and therefore were afterward lost, no reckoning being made of them. Many pieces of Iron almost all consumed with Age, and the moissure of the Ground. Two skulls, whereof one of a larger size, together with the bones of an humane Skeleton. Then within a matter of five Foot farther, many other things of Art and value; as a Sword, that at the first handling it fell into pieces, with the Hilt and Scabbard, Estines, or a Case of writing Instruments, the Head of an Oke, with about three hundred Bees (many more it's Conjectured, being carried away amongst the Rubbish) a Bodkin, Buttons, Clasps, Nails, Plates, and Bosses all of Gold, and set with an infinite number of Rubies. besides the Skull of an Horse. And that without which, neither the Age nor Perfon, whom they concerned could ever have been known, the Golden Ring of Childerick, King of the Franks, and therein his Image and Name ingraven.

27. The Golden Coyns were of Valentinian, Marcian, Leo, Zeno, Bafilifcus and Marcus. But the newest was that of Zeno, in the seventh Year of whom, or there about, died Childerick the first, so that his must be the Grave and Relicks, the Subject of this ftory. Besides these, were found an Axe, or Hatchet of War, by Chissletius called the King's Francesca, which lay behind him, together with his Franea, or a kind of Dart ; a piece of an Horse-shoe of Iron, another Gold Ring, a Crystal-Ball as big as those of the Tennis-Court, an Oxehead of Gold (being the King's Idol) and the top of his Swords-hilt, wherein is to be feen a double Calves-head, a Golden Cafe for the Hilt, a piece of an Agate-Cup, with Several other things, of very great Curiofity. The Treasure was presented to Arch-Duke Leopoldus Guilielmus then Governour of the Low-Countries, for the King of Spain; who giving to the poor of the place more than the value thereof, with reward to the poor Man, who first discovered it, commanded Chiffletius to make what Observations he could upon the particulars, and commit his Remarks upon fo eminent and noble a Subject to Pofterity. This he hath done in his Anastasis Childerici, or Resurrection of Childerick : a Book furnished with much Good, and various, sometimes impertinent Learning, out of which, it; will not be amiss for us to make some Observations, which may tend to the Illustration of the Subject in hand; the knowledge of these most dark and confused times, and the farther not impertinent Information of the Reader, to whom perhaps it may be some Recreation after these knotty Disquisitions.

28. That it was a Custome of old time, to bury Treasure and much Riches with Kings, and great Persons; the Histories of David, of Cyrus, and many other Princes do abundantly testifie, although Ulpian telleth us, that Ornaments ought not to be buried with Bodies; the Designment of such things by Will being of no Force, and Null by the Civil Law. That as well Christians as Heathens, have Lib. 14.5 f. been wont to bury their Dead in very rich Clothes, the Confent of all Antiquity, Recipitate notwithstanding the Law, doth sufficiently evince. Kings and Souldiers were burning of freeried in Purple, as Childerick in a Robe of Gold, wrought upon purple Silk, as did lien, 113. f. Fin. appear by what remains were found in his Grave; which time and moisture had de legalin. not altogether caused to change their Colour. Upon his Signet or Gold Ring, is his Image ingraved, having very long Hair, and large, lying upon both his Shoulders, holding in his Right hand a Dart. The Inscription Childirici Regis, not in Gothick but Roman Letters; a certain Note, whose Ring it was, and to what times it belonged, even those wherein the Roman Elegancies, good Arts and Sculpture amongst the rest were not as yet abolished, although remitting much from its ancient Perfection; G. in the word Regis being changed into S. The writing of Childiricke was of old used, as well as Childerick, as of Sigibertus, for Sigebertus. I having so much affinity with E, that as Varro acknowledgeth, the Ancients were wont to make use of them indifferently. Neither ought the Ring to be suspected, because the Inscription is in Roman Characters: For the French Kings of the first Race were skilled in the Latin Tongue; as it appears in Theodomeres one of the number, the Son of Richimeres, and Afila, expressed in a Golden Coyn, published

by Paulus Petavius with this Inscription, Teudome Rex of the very same Character, as Sect. 2. this of Childerick. Clodonaus the first, Clotarius the first were both of them Learned in the Roman Language, and of the latter Petavius published also a Golden Coyn, on which was twice inscribed Chlotarius Rex. The like instance might be made in several others.

29. Indeed granting that to be true, which both Gregory Turonensis and Aimonius write, concerning Chilperick, the first, his adding four new Letters to those for Lib. 5. 6.44 merly used, and Chamongst the rest, the King with its Inscription might justly be Lib. 3. 6.14. suspected, Childerick being Great Grandsather to him, by whom those four should be invented, and therefore his Name written Hilderick, the Ch not being as yet in use. But who can be so ridiculously credulous, to believe that Chilperick brought these Letters first into the World, which are manifestly taken from the Greek Alphabet, and were then in use amongst the Romans? from whom perhaps, Chilperick might fo far take them as to Communicate them, to the Orthography of the Vulgar French, for as well that, as other barbarous Northern Nations, might be very deficient in Characters and Writing. But to fay, or imagine that those amongst them who understood Latin, could not use Ch before his time is more than Extravagant. Therefore, in a Golden Coyn of Chlotarius the Father of Chilperick, is twice ingraven Chlorarius Rex. None that are Learned in the Greek and Latine Tongues, but must needs take notice of the great difference in their Writing, and pronouncing the Roman Names of Men and Places; for each Language hath its particular Genius and Idiome, not onely of Phrase, but Pronunciation also, to express which, Letters are or ought to be adopted as near as possible. The Name of Childerick is German. Huldas, Aventine tells us, is Love; Hulderick, Love In Nomenclatura of a Kingdom, or Rich in Love; or, as Hadrianus Junius interprets it, Rich in Suffrage, Hulden being the same, as to Grace with ones Suffrage; the Letter C being Eu. His. Bat. cap. Jrage, ramaen using the latter, as to trace with ones suppring; the Letter to Being Line 23, phonize gratia added to H. But whom the Ancient Saxons named Hylderick, the Celtæ called Childerick, and thence might the Romans take it, as more agreeable to their Pronunciation. Therefore, not onely Gregory Turonensis writes Childerick and Chilperick, for Hilderick and Hilperick, as Chuni for Huni; but Claudian

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31. But amongst the other Rarities presented to the Arch-Duke, was there an Image of the Head of an Oxe of pure Gold, whereof the Eyes, Noftrils and Horns were decked with Rubies. The Brain-pan was hollow and open, having a cover-

Sect. 2. pull it down, and build up another stronger and upon more deep Foundations. In the Year 1653, the twenty seventh day of May, at three of the Clock in the Afternoon, when they had digged to the depth of feven Foot, or more, lighting of a kind of a stony Rock, there was found a Button of Gold, and presently after a bundle as it were of rotten Leather, wherein were contained more than one hundred Golden Coins, by one Hadrian Quinquinus, a Labourer both deaf and dumb, who by his inarticulate Voice and Gestures, called as well as he could the Neighbours together. Pattus with two of the Wardens came to the place, with intention to feize on the Treasure for the use of the Church, and furthering the building. There they found moreover about two hundred Silver Roman Coins fo eaten with Rust, that they could not be read, and therefore were afterward lost, no reckoning being made of them. Many pieces of Iron almost all consumed with Age, and the moisture of the Ground. Two skulls, whereof one of a larger size, together with the bones of an humane Skeleton. Then within a matter of five Foot farther, many other things of Art and value; as a Sword, that at the first handling it fell into pieces, with the Hilt and Scabbard, Estines, or a Case of writing Instruments, the Head of an Oke, with about three hundred Bees (many more it's Conjectured, being carried away amongst the Rubbish) a Bodkin, Buttons, Clasps, Nails, Plates, and Bosses all of Gold, and set with an infinite number of Rubies, besides the Skull of an Horse. And that without which, neither the Age nor Perfon, whom they concerned could ever have been known, the Golden Ring of Childerick, King of the Franks, and therein his Image and Name ingraven.

27. The Golden Coyns were of Valentinian, Marcian, Leo, Zeno, Bahlifcus and Marcus. But the newest was that of Zeno, in the seventh Year of whom, or there about, died Childerick the first, so that his must be the Grave and Relicks, the Subject of this ftory. Besides these, were found an Axe, or Hatchet of War, by Chissletius called the King's Francesca, which lay behind him, together with his Framea, or a kind of Dart ; a piece of an Horfe-shoe of Iron, another Gold Ring, a Crystal-Ball as big as those of the Tennis-Court, an Oxehead of Gold (being the King's Idol) and the top of his Swords-hilt, wherein is to be feen a double Calves-head, a Golden Cafe for the Hilt, a piece of an Agate-Cup, with Several other things, of very great Curiofity. The Treasure was presented to Arch-Duke Leopoldus Guilielmus then Governour of the Low-Countries, for the King of Spain; who giving to the poor of the place more than the value thereof, with reward to the poor Man, who first discovered it, commanded Chiffletius to make what Observations he could upon the particulars, and commit his Remarks upon fo eminent and noble a Subject to Posterity. This he hath done in his Anastasis Childerici, or Resurrection of Childerick; a Book furnished with much Good, and various, sometimes impertinent Learning, out of which, it will not be amiss for us to make some Observations, which may tend to the Illustration of the Subject in hand; the knowledge of these most dark and confused times, and the farther not impertinent Information of the Reader, to whom perhaps it may be some Recreation after these knotty Disquisitions.

28. That it was a Custome of old time, to bury Treasure and much Riches with Kings, and great Persons; the Histories of David, of Cyrus, and many other Princes do abundantly testifie, although Ulpian telleth us, that Ornaments ought not to be buried with Bodies; the Delignment of fuch things by Will being of no Force, and Null by the Civil Law. That as well Christians as Heathens, have Lib. 14. f. de been wont to bury their Dead in very rich Clothes, the Consent of all Antiquity, Religions of the Consent of th notwithstanding the Law, doth sufficiently evince. Kings and Souldiers were bu ribus & forces ried in Purple, as Childerick in a Robe of Gold, wrought upon purple Silk, as did lien, 113 frim appear by what remains were found in his Grave; which time and moisture had de legatif. I. not altogether caused to change their Colour. Upon his Signet or Gold Ring, is his Image ingraved, having very long Hair, and large, lying upon both his Shoulders, holding in his Right hand a Dart. The Inscription Childirici Regis, not in Gothick but Roman Letters; a certain Note, whose Ring it was, and to what times it belonged, even those wherein the Roman Elegancies, good Arts and Sculpture amongst the rest were not as yet abolished, although remitting much from its ancient Perfection; G. in the word Regis being changed into S. The writing of Childiricke was of old used, as well as Childerick, as of Sigibertus, for Sigebertus. I having so much affinity with E, that as Varro acknowledgeth, the Ancients were wont to make use of them indifferently. Neither ought the Ring to be suspected, because the Inscription is in Roman Characters: For the French Kings of the first Race were skilled in the Latin Tongue; as it appears in Theodomeres one of the number, the Son of Richimeres, and Afila, expressed in a Golden Coyn, published

by Paulus Petavius with this Inscription, Teudome Rex of the very same Character, as Sect. 2. this of Childerick. Clodonæus the first, Clotarius the first were both of them Learned in the Roman Language, and of the latter Petavius published also a Golden Coyn, on which was twice inscribed Chlotarius Rex. The like instance might be made in several others.

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alfo, Aufonius, Sidonius and Prosper.

30. As for the long Hair, which Chilperick wore, as his Image cut in his Seal represents him; the Reader must know it was the Custome of the Noblemen, Claudian in laud. amongft the Franks or Sicambri to use that Fashion, which was utterly unlawfull Stitleont Gree, for the Vulgar fort. The Romans when they took any of them, cut off their long Torm lib. 2. yellow Hair, and fent them to the Women for new Fashions, which must needs be a 18. a great affliction to them, confidering that by the Salick Law, no less a mulc than Tit. 28. 5. 2. a great affiction to their, common great afficted, on any one that should Poll any Boy In. carm. 5, two hundred and fifty Denarii were inflicted, on any one that should Poll any Boy In. carm. 5, without the Knowledge and Consent of his Parents. But their Beards were as short vidente was their hair was long, being close shaved off, as Sidonia the Poet described them. The probability of the p The Spear which he holds in his Right hand, was not onely for War, but betokened rantur petitine Dominion and Empire; it appearing from Gregory, Aimoinus and others, that the crifts. Kings used the delivery of it, as a sign of Investiture (being indeed the same with Orlow Frisingensia, the ancient Sceptre) to which succeeded amongst the German Emperours, a Sword Ib. 2. c. 5. for Kingdoms, and a Banner for Provinces. As to the fashion of the Signet it self, Kings before the use of Arms on Shields, according to the present Custome, were wont to fign and Seal with several Impresses and Representations. The ancient Persian Kings used the Image of the present King, say some, others of Cyrus, and others say of Thurid. Interior. the Horse of Darius, which got him the Kingdom by Neighing. Alexander the Great, as writes Curtius, sealed such Letters as were sent into Europe, with an old Lib. 6.c. 11. King, such as were for Afia, with that of Darius. Scylla caused to be Ingraven in his Ring the Image of Jugurtha, whom he had Conquered. Augustus Casar at first Platerch. Sealed with a Sphynx, and when he perceived that gave occasion of Discourse, with the Image of Alexander, and at last with his own (cut by Dioscorides) which Sueton. last Fashion was followed by his Successours. Yet Galba broke the Custome, Sealing Dio, lib. 51. with his Paternal device of a Dog looking from the Deck of a Ship. And Commodus with his Paternal device of a Dog woring from the Deets of a boxp. And commons capitalinas in tells Clodius Albinus, that he should receive his Letters sealed with the Seal of Chain. Amazonia; the ancient Kings of the Franks wore their own Images in their Rings, representing onely the Head and part of the Breast, by the Romans called Effigies Thoracatus, and Ποσομιας Βασιλικώς, by the Greeks. Such is this of King Childerick, and a later of Chilperick his great Grandson, having after the Fashion of those of the Eastern Emperours, their Breast-plates adorned as it were with Gemms.

31. But amongst the other Rarities presented to the Arch-Duke, was there an Image of the Head of an Oxe of pure Gold, whereof the Eyes, Nostrils and Horns were decked with Rubies. The Brain-pan was hollow and open, having a cover,

and the whole pervious and hollow, as far as the Throat for the receiving (it's probable) of Wine or other Liquors for Adoration. On the cover was a Button, either for to hang on it Magical Toys, for Garlands, Flowers, or the like Gifts, or Offerings. This hung on the Forehead of his Horse, being fastened to the Headstall, from which Pattus the Priest loosed it, and was indeed the King's Idol, and Companion in his Warlike expeditions. For the Franks were at this time Pagans (or Gefla Reg. Fran-Fanaticks, as an ancient Authour calls them) using various forts of Images and corner Representations; and amongst others, it seems this of an Oxe, which whether they had it from the Egyptian Custome of worshipping the Bull Apis, or each People received it from a more general abuse of Religion, at the dispersion of Nations as some conceive, is not fit in this place to be discussed. Chiffletius observes, that after Christianity came amongst them; they were yet much addicted to this fort of Animal, being wont to be drawn by them in Chariots, which Custome yet continues amongst the Inhabitants of Taxandria or Brabant, where the most ancient Franks first seated themselves. He conceives the Idol to be hung at the Forehead of the Horse out of a Religious humour, which Tacitus long agoe observed to be in the Lib. de mariba Germans (Predecessiours and Progenitours of the Franks) who attributed much Germanum. unto the Neighings, or various noise made by Horses, taking thence their presages, and counting no Auspicium, fo certain and infallible. But as the Horse his Face was adorned with this Idol of an Oxes Head, so his trappings with a number of Bees of the same Metal; there being betwixt the Natures of Bees and Oxen, so great affinity, that as Naturalists unanimously agree, Bees are generated out of the corrupted Carkasses of Oxen, and as both Bernardinus Gemesses, and Kircher have ob- its vision, the ferved in several Drones, which in their Entrails retain something which manifestly bolding land. bears the shape of the Idol of Childerick. All those Bees were of one bigness, weighing each thirty fix Grains of pure Gold, having none of a larger fize, or Kings amongst them, which Office Childerick defired alone, and without any Representation of a Competitour to enjoy, whilst the little Bees expressed the duty of loving and obe-

32. Hereby seasonably, as Chiffletius judgeth, may be determined that Question fo much of late debated, and by none Satisfactorily determined, viz. What were the Arms of the ancient French Kings ? Guaguinus tells us, that it was a constant In Chalman Report continued to his time, that three Toads were born by them in their Armour, which Papirius Massonus also confesseth; but affirms the opinion to be grounded Lib. 3. Annal. upon no Authority. Nicolaus Gillius reports, that Clodonæus the first bore in his In Clodones. Escutcheon three Crescents, which at length he rejected and exchanged for Lilies, but he who lived the last Age is not at all to be heeded, relating a thing which happened one thousand one hundred Years before, without some Teltimony of Antiquity to back him. In like manner, Paulus Emilius tells us a story of Cladenaus, who being to be Baptized, initead of three red Diadems, which he bore in a White shield whilst he was Pagan, took Lilies, which hath no more Foundation in Antiquity than the former. Neither were Lilies then born by the ancient French Kings. First, because as now they are the Arms of France, they are Golden, which Colour is not natural unto Lilies, envied by Venus her felf for their Whiteness. Again a Lily confifts of fix Leaves, these of France but of three; and lastly, none of these Kings used them, for a smuch as Duchesne, Historiographer to the French King, confessed in a Letter to Chiffletius, that he could not observe Lilies in any Seal of the French Kings before Philip Augustus. Upon this Account, those both of the Line of Meroneus, and Charles the Great are excluded, to whom those Lilies in their Tombs are falfly ascribed, which gave Peireskius just occasion, as well as other Circumstances, to Quarrel with the Tombs of Clodonaus at St. Genonefue, and Chilperick at St. Germans, and to esteem so little of those at St. Denis; that he thought all those most ancient Monuments to have been built at the same time, and not long before the Reign of St. Lewis. Fauchet Conjectures, that the first Heralds that invented the Coat Armour of the Franks, intending to denote their Original from the Sicambri, who inhabited the Fenns of Freisland, toward Holland, Zeland and Guelderland, gave their Kings the flower Fanilea or Iris (being a little Lily of a yellow Colour, which groweth in Marsh Grounds, and flourishing in May or June) in a blew Field imitating water, which when it stands still acquireth the Colour of the Skies. But not to speak of Geography, which gives to the Franks, as we have seen, dry Ground as well as Marshes; Chiffletius rejects this flower partly, because there is of it no mention in Antiquity. Especially, for what he discovered in the Grave Profit. ad Tailof Childerick. Renatus Ceriferius, would have them to have been the Head of a tum Franciscon. Spear, which afterwards came to be changed for its similitude into Lilies: But he

CHAP. I. Contemporary with the Const. Roman Empire. Clodonæus. brings no Authours on his fide, and confounds the Spear or Framea, with the Fran-

cisca of the Franks.

33. Having taken so much pains to tell what they were not, at length, he concludes what the Arms were. viz, No other but Bees, wherewith the trappings of Childerick his Horse were all over garnished, as I remember I have seen at Paris, in the Church of Nostre Dame the Horse of St. Lewis, (who at the upper end of the Body of the Church, hath there his Statue on Horse-back at the Right hand, as one goes toward the Quire,) just so bestowed, and set out with Lilies. His main Argument is taken from Childerick's Horse. The Bees he conceives did at length degenerate into Lilies, for more Reasons than one. First, because the Lilies of France as they are painted, are not much unlike Bees, especially such as are found in the old Coins of the Ephefians, and Delphians, which have their Wings fo long and stretching out, that together with the Tail, they make a Figure much refembling the shape of the Modern French Lily. As many Lilies were born, and in uncertain numbers, by the French Kings deficended from High Capet, fo many Bees were found in the Grave of Childerick. The Lilies of France are Effe apibus par Golden, fo these Bees of pure and shining Gold. The Lilies you must know, im thints mow were accounted of Celestial Original by the Vulgar, and Bees are not derived from Exterior Marce. inferiour Pedegree, by those Heralds the Poets. These Flowers De lis, (as we English must call them, because the French do) are blazoned in a blew Azure field, which is the Element or Camp of our Bees, who exercise themselves continually in the Air. A Bee you know gathers Honey; to which Pliny gives grand Epithetes. and which is also of a yellow or Golden Colour. A Lily is a Royal flower, and fo is a Bee a Royal (what shall I call it) Insect. But that we may tell the Reader, how by degrees the Arms, or Devices of France came to be changed; he must know, that Bees were thus in repute with Childerick, and Clodonæus his Son, till fuch time as he turned Christian, which was, A. D. 496. Though the story hath gone, that he then rejected the Toads, and exchanged them for Lilies. From this time Chiffletius guesseth, he and his Son Clotharius, used no other Image or Reprefentation, than that of the Cross, for in a Golden Coin of this Clotharius, which Paulus Petavius (as Gassendus telleth us) received from Peireskius and published. which also Chiffletius in his Vindicia Hispanica hath exemplified; there is to be seen on one fide his own Image, and on the other a Cross. The Kings of the fecond race used no other Symbolum in their Seals, nor Monuments. As for the third, Fau- In Originibus. chet writes, that he could not make any certain Observation, of any Lilies used before Lewis the Grofs, in whose Reign, or a little before those Ensigns called Arms began to be Hereditary. This Lewis began his Reign in the Year 1108. and the Crusado, or expedition into the Holy Land (from which Families derive their Arms, or Énsigns of distinction) was undertaken in the Year 1096. At which time Chiffletius imagines, that unskilfull Heralds being to give Arms to the French King, painted the Bees fo ill-favouredly, that they represented Toads, as well as that for which they were defigned: Fauchet produceth indeed an old Coat Armour, wherein Lilies were so badly painted, that one might take them as well for Toads as Flowers. At length Philip Augustus, who travelled to Jerusalem, A.D. 1190. First took the Lilies into his Coat Armour, but many in number of so late standing are the French Lilies, which were afterward reduced to the number of three in the Reign of Charles the Sixth, who departed this Life in the Year of our

34. To fpeak briefly of the other remaining Rarities; the Style or Pin, wherewith he wrote was of Steel, fuch as the Ancients used to write with in Tables, covered over with Wax. It was quite confumed in its Golden case, to which Chifflet procured another to be fitted, and affirms it was not onely ferviceable for writing, but for stabbing also, if need should require; this Graphium or Stylus, having been too often employed in such Service, as appears from the Roman Story. The Graphiarium, or Case, was all of pure Gold, not sparkling with Gemms, as the other Royal Ornaments; but ingraven all over with little Croffes, upon which Account, fecing the King himfelf was a Pagan, Chifflet conjectureth it was given him by St. Genonefue, the Patroness of Paris, a Virgin much honoured by him, and for whose fake as the Legend tells the story, he remitted the Sentence of Death to several Offenders. From the keeping of the Graphium, he thinks the Grafiones or Graves, which Answer the greater forts of Counts to have been denominated. But the Pugillares, or Diptycba (when confifting but of two Leaves) or Tables on which he wrote, were confumed by time and moilture, onely the Gold cafe remaining, wherein they were fet. Sometimes these Tables were of Box, sometimes of

CHAP. I.

Sect. 2. Ivory, or other choicer Stuff. According to the Wealth and Quality of the

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35. It was the Custome for the Arms of Princes and great men to be Burnt or Buried with them, as appears from Cyrus Eptiasftion and others, and Tacitus witneffeth particularly concerning the German Nation. Which gave occasion since the days of Christianity, to the setting up of Coats Armours upon Graves, and fixing them unto Herses, and daubing or hanging the Walls of Churches with them, as is extravagantly practized in the Low Countries, the Provinces of Holland especially. Accordingly with Childerick was Buried his Sword, the Steel whereof all fell apeices, but was discovered to be about two feet and an half in length, having onely one Edge, as intended to Cut and not to Stab. The Gold and sparkling Gemms which adorned the Scabbard, and Hilt remained intire, weighing twelve ounces and two drachms. Befides this Sword which had a Golden Hilt adorned with Gemms, fo as to make it futable to the Scabbard, there was the head or Iron of a Battle Axe very much eaten with rust, three parts of a foot long, and half as broad, the figure whereof as of all the rest of those things, Chifflet caused to be cut in Copper and stamped in his Book. This Axe or Hatchet was by the Spaniards called Francisca from the Franks their using of it, as Isidore of Hispalis affirms, be- Lib. 18, cap. 5. ing called Francisca or Francica in the same sense, as in the Acts of a certain Council, Charles the Bald, Emperour, is said to have come in a Golden Robe All. Convil. Pos. cil, Charles the Bald, Emperour; is 1810 to 1810 could in a Council toward All. Could parter the French fashion, Habity Francisca, with the Legates of the Apostolick See, 1820-1816. Most Authours in describing the Francisca make it a Bipennis or two-edged, and 1810, 1623 their Authority is of such weight, some of them being capable of seeing them with their Eyes, that we can little doubt of their Testimony. Yet this of Childerick was Bipennis professional Axe, so that we must believe the Franks used two forts of this Weapon, Seein 1820 the Children Country of the State o a plant Axe, to that we that the best of the state of the both of Framea and Hasta, describing it accordingly to have been a short kind of set its acrise at Spear, with a narrow and light Iron, but so sharp and convenient, that they could something the fight either Cominus or Eminus with it as they saw occasion. So that Pontanus special comments of the Cominus of Eminus with it as they saw occasion. was grofly mistaken, imagining the Framea to be the same thing with the mes vel emissa

36. As it was a Custome for great Persons to have their Arms buried with them, Servine in Vigil. fo also their Horses and Grooms, sometimes their Wives with other Servants and Earls, Elin, Cylin, Eds. Attendants, as is clear in the Story of the Indians, Scythians, Galls, Danes and Ger-Gillib mans. With Childerick was Buried his Bucephalus, whom it pleaseth Chifflet so to cius de moriba name, not because he had the figure of an Oxe-head upon his Shoulder as he of Alex-German. ander, but bore on his forehead his Master's Idol. The bones of his Head and Jaws were remaining, with a Shoe of Iron almost confumed, yet entire at the first view, which shewed his Feet to have been none of the biggest. And besides the Golden Bees formerly mentioned, fo many Golden plates and boffes were found belonging to his Bridle and Trappings, as discover them to have been exceedingly Royal and Magnificent, which the Relatour thinks defigned rather out of respect to the Idol than the Rider. But the Bones of the Horse discovered abundantly, what Man's skull the other was found with that of the King, it being the Custome to have the Groom as well as the Horse, either Burnt or Buried with his Master. The Groom of Childerick was very young, as appeareth by his skull compared with the King's. Princes being wont to have such small attendants upon their Stables, (perhaps onely as Pages of the Stirrup for they could not doe the work.) In a certain Diptyck of Ivory belonging to the Cathedral of St. Lambert in Leige, wherein is described Saminanus or Sabinianus the Comes Domesticorum Equitum, and Ordinary Consul in the year 505, under Anastasius, are also drawn to the Life two little Dwarfish Grooms leading out of the Stable the Emperour's Horses, and below them other five of the same Stature, amongst whom two having their hands bound behind them, and an Horse-shoe or something of that Nature hanging at their Noses or Mouths. The whole Description of them is to be seen in a Brass Catt in Chiffletius his Book.

37. The Buckles, Clasps or Buttons belonging to the Ornaments of the Horse expressed in Latine by the word Fibulæ, were of pure Gold and set thick with Rubies and other Gemms, an Honour peculiar to Sovereign Princes. M. Brutus of Plin. iib. 33old complained that Tribunes were so luxurious then as to wear Golden Fibulæ. cap. 3-Aurelian the Emperour was the first that gave common Souldiers leave to wear Volley. them of Gold, whereas formerly they had onely used those of Silver. Leo the Em- cod. lib. 11.

perour forbad the wearing of Pearl and Jacinths in Bridles, Saddles, or Girdles, Sect. 2 but permitted fingle Fibulæ of Gold to be worn by private persons, with this caution, that what was Sacred as he terms it to his use and Ornament, they should not dare to imitate. Joannes Rhodius complains that of the ancient Roman Fibulæ none could be found but those of Brass, and those also very rare, onely Pancirollus tells us of a Golden one he faw, the figure whereof was fent to Charles Emanuel Duke of Savoy. In the East the fingle Golden ones were peculiar to Princes and very great men, as appears by the privilege granted to Simon the High Priest by Demetrius to be Clothed in Purple and to use a Golden Fibula, as Jonathan had received the same privilege from Alexander and Antiochus. The ancient Fibula of the Romans was without an Hook, refembling a kind of a Bow to which a Bodkin made a String: But those of Childerick though various in shape, yet for the most part imitate the Modern ones in the Hook, and the Ring into which it is inferted. Had Pancirollus lived to see this Treasure, he would have been sensible how much Light might thence have been obtained for clearing of the thing formuch controverted. They were so many of them and so massie, that altogether they weighed 17 ounces of Gold. The form of them is very well reprefented in the Book of Chifflet, neither the space of 1200 years, nor the moisture of the place, having at all corrupted the substance of the Gold, nor changed the lively and sparkling Colour of the Gemms. The Crystal ball found in the Grave, he thinks was used by the King in his Sickness, a virtue being ascribed to those Balls by Naturalists of refreshing and cooling the hands of those that lie sick of acute Fevers. But we have made too long a Digression.

Contemporary with the Const. Roman Empire. Clodonaus.

SECT. III.

From the Death of Childerick, and the Promotion of Clodonæus the first Christian King, to the Ruine of his Family, or of those called the Meroningians.

The space of two hundred fixty four years.

O Childerick succeeded Clodonæus his Son, begotten on Basina, and the Heir of his Courage as well as his Kingdom, being by fome called Hludonicus, and by others Hlodowicus, Ludovicus, and Luduin, according to the diversity of Nations and Dialects, in the eleventh year of the Emperour Zeno, the ninth of Odoacer King of Italy, the second of Fælix the Roman Bishop, A. D. 484, Theodorich King of the Goths, and Venantius being Confuls.

2. Clodonaus not onely filled Gall with the fame of his Atchievements, but affrigh. Venantio Coss. ted all Europe by the Noise of his successfull Arms. Gall was at this time held by four several Nations, all which Lorded it over the poor Natives, viz. the Romans, Goths, Burgundians and Franks. He efteeming it a thing below him, and unworthy of his Progenitours, to content himfelf with what their Valour had devolved upon him, refolved to raife his Name as high as their Renown by new Conquests.

Rikes Warwish The Romans he thought fit to begin withall, because their Power now seemed utter-In the Romans ne thought fit to begin without, occasionated Fower how reclied states by decayed, and upon the Invation of Italy and these Western Provinces, the Practice feel practorio kept to themselves such Cities as they had formerly Commanded. neglib. 2.c.29; Having drawn in Chararichus and Ragnacharius his Kinsmen, and petty Princes of Amonia, I. 1s, the Franks, in the fifth year of his Reign he marched against Syagrius' the Roman, who held the City of Suession own called Soissons and provoked him to Battel, who not at all difinayed with the terrour of fo great a force as Clodoneus brought along with him, came forth and Ingaged, but had the fortune though he fought most valiantly to be overthrown, and fled for fuccour to Tholoufe, to Alaricus King of the Goths, who overcome with the threats of Clodonaus, delivered him up into his

Overthrows the

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Hands, and he caused him presently to be beheaded. Then did the Victorious King Sect. 3. Hanos, and he cannot man process, and inlarged his Territories as far fubdue Soiffons with the other Towns adjacent, and inlarged his Territories as far And drives them as the River Loire, the Romans being utterly dispossessed of and driven out of Gall, their Dominion over which Countrey now received its period, after it lasted from the time of Julius Cæsar, his first Invasion about 546 years, in the year of our

Lord 488 or 489, Probinus and Eufebius being Confuls.

could fland affected to the Match.

3. But amongst the Allies and Associates of Clodoneus, Chararicus is said as solicitous about the event to have carried himself rather as Neuter in this War, though Gra, Lacea, descended of the same Stock with the King. For at this time there were several and Reguli of the Franks, who Reigned in Gallia Belgica called Austrasia, and Francia Orientalis, as that Countrey, now called France, was known by the name of Francia Occidentalis; of these Sigebert had his Seat at Coleine, Ragnacharius at Cambray, and Chararicus in fome other place, which it feems they held as Appendages, being descended of the bloud Royal, and acknowledging Clodonæus for their Superiour. Conquers the He having finished the War with Syagrius and unwilling to lie idle, fell upon the Thuringi, and in the tenth year of his Reign forced them to receive his Commands. And in this same year he Married Clothildis or Crotildes, the Niece of Gundebaldus King of the Burgundians, of whom he fell inamoured upon this occasion. He fent Aimpoint, lib. 1. on a time his Ambassadours to the Court of the Burgundian to establish a Peace, c. 13. who whilst they made their abode there, took much notice of a Maid that dwelt in the Palace, whom they observed to be extraordinary both for beauty and for deportment. They inquire who she is, and have answer it is the King's Niece, who takes care of her Education, her Parents being Dead. The Ambassadours returning, tell the King they have done all they had in Commission, and fall into large Commendations concerning the Maid, affirming her a Person worthy of the greatest Monarch living. He is hereupon fmitten, falling in love with her he never faw. and withall hoping by a Marriage with her fo to order his matters, as to make himself King of Burgundy; he sends one Aurelianus to take more notice of her, and upon liking richly to present her, to Wooe her for him, and to know how she

> 4. Aurelian being entred Burgundy, and drawing near to the Court, Commands his followers to hide themselves in the adjoyning Woods. He Clothes himself with the Rags of a Beggar, and goes to make trial if he could speak with Clothildis, who was gone to Church, it being then the Lord's Day. He amongst other Beggars stands and expects her coming out, and when Service was done, out she came to give her Alms to the Poor. She reaches money to Aurelianus, who lays hold on her Hand, and uncovering it makes as if he would kiss it. Hereat she is oflended, and going into the Palace, fends for the Beggar and exposulates with him for his fauciness, who giving her no answer to this Demand, takes the opportunity to doe his Message, telling her that his Master the King of the Franks hearing of her excellent Vertues, defired her in Marriage, and he goes to shew her his Ring and the other Presents, but turning about finds that his Bag wherein he conveyed them, and which he had laid behind the Dore was stoln from him. But inquiry being made, the Bag was found and restored to him as a Stranger, out of which he then takes the Presents, which receiving she made him this answer. It is not lawfull for a Woman that is a Christian to Marry a Pagan, but if Almighty God be pleased so to order it, that I may be a means to bring him to an acknowledgment of his Creatour, 1 refuse not but submit to his pleasure. Aurelian answered there was no doubt but the King would comply with her, and thereupon she defired himthat all might be concealed from her Uncle. He returns and gives his King an account of his success, who is more and more inamoured of her by all Reports he receives, and the more because the Kingdom of Burgundy he had already swallowed in his hopes. He sends, and by his Ambassadours asks her in Marriage of her Uncle, who without much adoe consents and delivers her to be conveyed to his Presence. Not long after Theodorich, King of the Goths in Italy, fends and demands Andalfleda the Sifter, (Jornandes saith the Daughter) of Clodonæus, and obtains her for his Wife. And so these three potent Nations Invaders and Sharers of the Roman Empire, became allied and

confederate amongst themselves. 5. Clodoneus four or five years after his Marriage undertook a War against the Alemans, it being as contrary to his restless humour, as his ambition to lie idle. They forefeeing the Storm whilst yet beyond the Rhine, resolved that seeing there must be a War, the Seat of it should not be their own Countrey, and passing the River would give him some tolerable pretence to quarrel with them. Some say Pairius Meller they came into Gall to feek out new Seats, and entring into Germania Secunda, en-

camped at Tulbiacus a Village belonging to the Agrippinenses, or those of Coleine, Sect. 3. according to Tacitus. Miraus in his Chronicon Belgicum calls it a Town of the Thii, at this day known by the name of Zullich, and Pontanus Writes it Zulpich, but whatever was the Name, a great and bloudy Battel was here fought by the Franks, for preservation of their Conquests, their fame and reputation, by the Alemans for their Liberty and their Fortunes. After much contention and flaughter on both fides, Clodonæus faw plainly that the Enemy got ground, whereupon with a forrowfull Heart and weeping Eyes cast up to Heaven, saith Gregory, he devoutly implored the affiftence of Fefus Christ, whom as he said Clotildis preached to be the Son of God, and who was reported to afford help and affiftence to persons in distress, and procure Victory for fuch as believed in him, vowing faith in his Name, and therein to be Baptized, if by a Victory now obtained over his Enemies, he might but have experience of his Divine Power. This Prayer made, the Face and Posture of the Battel was instantly changed, and the Alemans who had lately born themselves as Victours were constrained to flie, and their King being slain, humbly to beg pardon and peace of Clodonæus.

6. Sigebert the Prince of Coleine received a wound in his Foot, of which he ever after continued Lame. Lipfius would have Adalogerio King of the Boii, amongst other Princes to have been in this Battel, but Marcus Velserus as well as others deny Rerum Britar.l.2. it, affirming that it doth not appear by the Testimony of any ancient Writer, that ad A. 490. this Fight touched, or any way concerned that Nation. However, great was the Reputation that Clodonæus got by the Victory. Theodorich King of the Goths in Italy, by Letters yet to be seen amongst Cassiodorus his various Epistles, congratulated Lib. 2. ep. 41. with him, and moved some say by the intreaties of the Alemans interceded for them. advising him to use his Fortune and Power moderately toward the Conquered, who yet as it feems from Ennodius had no fuch good Quarter at his Hands, but that they In Pantsyrico rather chose to accept of the offer of Theodorich, who kindly invited them into Italy. The Ambassadours of Theodorich brought with them a man skillfull on the Harp, as a present to Clodonæus, who having formerly desired such an Artist of him, he L 2.49.40 wrote to Boetius requiring him to find out the most expert in all Italy. But Clodonæus returning home after his Victory, recounted to Clotildis his Wife the story of his Prayer, and what had followed upon it, which opportunity she, who had often folicited him heretofore, now taking, fo wrought with him, that he took upon

as will be amply fet forth in its proper place. 7. At this time Reigned over the Burgundians Godegifilus, in conjunction with Gundebaldus his Brother, but fearing that at length he should be sent after his Brother, Chilperich the Father of Clotildis, whom Gundebaldus had Murthered, he fends privately to Clodoneus and offers him a yearly Tribute, on condition he would stand close to him and affish against the Tyrant. Clodonæus promises him his utmost affiftence, and levying a great Army marches streight against Gundebaldus, who utterly ignorant of what had passed betwixt them, sends to his Brother requiring his affiftence for oppoling the Injustice and Violence of their common Enemy. Godegifilus returns him good words and fair promifes, but joyning his Forces with Clodonæus at Divio, they fall upon Gundebaldus near the River Ofcara, and putting Divio Metropolis him to flight drive him to * Avenio, which done, Godegifilus gives up part of the Dusun Bargus.

Countrey into Clodonaeus his Hands, and departs to Vienna lying upon the Rhofne, de qua him to Clodonaeus in the mean time purfues the flying Enemy, and besieges him in Avenio, rela interph

Turns Christian. him the Profession of Christianity, being Baptized by Remigius Bishop of Rheims,

Forces the Bur. Where being reduced to great Straits, he fends Aredius his faithfull Friend to the ditter habeter sul-Befieger, and he so works upon him by arguments drawn from the uncertainty of anil point between the fortune, that he perswades him to raise the Siege, which would be tedious and relawant, podoubtfull, and content himself with a yearly Tribute, which Gundebaldus should destinating doubtfull, and content himself with a yearly Tribute, which Gundebaldus should destinating the sound of the sound pay him, who thus recovered his former State and Condition, and Cladeneus returrator. Komen ab
ned into his own Kingdom. So Gregory the Bishop of Tours tells the story. Pro-mits spir cutthis size. ned into his own Aingdom. So oregory the billiop of ton's tens the tens, musicapin cus-copius writes that the Germans, meaning the Franks, of their own accord, fell upon to impliming the Burgundians, and procuring Theodorich to joyn with them, they parted the tain the nuclear that the Conquered Countrey according to agreement. However it's faid for the present, dia pulchrius dec. that Gundebaldus recovering himself refused to pay Tribute to Clodonaus according Carlon weather to the late Accord, and leading an Army against his Brother Godegifilus, besieged negling the him to View to the late Accord, and leading an Army against his Brother Godegifilus, besieged negling the best of the control of t

8. All this while Alaricus Reigned securely over the Visigoths or Western Goths Autom Matter in Gallia Narbonensis, having under his Dominion the whole Country lying be-lis Combana. twixt the Rivers Rhosne and Loire, as far as the Pyrenæan Mountains. Clodoneus was so incensed against him for holding the Arian Heresie as Aimonius believed, or

Sect. 3. rather envied him fo much for the large share he had of Gall, that he resolved to 2 pick a quarrel with him, and for that purpose sent his Ambassadours to him to give Picks a quarret him a meeting at the Borders, and to lettle some Rules about the receiving of Fugitives, terms so ticklish as he knew would give offence. And Alaricus sent back the Ambassadours both without their business done, and without any respect due to those of their Character, which advantage Clodoneus readily took and denoun-Theodorich King streight as Mediatour betwixt them, writing his Letters to them both, to the Kings of Italy interpo of the Heruli, Thuringi and the neighbouring Nations, (yet to be feen amongst

ced War against him, as well to vindicate and affert the Law of Nations, as the Catholick Faith. The Noise of this War was quickly blown over into Italy, and came to the Ears of Theodorich the Father-in-Law of Alaricus, who offered himfelf Cassiodorus his Epistles) for an Accommodation. "Alaricus he adviseth not to be "too confident upon the reputation of the Vifigoths, for the great things by them " formerly atchieved; he bids him confider what an alteration Peace and Idleness " work in the minds of men, and not to commit that to the chance of fortune, " which with infinite labour and travel had been fo long a time procuring, but flay "till he could fend to the King of the Franks, and be content that the quarrel be "taken up by the Interposition and Arbitration of Friends. He tells Lodoin, (for so " is Clodonæus there called,) that he could not but wonder he should be so easily mo-"ved, and upon so slight an occasion to make War upon his Son-in-Law, for it " would be the pastime of the Enemies of both Nations. Bids him consider they " are both Kings of most flourishing People, but in the flower of their Age, and "that therefore they ought not lightly and out of love to contention bring their "Kingdoms into extreme hazard; he also propounds to him the mediation of Neigh-bour Princes, and commands him to lay by the Sword, which he could not in Ho-" nour see drawn by either of them. In conclusion, by the privilege of a Father and a " Friend, he threatens that which foever of them should neglect his Advice should find " the whole power of his Goths, and all his Friends and Allies ingaged against him.

9. Clodonæus thought it an extravagant and proud humour of the Oftrogoth, to imagine that he sate at the Helm of the World, and should take upon him to be Moderatour of Nations, not content to have by his mediation obtained fairer terms for the Alemans, than otherwise had been granted them. "Contemning his threats Clodimans his an. " and slighting his Admonitions, he answers him in short, that he stood affected

fiver to Thembs " toward the King of the Offrogoths, just as it was fit he should and no more, for " he perceived him resolved to give harbour and relief to his Enemies, that he made " no War upon Alaricus, but Alaricus upon him, which being as good as denoun-

" ced against him, he demands why he may not defend himself, and defires he " may not farther be provoked to act any thing which may be contrary to his own "Principles, and the dictates of good Nature. This answer quite alienated the "mind of *Theodorich* from nim, who fent speedily to the Neighbouring Kings be-

" fore mentioned, inveighing grievously against him as a man that rejected every " thing, that had the stamp of Just and Right upon it, made his Sword the rule " and measure of his Actions, and was absolutely deaf to all reasonable proposals.

" He infifts upon it as the interest of all Nations, to put a stop to the growing " Power of the Franks, which would procure the Destruction of all other King-"doms, if after the Alemans, the Visigoths should be destroyed. Headviseth that

"a Council of Princes be formed, to which Clodonæus might be summoned to give " an account, and forasmuch as the safety of each was included in the prudence of

" all together, each one must fend his Ambassadours to deter him from the executi-" on of what he had but as yet deligned.

10. Gundebaldus the Burgundian was not deaf to any Proposal made against Clodonæus whom he hated, more for his greatness and Power than for his Religion, though he himself was a bitter and inveterate Arian. For it can scarcely be believed that he who had Murthered one of his Brothers already, and had now shut up the other in Vienna, intending to use him in the like fort, could be much troubled with the dictates of Conscience; neither doth Clodonaus in his answer to Theodorich, alledge any thing concerning Faith or Religion against Alaricus, though the Historians of those times being Churchmen, look upon such Contentions through Religious Glasses, (more suitable to the Organ than the Object,) being as little skilled as practifed in secular Policy and State Mysteries. By this time Godegifilus and his followers were forely straitned in Vienna, where Provisions were grown to scarce, that me, with Abhogum Dubbin

orum circumiacenti tradiai nomen dat le pays de viennist. A Venetrio Africano exule biennio adificatam Grinde Biennum vocatamin vulgus trades.
Salsè bos rides Merula. Alpinam vocat Aufinius 4. Parental Gr Carm. 7. de urbibas. Natat ibi Vinetus ex Plinio Gr Ptelemas Viennam Aufiti us tem, um at indic organimen bais fuilfe fed Viana nomen habaisfe.

Godegisilus

Godegifilus thought fit to put out of the Town the mean and the useless Multitude. Sect. 3. This being done, it happened that the Man that had had the charge of the Aqueduct, was thrust out among the rest, which so inraged him, that presently he went to Gundebaldus, and discovered to him how he might easily take the City. He led a Company of felect Men into the Aqueduct, who following his Directions, with Iron Bars removed the Stones that stopped the passage, and without much labour opened a way for the Souldiers, who entering the City, furprifed the belieged, fet open the Gates to their fellows, and easily made themselves Masters of the place. Godegifilus fled to a Church of the Arians, and there was flain, with a Bishop of that Profession. The Franks that served him, all gathered together in a certain Towre, as refolved to fight it out, rather than be knocked on the Head, but Gundebaldus commanded no harm should be done them, and sent them away to Alaricus to Tholouse, as into banishment. Such Senatours, and other Burgundians, as were of his Brother's Party he flew; the Countrey which now is called Burgundy, faith Gregory of Tours, he fettled under his own Authority and Dominion, and to Lib. 2. c. the People he gave milder Laws, that they might not be capable of oppressing the

11. Gundebaldus elevated upon this fuccess, and proud upon his Alliance, denied

now to pay the Tribute formerly promifed to Clodonaus, who thence feeming to

CHAP. I. Contemporary with the Conft. Roman Empire. Clodonæus.

take a just occasion of a Quarrel, was not wanting in the profecution, which Gundebaldus found would be so vigorous, as he resolved not to abide the tryal, but fled to the Oftrogoths, and there died in Exile. Clodonæus being hereby freed from much Care and Trouble, resolved for a time to omit the through Conquest of Burgundy, which Theodorich had for the most part seized, and bent all his Endeavours against Alaricus. Passing the Loire, he pierced through the Coasts of Tours into Poictiers, a City seated on the River Clianus (by Sidonius and the Ancients called Potaters, a Cuty factor on the Attention of the grounds called Campi Vocladenses, (which El Vocladens Name they almost at this day retain) they engaged in Battel. Clodonaus having Pistanings tergot fight of Alaricus, and remembring the big words and threats that had passed ritorii situm, ab betwixt them, was pricked with a defire of Glory, as well as revenge, and bore with a decem millibus up toward the place where he flood to ingage him in a fingle Combat. This be pallow dilam, ing perceived by two of Alaricus his Guard, that they might deliver their King unat Histories from so imminent danger as now threatned him, they directed their Lances, and alar mem reall the force of their Horses, against Clodpnews; but by the goodness of his Corflet, times, led Piliand the seasonable Interposition of some of his stoutest followers, he escaped, hand the seasonable Interposition of some of his stoutest followers, he escaped, hand promising to his purpose, sain his Enemy, after he had reigned two and Volai distinution; ving, according to his purpose, main his enemy, and he had followed Apollinaris, relating twenty Years. A great number of the Ainervi, which had followed Apollinaris, relating the had followed Apollinaris and had follo perished in this Battel, which was fought in the seventeenth Year of the Reign of millia passions. Anaftastus the Emperour, in the fifteenth of Theodorich, King of the Ostrogoths in the international pages, Italy, A.D. 507. Anastasius Augustus the third time in the East, and Venantius Decius in the West, being Consuls.

to drive them, there permitted them to fettle themselves, and kept that part of

the Countrey which he had recovered. This is the Relation in short which Procopius gives us, much more probable than the stories which Cassindorus and Fordanus

12. But Procopius, an Authour more ancient than Gregory the Bishop of Tours, Anastralia Autells the story a little different from his Relation. He writes how the Germans, as Desir Confl.

he calls them, or Franks, having invaded the Countrey of the Goths, pitched their Camp about Carcasso, a City of Gallia Narbonensis. That Alaricus having levied Carcass, Carcass very considerable Forces, sate down in a very safe and convenient place, expecting, veteribus manual it feems, the Auxiliaries of Theodorich, his Father-in-Law, out of Italy. But the lisetian circa ge-Franks behaving themselves as Souldiers are wont in an Enemies Countrey, and minationem lite. foraging far and near, the Goths began to be angry with their King, and charging the Gardina with Laziness and Cowardise, unanimously required that he would lead them with Volcaron than the Cowardise, unanimously required that he would lead them with Volcaron with the control of the Cowardise, of the Cowardise with the control of the Cowardise with the cowar out to battel, affirming they could eafily beat the Germans without the conjunction Epifopalis & geand Affistence of Theodorich. Alarick thus necessitated to fight, led them out, but mina Superiorem with so ill success, that he himself lost his Life, together with the greatest number tension studies. of his Men. Procopius adds, that the Franks, presently after this Victory, belieged Ainz, (vales Au Cacrassio, wherein the great Riches formerly taken by Alaricus the Elder, at the ta- eum incolonies king of Rome, were reported to be kept, amongst which was the rare and costly Anacini ditti. Furniture Solomon, that had been carried from Ferusalem to Rome, at the taking of that City. But hearing of this Siege, Theodorich marched thither with all haste to raise it, which the Franks understanding, durst not abide his coming, but packed up their baggage, and departed, after which they seized on that Tract of Gall. which lieth upon the Rhofne, and toward the Ocean, whence Theodorich, not able

Sect. 3. do tell us, who defigning to speak well of the Goths, the one because of his Relation to Theodorich, and the other out of respect to his own Countrey-Men, brag of great things atchieved by the Goths against those Germans whom they will have quite defeated, and to have lost more than thirty thousand of their Men. That these are flourishes appears from this, that these Franks were not onely able to keep the Field, but lay Siege also the same year to Arles, the Metropolis of Provence, Lays Siege to a thing more usually practifed by the Conquerours, than those that are so shamefully beaten, as they would make them to have been.

13. In the mean time the Vifigoths confidering that Amalaricus the Legitimate Son of their deceased King, was exceeding young, sent him into Spain, there to be reserved for better times, and made choice of Giselaricus, his base Brother, to reign in his stead, being by reason of his Age in a better condition to grapple with those difficulties that now pressed upon them. Theodorich was so kind, as to take upon him his Protection, and for that purpose, as was pretended, sent his Commanders and great Forces out of Italy, whereby, in effect, he became King of the Countrey, as Precopius not obscurely hints, which Gifelaricus well enough perceiving, boiled with Dadain and Anger, and entered into a Conspiracy against Theodorich, but being not able to effect any thing, and having few either Hands or Heads to employ, but what were at his devotion, upon discovery of his Design, was deprived of his Fortuges, and fled to Transimundus, King of the Vandals, into Italy, whence not able to procure any confiderable affishence, at length he went into Spain, and after several fruitless attempts, was at last flain, and an end was put to all his troubles. But to return to Clodonæus and his Franks, after the raifing of the Siege he fends Theodericus, his Son, to take in the Gothick Cities, while he makes himself Master of feveral lying on the Sea Coasts, and amongst the rest, of Tholouse, the Metropolis of the Kingdom, and wherein was kept the Royal Treasure. Having taken Bardigarakes Bunden la, or Bourdeaux, he therein wintered, and in the Confines of this City defeated a number of Goths. who having furvived the former Part I in a considerable Body, so great slaughter being made of them, that the place re-

tained the Name of the Arian Camp, from this very occasion. 14. But the Conquerour was not content with the Conquest of those Cities, nor chart Question in the Cadurci, Rutheni and Arverni, who yielded up themselves are Pools in into his hands; neither yet did several parcels of Acquitain satisfie him, on which Querd in Gallia into his hands; heither yet the levelar parcers of his hand feized, having his mind fixed on Provence, which he forely stomached, that Celtica. Theodorich, partly by Force, and partly by confent of the Inhabitants, should have ergmis in Gallia got into his Power. Impatient of a Competitour in the whole Countrey, he re-Celica. folves to drive him out of Gail, and for that purpose lays a Siege to Arles, the chief City of Provence, situate upon the River Rhosne, over which then lay a wooden Bridge. Here was fought a fore and bloudy Battel, the great shock of which was fultained by Tolus, the Captain of the Goths, who after much flaughter removed the Franks from this Post, as Athalarick, the Successour of Theodorich, relates in a Apad Caspel. Letter to the Roman Senate. But the Franks though hindered from paffing the Bridge, got over at another place, and floutly befieged the City; yet being neither able to ftorm the place, nor starve out the Inhabitants, they revenged themselves upon the naked Countrey adjacent, by Plunder and Devastation, of which, when they would make no end, Theodorich fent an Army of Gepidæ to restrain their Excursions. This obliged them to retreat, which they did, laden with very great booty, and Clodoneus flourishing with Military Glory, returned, and took up his

After other he returns to

Is made Conful liby Angladius the Emperour, who fent him the Enfigns and Ornaments of the Confulling. For that Prince plus the more performed the in Melopotamia, and hearing of the great things parameters. being then in Mejopotamia, and hearing of the great things performed by him, angleation the thought it convenient by trob a kind of France and the second of the great things performed by him, angleation to thought it convenient, by such a kind of Empty respect, to gain his Favour, and gets by cartle thought it convenient, by just a kind of Empry topest, to gain in the star this cher) fine kep the rather, because Theodorich, the Gothick King, and the Emperour were at this proper amendation. time at odds about Pannonia, on which the Goth's had feized, and the difference be- tem incomparate time at odds about rannonia, on which the outs had believe and others, him britis Frattwixt them was rifen to an open War, Romanus, the Comes Domesticorum, and others, as audit. Onto being about this time fent to waste the maritime Coasts of Italy. Cloder aus having Its commits usual received the Prefents with the Rescript of his Election, sent for Theodorich his Son, abit analysis in the great Church of Sr. Martin social mills, intending to make a very formal folemnity, and in the great Church of St. Martin, wells at smile invefted himself with the Tunica trabeata, and the Chlamys, and with a Diadem on coan tools for his Head, rode through the City, casting, as he went along, Gold and Silver to the total the season of the season the People, being from that day forward, as *Gregory* of *Tours* phraseth it, termed \underline{Iii} , a, c, 3^b . T anguam Conful, and Angus ulsus. From these words T anguam Conful, as also from the want T anguam of his Name in the Fasti, it appears that by the Consulthip now conferred on him $\frac{1}{10}$ $\frac{1}{10}$

was not meant the ordinary Dignity and Magistracy which gave the characteristic Sect. 2. cal Note to the Year, but the Consulatus Codicillaris, or that by Rescript or Patent, being honorary, and first brought up by Julius Casar. But about this remarkable passage in History, various are the Opinions and Judgments of Writers, as their Interests and Relations do severally biass and incline them.

16. Baronius will not believe that he accepted of the Honour, because his Name is not found in the Fasti, for he concludes, that the Emperour would never offer him the Honorary or Titular Confulship, being a thing much below him, and unusual to be conferred upon those of his Dignity. But the Cardinal measures the Actions of the King by his own Inclinations, and just like the ancient Historians that were Churchmen, looks at them still through a Glass of Religion, imagining that a Sword was made of the same Materials as a Bishop's Crosser Staff, or a Cardinal's Cap as a Souldier's Helmet. The reason that moves him to believe that Clodonaus would not accept of the Offer is this, that the Emperour was an Arian, and he would not have to doe with an Heretick, full as probable as the conceits of those People who believed at Rome, that when our Henry the Eighth, and Queen Elizabeth were by them excommunicated, they would not onely be cut off from the Body of the Church, but from Humane Society, and wither away and perish for want of Commerce with other Princes and Nations. What he farther alledges concerning the meanness of the Honorary Consulship, is founded but upon his own Surmifes; for though it was lower than the Magistracy it felf, and the Annual Dignity, yet was it wont to be conferred on very deserving and eminent Persons, and the thing was so new, and unusual to the Franks, that this might be some motive to accept it; befides, we might instance in marks of Honour of a more inferiour Nature, and not go far from home, which have been accepted in later times, both by Kings and Emperours.

17. But he was now accounted Tanquam Augustus, and the Purple Tunick and the Chlamys were Enligns and Ornaments of Royal Dignity, as well as the Diadem. Fauchet therefore the Prefident interprets them as fent in token that he should re-Lib. 2. c. 22. main invested with that Right and Superiority which the Emperours formerly obtained in Gall, noting farther, that as the Bishops of these times did dutifully demean themselves, to the Majesty of the Emperours, so new Kings were not wont to wear Crowns, till fent as Gifts from some greater Persons. Yet cannot he deny, but the giving of a largess to the People, was a thing usual and solemn to them that obtained the Confulfhip, and he was not thenceforward called abfolutely Augustus, but Tanquam Conful and Augustus, to note that his Dignity was but borrowed. But farther, Fauchet, and some other Modern Writers, will needs that he And likewise the received the Patritiate also, or Honour of Patritian (not unusual to be given to Kings) from Anastasius; and Papirius Massonus amongst the rest, is pretty positive, Hist. lib. 1. F.2... farther observing, that this Honour was far different from the other of the Conful-

ship, the Dignity of Patritian being perpetual, or for Life, whereas that of the Conful was but annual. But Baronius tells him, that for all this, the Honour of At An. Christian the Patritiate was inferiour to that of Conful; and that it was more common; and sed. nam. 2. besides, he erroneously affirms, that all ancient Authours make mention of the one, but are wholly filent as to the other. Last of all, Chiffletius, no friend to the Estraphium eins Grandeur of the French Monarchy, sticks to that of Consul, as not willing to al. ^{a Remigio us} fer-low the King of the Franks too much Honour. But what he consessed the towed but had teeland received from Anaflafius, he user has part of Promifes, for ufhering in a grand clause. Conclusion, which he much labours, nay (weats to make out. This is that the Pernistin and Authority of the Emperours, enjoyed their Kings, by Pernistin and Authority of the Emperours, enjoyed their Kings, hours, dom, and so held it, though got by force and violence, that as Vasflas they (bubmitted Viralis. Hispanic, and subjected it unto them, and observed and obeyed their Rules and Commands. 6. 13. In fumm, he would from this and other Instances prove, that both the Kings and

18. However, this Ceremony being over, Clodonæus departed from Tours to Paris, where, as Gregory words it, he placed the Chair of his Kingdom. There being fettled, he bufied himfelf with Domestick Affairs, and with fomething shortly after which happened amongst his own Countreymen, the occasion rather being taken by the King, than given by Sigebert, Canaricus, Rachnacharius, and others of their petty Princes. Sigebert, who having his Seat at Colein, injoyed He feizes on the no small Dominions on both sides of the Rhine, thought he was not sufficiently respected and rewarded for the great Services he had done Clodonæus, and thereat grew discontented, when in the mean time Clodonæus promised his Son Chlodorick, that he should certainly succeed in the Inheritance after his Father's Death, and find

Kingdom of France are obnoxious and fubiect unto the Empire.

him both his loving and his constant Friend. Clodorick whatever the King spake or meant, made fuch an Interpretation as fuited his Ambition, concluding that he advised him to hasten his Father's end; therefore following him over the Rhine. he slew him in the Wood Barconia, the same as some think with that Forrest, which at this day is called Vefterwald. The feat done, he gives Clodoneus notice that his Father is dead, and defires him, to fend fome he could truft to receive his Treafure. He gladly fends those that would bring it away, with what farther Instructions it's uncertain; but one of them as Clodorick opened a Cheft, wherein he faid his Father was wont to lay his Gold, bade him thrust down his hand and fearch it to the bottom, and as he fo did, and inclined his Body, he up with his Bipennis or Francisca, and struck out his Brains. Clodonaus having received the Green Transcale News hastens to the place, and there professing to the People, that he was wholly lib. 2. a. 4c. Innocent as to any defign against Father or Son, easily persuades them to receive his Protection, and lays the Countrey to his own Dominions.

Characiel.

And Rachna-

19. Chararick had as we formerly hinted flood Neuter in the Battel, which Clodonæus fought with Siagrius the Roman Captain, and envying his good Success. carried himfelf with little Respect toward him; all which the King bore in an exulcerated mind, and by a Wile getting both him and his Son into his hands, compelled them to be shaven, and take Orders; the Father to be made Priest, and the Son to be ordained Deacon. On a time when the Father bewailed his Condition, the young Youth laid his hand upon his Chin, and shewing the small Rudiments he had of a shaven Beard, affirmed, that those leaves would in so flourishing a Tree grow again, and prayed, that he who had been the cause of cutting them, might as speedily perish; which Speech coming to the Ears of the King, he thought it fit to make fure work of it, and commanded them both to be put to Death. He thus made an end of them; but there was one yet behind, the greatest Object of his Jealousie and Indignation, which was Rachnacharius the Prince of Cambray, and the Atrebates : a Man of a luxorious Life, and exceedingly puffed up with a Conceit of his noble Extract, which so far transported him, as to affirm, that the Kingdom of the Franks of right appertained to himself, being indeed the Great, Great Grandson of King Clodio. By doating on Faro his Minion, and his Lascivious Carriage, he fo provoked his Subjects, that they conspired against him, and sent to Clodonæus. offering to betray him into his hands. He who onely watched for a convenient opportunity, most gladly closed with their Proposals, and to the Conspiratours fent good flore of Gold as they thought; but it was onely Brafs money cunningly Countrey to his Guilded. Clodonæus raises an Army, and marches to them; a Battel is pitcht on both fides, but Rachnacharius hath his hands bound behind him, and is fo prefented to the King, with his Brother Richarius in the same posture, both whom he upbraids, that being of the Royal flock, they should fuffer themselves to be bound, and therewith kills them in the place. They being dipatched, he procures another Brother they had, Rignomeris by Name (otherwise called Ricurirus and Ricimirus) to be slain, and so possessible himself of all their Dominions, and their Treasure. Many other Princes out of Jealousie he put to Death, and so many of his *Quem bodie La-Kindred, that one day as his Nobles stood before him, he bemoaned his Condition, devicum Lating that he was an Alien amongst strangers; having never a Kinsman to stand by him toward Color Lawing meters that he was an Alien amongst strangers; having never a Kinsman to stand by him toward Color Lawing meters. in Case of necessity, which yet some thought he spake crastily, to see if any one Eris traque Last would prefent himself as of the Royal Race. But the Traitours who complained, or with greatest how that their Gold was turned to Brass, he refused otherwise to requite than with a tails, we nibilahow that their Gold was turned to Brais, he resulted other when require that with a single fevere reproof, as deferving Death it felf, for their Ingratitude and Treachery to find finding the requirement of the single representation of the single re

and his Ancestours with so great labour had obtained, about two years after, Death last, with Refs. fummoned him to other Mansions in the thirtieth year of his Reign, and in the gium. Ludwin five and fortieth of his Age. In feveral Authourshe hath feveral * Names, of which dem fere residing Clidman dies, we must advertize the Reader, lest he be confounded and mistaken in his perusal nam Lodge Logic of the Histories of these obscure times. In his Epistle to the Bishops after the Go. iden qued at thick War, he calls himself Clotonechus. Theoderich King of Italy, directs his Let makin Win as ters to him by the Name of Ludvin: In his Epitaph recited by Aimoinus, he is ten Pulchum called Clodoneus; in the Testament of Rhemigius the Bishop, who baptized him han, distinct Alludovicus; jy Sigeberr the Historian Ludovicus; by Contractus and Albericus, Clo-tiam & amodoncus; in an ancient Table at Brussels, where he is pictured Claudius, and Clouis temsignifica, in with the u vowel, commonly by the Modern French. In the faid Table, as his Father intelletius fre-

is pictured with his back turned, and with a strange and foreign Cap on his head, it poul Ame, and with a strange and foreign Cap on his head, it poul Ame, and with a strange and foreign Cap on his head, it poul Ame, and with a strange and foreign Cap on his head, it poul Ame, and with a strange and stran to fignifie his flight and Exile; fo he is to be feen, with his Eyes lifted up to-nufter,

20. While Clodonaus thus endeavoured to fecure to his own Posterity, what he enim hodie Tox-

Contemporary with the Conft. Roman Empire.

wards Heaven, and his Hands closed as praying and imploring divine Affishence, Sect. 3. in Memory, as it feems, of the Battel fought with the Alemans. He was certainly a confiderable Man, and for his great Atchievements against the Romans, Alemans, Goths and others; and for inlarging to fo great a Proportion, the bounds of the French Empire deservedly obtained from Posterity, the Sirname both of the Warriour, and of the Great: As for his Piety, how it could confift with fuch particulars as we have mentioned, let Baronius and other Church-men, who are most concerned look to that. He was buried at Paris, in the Church of the Holy Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, founded by himself, which is now changed into that of the Abby of St. Genonefue, where his Effigies was to be feen in the days of Papirius Massonus. His Death happened, five years after he had flain Alaricus in the twenty fourth Year of Anastasius the Emperour, the twenty second of Theodorich King of Italy, A. D. 514. M. Aurelius Cassiodorus, whom we have so often mentioned without a Collegue, being Conful. So some collect, but Scaliger perhaps with

better reason casts it back to the 509. Year of our Lord.

21. He left four Sons behind him, Theodorich, Clodomir, Childebert and Clotha- Dividuous his rius, who divided his Kingdom equally amongh them. Theodorich reigned at Merz, the Maria three Clodomir at Orleance, Clotharius at Soiffons, and Childeberr enjoyed his Father's feat of this sea at Paris. Fer they were well fetled, the Danes under Conduct of Chechilaichus who Medis martheir King, invaded the Maritime Coafts of Gall, and light upon a certain Village the Meritime file the Meritime of the Meritime Coafts of Gall, and light upon a certain Village the Meritime file the Meritime Coafts of Gall, and light upon a certain Village the Meritime Coafts of Coaf their Ming, invaced the Franchise Codes of Sun, and inghe apon a certain stange life series belonging to Theodorich, which plundering and wafting at their Pleading, with the substitute to go aboard, till he saw them all shipped and put off. But Theodorich, having significant trimely notice of this Piracy, sent his Son Theodobert with a considerable Power significant timely notice of this Piracy, sent his Son Theodobert with a considerable Power significant and the substitute of the substitute his matters, that he furprized their King e'er he could get to Sea, and then with a configuration sel-his matters, that he furprized their King e'er he could get to Sea, and then with a configuration sel-Fleet he had ready at hand, fet upon the Danish Navy and defeating them, recovered all the Booty they had got. At this time, three Brothers reigned over the mine Aweling of Thoringi; Badericus, Herminefredus and Bertharius. Herminefredus first slew his Orleans with a state of the same than the orleans with a state of the same than the orleans with a state of the same than the orleans with a state of the same than the orleans with a state of the same than the orleans with a state of the same than the orleans with a state of the same than the orleans with a state of the same than the orleans with a state of the same than the orleans with a state of the same than the orleans with a state of the same than the orleans with a state of the same than the orleans with a state of the same than the orleans with a state of the same than the orleans with a state of the same than the orleans with a state of the same than the orleans with a state of the same than the orleans with a state of the same than the orleans with a state of the same than the orleans with a state of the same than the same tha Brother Bertharius, who left a Daughter called Radegund, besides several Sons. Ligerim, Carna-Not herewith content at the Instigation of Almaberga his Wife, who used several pain statistiman. Tricks to increase his Jealousie and Ambition; he called in Theodorich to his Assistantial edges. ence against his other Brether, promising to divide his Territories equally with illns unbodilish him: Joyning therefore their Forces, they fell upon Badericus, and easily over-Lucia Merspowering him, destroyed both him and the greatest part of his Army. Thisdone, polir Partitionan Theodorich departed home not doubting, but the Conditions of the League would but Partition Partitio be performed. But Herminefredus thought nothing less; for being once rid of Vide Gregor. Tuhim, he fortified the whole Countrey, and refused to surrender the share due to ronen, lib. 3 Theodorich; who hereupon boiled with Anger against him, but for the present found no fufficient opportunity to revenge himfelf.

22. But it was not long, e'er his thoughts were diverted upon another Subject, by the advice and procurement of his Mother. The Murther of her Parents. fill ran in her mind, the had often in vain defired their Deaths might be revenged; but now she thought Providence had decreed it, giving her so many Sons, of whom. though one or two might perish in the Attempt; yet she concluded the thing would be accomplished amongst them. To persuade them, she used powerful Rhetorick, fuch as fuited the Passions both of a Daughter and a Mother, to which the added, as the thought as powerfull Reasons, drawn from the same principles of Ambition, and Cruelty which the affirmed, would produce the fame Effects towards the Grand-Children, and so much worse by how much the Baits and Allurements of fo great Territories as they now possessed, were greater than those of their Ancestours, overcome (it's probable) rather with hopes of bettering their Condition, than of preventing the mischief by her objected, they levied Forces and with their joynt Powers resolved upon an Invasion of Burgundy. Before this time Gun- Gundebaldus 40. their joynt Powers resolved upon an invarion of Dangeman, whose first Wife was Calend April.

Amor Regnise. the Daughter of Theodorich King of Italy, and by her he had a Son called Sygiria; Lughai Abian but after her Death married another, it feems fome waiting Woman, which as the Capital Region and the Variable Life feditariality. Custome of Step-mothers is, very much hated, and maligned the Youth. He que extant, eswas fufficiently fensible of it, and so imprudent, that on a Festival day he upbraid-rum & Gregoried her for wearing his Mothers clothes, which drove her into such a Rage, that us meminit. the never ceased to inflame his Father against him, telling him of strange Designs he had to usurp and joyn the Dominions of his Ancestours, to the Italian Kingdom

of Theodorich his Grandfather. Sigifmund at length overcome with her Importunities, caused the poor young Man as he slept to be strangled; and presently after though too late repenting, went and spent his time in a Monastery, bitterly lamenting his cruel Jealousie and Paricide, which was shortly after revenged upon him, as our Authours observe.

23. For the Sons of Chrotildis in obedience to her Commands, invade Burgundy Burgundy invad- with a great Army. He made as great Preparations for refishence, as time would give him leave, and Courageously opposed himself against the Invaders, but in Battel had the worst. His Brother Godomir escaped, but he himself was taken together with his Wife and Children by King Clodomir, and committed to close Prilon Green Torse. at Aurelia or Orleans, where while he remains, Godomir gathers together his dif-lib. 2, 6.6. perfed Forces, railes new ones, wherewith joyning a fresh Army, he renews the Aimina de Godomir being obliged to buckle himself to Action, would not lib Frances. be perfuaded to spare Sigismund, because he should leave an Enemy at his back, but, though some Church-men foretold that in Case he slew him, he should miscarry in his Attempt, and receive the very fame measure, put him to Death together with his Wife and Children. Then the following Spring did he invade Burgundy, and as foon as Godomir appeared in the Field, he put his Army to flight, but giving the Chace, the heat of his Bloud, and defire of Glory fo transported him. that he came up with the middle Ranks of the Burgundians before he was aware, and being known by them was incompassed, and when he refused to yield to quarter, was immediately flain. His Head was fet upon a Spear, by fo fad a Spectacle to terrifie and dif-hearten his followers; but they were thereby stirred up to greater Animofity, and moved to revenge his Death, which they did to purpose, pursuing

them fo far that they utterly defeated them, and then returned home with the News of Clodomir's death. Clotharius his Brother married Gundeaca his Wife. and with her his Kingdom. Chrotildis his Mother, as foon as Grief would give her leave, fent for his three Sons, Theodonald, Gunthar and Clodonald, and with all Care imaginable brought them up.

24. All this while, Theodorich his mind was fixed upon Herminfredus Prince of the Thoringi, whose shuffling and refusal to allow him his share in the Booty, they had unjutily got, fo overpowered his thoughts, that these Wars were scarcely able to give him any diversion. He persuaded his Brother Chlotharius to joyn with him, Thuringia Requi promiting him a share of the Prey, and by a set Speech to the principal of the efformation Franks, wherein he painted out the cruel usage of the Thuringians toward their An-Allien blue. cessours, he prevailed with them to undertake the expedition, and that with much men retinent. alacrity. Accompanied with Chlotharius his Brother, and Theodobert his Son, he invaded their Countrey; where as he was to pass, they had digged Pits and covered them over with Earth, and the device took at the first, a small number of Men and Horses falling into those Snares; but the thing being once discovered, the Franks were fo cautious in their March, that none of these Wiles would farther succeed, and coming once to ingage their Enemies, they overthrew them with fo great flaughter. that the River Onestrudis, is faid to have been so filled with dead Bodies, that they passed over upon them, as on a firm Bridge. Herminefredus with much adoe escaped, and secured himself in a Fort, whither after his retreat, Theodorich sent to him, and with great Promises and Obtestations persuaded him to come to him to Tulbiacum, where as they once walked together upon the Wall, he fell down and died of the bruile. Gregory professes he knew not how he fell, although many affirmed, that Theodorich was the cause of his Death, Aimoinus writes expresly. that he took his opportunity, as they walked and discoursed together, and threw him down Headlong; and this no whit Contradicts the probability of the Fact, that he being Dead, he procured all his Children to be strangled. This done, all the Countrey he subdued under the Dominion of the Franks, who as Aimoinus observes, had formerly inhabited the Territories of Thuringia.

25. That Theodorich his Conscience was not so tender, but it could sufficiently digest such a Murther as this, farther appears, from what he attempted against his Brother Chlotharius, while they yet remained in Thuringia. Having a design to make him away, he fent for him to confult about fome pretended business, and behind the Hangings, in a Room where they were to fit, placed some armed Men, who being in good time discovered by Chlotharius, he refused to consult without his followers at his back; fo that Theodorich, feeing his defign was brought to light, fell off, excusing himself, in which Art he was very expert, and presented him with a Silver Dish, which afterward repenting he had been so bountifull, he sent his own Son Theodobert to beg of him. Chlotharius returned the Dish, and retires home, ha-

ving married Radegund the Daughter of Bertharius, late Prince of the Thoringi. Sect. 3. But still the Invasion of this Countrey, gave occasion to farther mischief. A re. port was spread amongst the Arverni, that Theodorich was slain; whereupon Ar- Arverni les Auchadius one of the Senatours, fent to Paris to Childebers, and invited him to come the Senatours and take possessing the senatours of the Senatours of Archadius got into the City; but upon the Rumour that his Brother was car dimposed alive, and returned out of Thorizoida, he secured the place and returned out of Thorizoida, he secured the place and returned out of the senatours. alive, and returned out of Thoringia, he secured the place, and retired with intention to make a Journey into Spain, in behalf of their Sifter Chrothildis. This Lady had been at the importunate fuite of Amalricus King of the Goths in that Countrey, by her Brothers given him in Marriage; but was not treated in any Fathion becoming her Birth, or Quality, on the contrary handled like a Slave, affronted upon all occasions, and Contumeliously used, upon the Account of her Religion especially. For her Husband moved with his Arian Zeal, as well as the violence of his own Dispositions, caused Excrements and filth to be cast in her way, as she went to the Orthodox Church, and beat her fo cruelly, that the Bloud trickling out of her Body, he therewith dyed an Handkerchief; and as Gregory reports, fent it to her Brother. Aimoinus tells us, that tired with those Indignities and cruel Usages; she wrote Letters to her Brothers, which came to the hands of Childebert, as he lay in the City of the Arverni, which he had by Force wrested from the Dominion of Theodorich.

Childebert invades Spain.

26. Childebert exceedingly provoked by these Letters, and being a Man expert in whatever concerned War, with all speed marched into Spain, hoping to surprize Amalricus. But he found him not unprovided, either by Sea or Land, and by Land it was agreed, that the Controversie should be decided. There wanted no Courage on either fide, but the Franks had the advantage in their Horse, which being too strong for the Goths, bore down all before them, and after great Execution utterly routed them. Amalricus flying for his Life, made toward a Church of the Orthodox Christians, but before he could enter was overtaken, and slain by a Trooper of the Franks. Childebert hearing he was Dead pursued, his Victory with the Terrour whereof the Citizens of Toletum being struck, he easily took the place, in which finding his Sister, and exceeding great Treasure, with them he returned into France; where e'er they arrived, Chrothildis died in the way, and being brought to Paris, was there buried by her Brother. But while Childebert invades the Dominions of another, he loofes what he had lately made his own at home. For Theodorich disdaining to loose his Towns, on which the other upon the Rumour of his death, had so confidently seized, thought not himself obliged to the manners of staying for his return, but with all speed attempted the recovery of his own Inheritance. Entring the Countrey to punish the Inhabitants for their easiness, in submitting to an Usurper, he wastes all with Fire and Sword. Archadius who had betrayed the City, fled to the Bituriges, but Placidina his Mother, and Alchima his Sifter were taken and confined to Cadurcum. There was one Munderick, who affirming himself the Kings Kinsman, Challenged the Sovereignty Caduri, People as his due, and prevailed with many of the ordinary fort, to own him for their de Querci quo lawfull Prince. Refusing to repair to Theodorich, as knowing sufficiently for what fuir Decema. purpose he was sent for, he secured himself in a Castle called Victoriacum; he and all his followers resolving to die rather, than to put themselves into the hands of their Treacherous Enemies. Yet when all other attempts failed, by reason of the strength of the place, and valour of the Defendants, Theodorich procured Aregifilus to Trepan him, who took an Oath (his hands touching the Sacred Altar) that he should receive no harm. When he brought him forth, upon a Watch-word given, the Souldiers were to fall upon him, which Mundericus perceiving upbraided Aregifilus, with his perfidious dealing, and vowing that he should not reap any benefit by his Treachery, prefently ran him thorough with his Lance. Then the Souldiers coming on, he so laid about him, that he killed many upon the place, and fold his Life at fo dear a rate as could be imagined. Being thus made away, his whole Estate was seized by Theodorich.

27. Theodorich being thus employed, Childebert returns, and whether induced by their own Inclinations or the mediation of Friends the two Brothers make a Peace, giving Hostages on both sides, who within a while were all sold for Slaves, the League being of no long continuance. But while they were friends Chlotharius and Childebert resolved to make another expedition into Burgundy, and if possible A War against to perfect the Conquest of that Countrey. They invited Theodorich to joyn with the Burgundians. them, but he having Married the Daughter of Sigismund plainly refused, neither

Difference a-

And fubdue

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would be permit any of the Arverni to serve in the War. Yet did they manage their matters with that dexterity, that they took Augustodunum, and driving Godo Augustideers their matters with that dexicity, that they cook angular and the Bibaile Cities mir quite away, made themselves Masters of all Burgundy. Thus Gregory tells the Bibaile Cities mir quite away, made themselves Masters of all Burgundy. flory as done in the Life time of Theedorich, but Caffiodorus who lived at this very Julia Address. time, and had more reason to understand how matters went than he, relates other Flowing Flaving Flavin pallages antecedaneous, which he omits, and fpeaks of the Death of Theodorich be- lia, butle dates fore the Conquest of that Country. From his Letters to the Senate and People Mergolia Azaof Rome, it appears that Athalarick, who by this time had succeeded his Grandfather Lu Cecifii & act Theodorich in Italy, fent a great Army against the Franks, that Theodorich Brother Armin flation, in Gallia Chilia. of Clodomir and King of the Franks Died, during the flay of the Goths in Burgundy, Var. lib. 11. Sed of Clodomir and King of the Transis of the Burgundian betaking himself to the Patro-quamis speeds and the Franks declining a Battel, the Burgundian betaking himself in Fight How. Name declinate nage of the Goths, * recovered by intreaty what he had formerly loft in Fight. How-in Confident ever not long after, Godomir or Gundemar as some call him, for all his Gothick Al-vitartama poliance, was by Childebert, Clotharius, and Theodebert their Brother's Son beaten prii Regis nepsiquite out of his Kingdom, spoiled of all Power and Dominion, and driven into Nam Theodorica

nte out or nis Kingdom, iponed of an Force and Section of the day seed of the in a People of Germany and living beyond the Rhine, had first under Honorius the principus night-Emperour Ground allowed them to inhabit in those parts of Gall lying nearest to the principus night-that River. After the Overthrow received from Attins under Valentinian the tanus scales. third, Sapandia was given to fuch as remained of them, which they parted with nim bree and the Natives and there planting themselves, quickly began to spread through the amigi in arie. Neighbouring Territories, and by degrees made themselves Masters of that part of Gall called Lugdunensis prima, Maxima Sequanorum, Viennensis, the Alpes Graiæ and

Penninæ with the Province lying on this fide Druentia now called Durance. These Kings of theirs are mentioned in our Books: Gundicanus who affifted Jovinus the Tyrant in assuming the Purple, and being overthrown by Ætius the Roman Gene-AndRings of the ral obtained Peace. Gunderick and Chilperick his Sons affifted Theodorich the fecond King of the Goths, against Reciarius King of the Suevi in Gallacia. Chilperick had his Seat at Genona (now Geneva) upon the lake Lemanus. The Sons of Gunderick, viz. Gundebald (or Gundebad) Godegifil, Chilperick and Godomar divided the Kingdom amongst them. Gundebald by degrees having made them all away, Reigned alone as we have lately feen, and by Chilperick his Brother had two Nieces: Chrona made a Nun, and Chrotildis whose Children fully revenged upon his the Death of their Grandfather. For Sigifmund his Son was taken and Slain by Clodomir, who also deseated his Brother Godomar though he was Slain in the pursuit, and could not perfect the Conquest. But this was done for him by Childebert and Clotharius about the fixth year of Justinian the Emperour, and the seventhof Athalarick King of Italy, A. D. 532. Thus much we thought to add in a furmary way concerning the ancient Kingdom of Burgundy, both that the Reader's memory might be helped as to the Succession of the Kings, and that by the Territories which this day go under that Name, he might not be mistaken concerning the true extent of

> 29. To return to our Franks, Childebert and Chlotharius the two Brothers having got possession of the fair Territories of the Burgundians were not therewith satisfied. but this Morfel rather whetted their Appetites, and fitted them for swallowing a greater bit, viz. The Patrimony of their own Nephews. The three Sons of Clodomir were all this while Educated under the tender Eye of their Grandmother at Paris, which Childebert grudged to fee, and fearing that by her means they might become more Potent than he thought would well confift with his own Interest; he fent to Chlotharius his Brother who having Married their Mother, and with her having got Possession of their Inheritance, he doubted not would be most ready to listen to his Advice, to meet him speedily at Paris there to consult, whether they had better shave the Boyes, and cause them to enter into Orders, or rid them of their Lives, and themselves of all occasion of fear and jealousie at the same instant. Chlotharius needed no Wings to make him flie to Paris, where when arrived, there needed as little Confultation, but calling for that Archadius, who by his Treachery had ingratiated himfelf with Childebert; they fent him to their Mother with a pair of Sciffers and a naked Sword, bidding her make choice of one of the two, to cut out and determine the Fortune of her Grandchildren. She falls into a great Rage, and in her fury lets fall this Expression, that she had rather see them Dead than shaven, if so the case stood that they must not Reign. Archadius takes her at her word, and returning speedily to those that sent him, tells them that the Queen complied fully with their defires. They hereupon hafte thither where the Children

Lie, and Chlotarius taking the Eldest Boy throws him on the Ground, then runs Sect. 2 his Sword into his Body under the Arme, and so dispatches him. He that was next miss Som mur-thered by their to him in Age affrighted with his cries and lamentations, cafts himself at the Feet lides of his Uncle Childebert, and calling him Teches 1651. of his Uncle Childebert, and calling him Father, ufeth all the Rhetorick which in fo great an Agony his Childlike Abilities could afford to fave his Life. Childebert was moved with the Anguish he saw him in , and with tears in his Eyes befought his Brother to spare him, offering him anything he would ask in return for so great a kindness. But barbarous and furious Chlotarius in great heat upbraids him with his Inconstancy, that having given Original to this Enterprise, he now deserted the cause, and vowed that if he would not put the Boy from him, he should die in his stead, which made his Courage fail him, and he deserting the Child, Chlotarius feized on him, and Murthered him in the fame manner he had done his Bro-

30. So perished two of the Sons of Cleodomir, whereof the Eldest was but ten

years old, and his younger Brother exceeded not feven, which feat accomplished. their good Uncles fent after their Attendants to wait on them in the other World, as had been anciently the custome of Princes. But part of their Pray they missed: The third turus for, while they were busie with those two, the third, Clodosldus by name, possibly being in some other Apartment was conveyed away by his Servants, and rejecting all hopes of an earthly Kingdom shaved himself, entred into Orders, and being afterward made Priest, lived and died with great Reputation for Sanctity, at Novigentum a Town distant but four miles from Paris, which from him received a new Name, and at this day is called St. Clou, after the manner of the Abbrevations of the Modern French, at present the Retirement of the Duke of Orleance and the Princese Henrietta of England his Lady. In all this affair we hear nothing of Theodorich, which makes us more confident he was Dead before this, whatever fome of our Historians write to the contrary. Theodobert his Son succeeded him in his Kingdom of Metz or Austrasia, having Married Wisegarda the Daughter of Waco King of the Lombards, over whose Head he afterward brought another Wife upon this occasion. The Goths having after the Death of Clodonæus recovered much in Gall that he had taken from them, Theodorich fent this his Son Theodobert, and Chlotharius also Guntharius his eldest Son to recover those Territories out of their Hands. Gunthar went as far as the Ruteni, and then, for what cause no body knows. returned. Theodobert proceeded as far as the Biturices or Bearne, where he took Ruteni Rui ex-the Castle Deas, and coming before another Town called Capraria, one Deuteria mis Poulus Cal-presented her self to him to mitigate his displeasure against the Inhabitants, and she ram Managali.

to demeaned her felf, that he fell in love and afterward Married her, though he Segodanum badie Roder. had another Wife, and she an Husband yet living in another place.

31. Yet do our Historians speak much in Commendation of Theodobert. His

Father having Murthered Syginald his Kinfman, fent and Commanded him to deal in the fame manner with Gynald his Son, but he shewing him his Father's Letters, he fent him out of the way, and when he came to be King restored him his Patrimony. His Father Dying after he had Reigned above two and twenty years, The abbert son Childebert and Chlotharius his Uncles did all that lay in them to deprive him of his Life and Inheritance, and might have done much if he had not had timely notice of his Father's fickness, and got to the place before he expired. Being stoutly defended and secured in his Throne by those of his Subjects, living about Leodium or Leige, his Uncle Childebert who was the better of the two, and perceived he could not prevail against him, invited him to his Court, made much of him, and presented him very richly at parting, putting him in hopes that he should succeed him being Childless. Now he was King, he carried himself as a Prince both Great and Good, Governing with Justice, respecting the Clergy, indowing Churches, relieving the Poor, and besides many other good deeds, remitting all the Tribute that was due to his Exchequer from the Churches of Arvernum. However Deutheria whom after his coming to be King he had Married, having a Daughter now Marriageable by her other Husband, was so jealous of him, that she caused her to be put into a Charlot that was drawn by untamed Heifers, and Drowned at Virodamun her in put into a Charlot that was drawn by untamed Heifers, and Drowned at Virodamun her him the last the same of the sam put into a Charitot that was urawn by unfained Flories, and Flories in men in the River Mofa. This coming to the knowledge of Theodobert to gratific dama. Edwar his Displeasure, as well as the earnest defires of the People, he put away Deutheria rum Virlan sur Samue, sed Virethough he had by her a young Son called Theoduald, and took to him Wifegarda dunum Mediowhom he had Married feven years before. She Dying not long after, he Married Married Virdun en Luranother, but would not have to doe with Deutheria any more.

32. Childe-

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32. Childebert and Theodobert his Nephew were now very gratious. Notwith-Sect. 3. flanding the Clemency that's afcribed to the one, and Goodness to the other; yet More differences confidering the temper and custome of their Family, a wonder it were if this friendthip and alliance did not tend to the Destruction of some of their nearest Relations, to the shedding of some of their own bloud. They now lay their Heads together, and confult how to out Chlotharius of his Kingdom, raise Forces with such speed, and march against him with such expedition, that being surprised, he was not in case to take the Field, but rather concealed himself in a Village about Orleance, where yet they discovered him, and were about to finish their Work, when miraculoufly they were prevented. Chrotildis hearing that of her two Sons that remained, the one was about to sheath his Sword in the Bowels of the other, and calling to mind how fince the time she had first fet them on work of killing their Relations, her Children had neither spared Uncles nor Nephews, nor any others whatsoever, but like Savage Beasts, the more bloud they tasted, the more they thirsted after it, she exceedingly afflicted her felf, and going to the Tomb of St. Martin, poured out her tears and Prayers to Almighty God, deprecated his displeasure, and implored his help in this time of extremity, to take up the quarrel betwixt her two Sons e'er it should proceed to farther mischief. And according to her request, to prevent what the most feared, on a sudden such Storms and Tempests of Hailand Thunderarose, that overthrew all their Tents, broke the order of their Armies, and beat to the Ground the two Aggressours, who prostrate on their Faces, asked pardon for what they had done, and ient to Chlotarius to defire all past might be forgotten, and a firm League of Amity and Alliance might be Concluded. He at whose Quarters not the least disturbance of Weather had happened, readily granted their request, and so through the Prayers of their Devout Mother as our Authours observe, all

33. Childebert being now at leifure, began to think of his expedition he had An expedition made into Spain, and how he had taken the City Toledo. He thought he had not done enough to revenge the injuries offered to his Sifter, but especially defired to become Master of that Countrey, of which at that time he had but had a prospect. He easily perswaded his Brother Chlotharius who bore a mind as restless and ambitious as himself to joyn with him, and together they march as far as Casaraugusta, (now Saragoffa,) which refusing to open to them they closely besiege. Such was the condition of the Town, that the Defendants perceived they had nothing to trust to but their Prayers, and made their folemn Processions about the Walls, which the Franks seeing at a distance, imagined they were about some magical Charms and Incantations, and apprehending a Countreyman, demanded of him what might be the meaning of fuch a fliew. He answered, that they Prayed to Almighty God for the preservation of their City, which the Kings understanding, defired forme Reliques of St. Vincent the Martyr, formerly a Priest of the place might be sent them, and raising their Siege departed into other Quarters of Spain, which having subdued and wasted they returned home with very great Booty. So lame is the account we have concerning this expedition from Gregory of Tours, and such as follow him, and as herein they are deficient, so they totally omit another affair, the knowledge whereof is more necessary to the understanding of the State of this Nation At this time Belifarius as we have in its place shewn at large, was about to make War against the Goths in Italy, who being fore pressed with the difficulties that impended, Theodatus their King sent and made an Alliance with the Franks on these terms, that to them should be resigned all that part of Gall which the Goths had hitherto possessed with twenty thousand Aurei, on condition that with the Goths they would joyntly manage the War against Belifarius.

34. But e'er this accord could be perfected Theodatus Dies, and Vitigis succeeds him, who perceiving plainly that he could not call that Army which lay in Provence, under the Command of Martius, to his affiftence, but the Countrey must be Provence delive- exposed to the Inrodes of the Franks, caused it to be delivered up into their hands, rreturne across with so much money as Theodatus had promised to procure their friendship, (for they were ever most averse to the Goths,) and their assistence against the Emperour Justinian. Childebert, Chlotharius and Theodobert having received the money and Territories, and divided them amongst them, imbraced the Amity of the Goths, and promifed them fuccours, but professed they could not send them any of their own Nation, because they had entred lately into friendship with the Greeks, and promised assistance to Justinian in this War. But thus became the Franks Masters of Prevence, and that with consent of Justinian the Emperour, who confirmed at their defire what the Goths had granted, as Zonaras observes out of Procopius. Now did Tom. 3. Anti-

they possess the famous Colonies of the Phocians at Massilia, at Aquæ Sextiæ, and of the Romans at Arelatum, and as Procopius testifies, began to stamp Gold Coins, not with the Image of the Emperour, as the custome was, but with the Effigies of their own Kings; whereas to the Persian King himself it was not lawfull, nor to any other Barbarian to Coin Gold money, though that of Silver was permitted them. Afterwards the War growing hot in Italy, Theodobert that he might feem mindfull of his word, fent ten thousand Foot to the assistence of the Goths, but these were not Franks but Burgundians, who were Commanded to say, that they came without any Orders received from him, for fear of disobliging the Emperour. When the War was grown out in length, and both Goths and Romans were wasted and spent, our Franks conceived it easie to get a good share of Italy, and repined to sit idle at home and be lookers on, while others disputed a province so near adjoyning. Forgetting then their late Oaths and accords both with Romans and Goths. (for this Nation of all others is most faithless, saith Procopius,) with an Army of fifty thousand men under Conduct of Theodobert, they invaded Italy.

Contemporary with the Conft. Roman Empire.

35. Amongst them there were some few Lanciers to guard their King. The rest were Footmen without either Bows or Lances, wearing a Sword, a Shield, and a Battle-Axe, the Iron whereof was broad and tharp on both fides, and the Handle very short, and this upon a signal at the first Charge, they were wont to cast from them to break the Enemies Shields and kill their men. How they deceived both Goths and Romans we have shewed in a more proper place, as also how passing the Poe, they facrificed fuch Women and Children as they found, and cast them into the River, as the first spoils of War, retaining yet (as Procopius affirms,) though Christians much of their old superstition, and using Sacrifices and other impious Rites in making their predictions. We need here put the Reader in mind how they were straitned for Provisions, and how Theodobert being seriously admonished by Belifarius to consider what he was about, resolved it was best for him to quit Italy, and so returned home, for which relations we are beholding to Procopius; Gregory of Tours faying little to the purpose of these matters, and telling an idle story of the Daughter of Theodorich King of Italy, begotten on the Sister of Clodonæus, as that she Married a Slave, and for that being prosecuted with War by her Mother, the poisoned the old Woman in the Chalice, for which being deposed by the Goths. they chose Theodatus King of Tuscia for their Prince, who put her to Death for her unnatural cruelty towards her Mother. This you must know the Kings of the Franks took most heinously, and sent to Theodatus vowing to be revenged on him for the Death of their Kinswoman, except-he would compound the matter. He fent them fifty thousand Aurei to be friends, which Childebert and his Nephew Theodobert parted betwixt them, Childebert ever bearing evil will to Chlotharius, who was yet even with them, having got into his hands all the Treasure of their Brother Cleodomir. Notwithstanding the receit of this money, yet Theodobert invaded Italy, and being straitned for Provisions, returned home with very great

36. To let pass this fable of Gregory, and apply our selves to the Narrations of Procopius, who was an eye-witness of most of these Transactions, we are told farther by him that the affairs of the Goths being well-nigh funk, and Belifarius lying before Ravenna, Theodobert thought to make an advantage of their Necessities, and fent to Vitigis their King, offering that if he would divide Italy with the Franks, he would bring such an Army into it, as should easily drive thence Belisarius with his Greeks. The noise of this Embassy coming to Belisarius his Ears, he sends his Messengers to Vitigis, who convinced him and his Goths that it was their interest rather to make an accord with the Emperour, than those perfidious Franks, and a resolution they took accordingly, sending away the Ambassadours with a flat denial. Yet for all their good thoughts of the Emperour's Alliance, was Vitigis within a little time despoiled of all Dignity, and carried Prisoner to Constantinople, and To-tilas was chosen King in his stead. He having taken and desaced Rome, sent to Theodobert for his Daughter in Marriage, and received answer that he could not be esteemed King of Italy, nor ever would be, having taken Rome but not able to keep it, having demolished part, and quitted the rest to his Enemies. This caused him to cast away all thoughts of demolishing any more of that City. He supplied it with Provisions, commanded to be re-edified what was beaten down at his first taking of it, fent for the Senatours and others home that were confined in Campania, and held the Solemnity of the Circenfian Games. Of fuch Reputation and Authority at this time was Theodobert.

37. As he was of great Reputation, he was fufficiently sensible thereof, and as of

his own Disposition he was bold and active; he now began to entertain greater Conceits and Imaginations in his Head than formerly. While Narfes was bufied in Agathia, lib. 1. Italy, and the Emperour's Forces employed against the Goths, he thought of no less ad init. Thrace wasted than invading Thrace, which having Conquered and wasted he deligned to lay Siege to Constantinople it self. He levied great Forces, and that nothing might be wanting to so great a design, he sent to the Gepidæ, Lombards and other bordering Nations to make them fensible of the danger they were in, and to shew how intolerable a thing it was, that Justinian in his Imperial Edicts should call himself Francicus, Alemanicus, as also Gepidicus and Longobardicus, besides other Titles, as if he had indeed Conquered all those Nations. And indeed to speak the truth, as well in behalf of Theodobert as others, that Justinian took the several Titles of Alemanicus, Gothicus, Francicus, Vandalicus and Africanus, is evident out of his Edicts. But as for some of them he might justly doe it. The Goths he subdued having taken Vitigis the King, and made great flaughter of that Nation by his two Generals Belisarius and Narses; the Vandals also he had in a manner quite destroyed in Africk, which might confer also upon him the Sirname of Africanus. But to the Title of Francicus, if we may fofay, he had no Title at all, having no where given them any except we call that an overthrow, when Narfes defeated the Alemans, their Clients or Dependants, which was after the Death of Theodobert. Of this affront (for no less he accounted it,) he was highly fensible, and though, as Agathias judgeth, in all probability he had perished in the attempt, yet left he no Stone unturned to punish Justinian for his Arrogance, and had certainly undertaken the expedition, Threshirt dies, had not Death put an end to him and his designs altogether. But concerning the

manner of his Death, there are several relations. Gregory writes as if he died of a Lib 2, ad calcum. Confumption, or some other lingring Disease, and that his Physicians made many applications to no purpose. Agathias tells us this story, that Hunting on a time in the Woods, a fierce Bull ran with all his force against a Tree, which pushing down, one of the Boughs thereof light upon Theodobert, and so wounded him in his Head that he died the very same day of the hurt. In the fourteenth year of his Reign as Gregory reckons, or rather his fourteenth being completed, thirty feven years after the Death of his Grandfather Chlodonaus, the twentieth of Justinian the Emperour.

and the fifth of Totilas King of Italy, A. D. 546.

38. To Theodobert succeeded Theodobald his Son, a Child, and under the Government of his Schoolmaster. After the Death of Totilas in Italy succeeded Teias, who being utterly overthrown, the Goths that remained were forced to submit to the Yoke, but presently growing weary of it they sent to Theodobald, desiring him to confider their Condition, and how the Tyrant of the world prospering in this his course of destroying Nations, their turn could not be far off, but the old Enmittee and Wars would be renewed, fuch as the Marii, Camilli and the Casfars had made against the ancient Germans, who had also possessed themselves of all beyond the Rhine, so that just persons their successours would seem to demand nothing but what was their own. Theodobald being utterly unexpert in all things that concerned War, and hating business and labour, was averse to their Proposals, alledging rightly that it was neither Policy nor Piety by fuch a rash and needless adventure, to cast themfelves into manifest Danger. But Leutharis and Butilinus notwithstanding the inclinations of their King, entred into a League and promifed the Ambassadours aid. These were Brothers, Alemans by Nation, but of so great authority amongst the Franks, that they Governed their Compatriots, being first owned and preferred by Theodobert. Now if we give credit to Afinius Quadratus, (faith Agathias) an This fioris. Italian born, but one that wrote most accurately the affairs of Germany, these Alemans are a strange and mixt People, which their name sufficiently testifies. Theodorich King of the Goths having now made himself Master of Italy, had subdued them and made them Tributaries. As foon as he was Dead, and the War broke out betwixt Justinian and the Goths, the Goths flattering the Franks, and by all means endeavouring to gain their favour, both loft feveral other places, and were forc't to quit the Nation of the Alemans; for being to fight not so much for their Dominion as their being it felf, they conceived themselves bound to relinquish all their distant and supernumerary Subjects, and square and limit their affections by the Rules of Necessity. The Alemans being thus quitted by the Goths, Theodobert thought it as much his interest to gain them, and so bringing them under, left the Dominion over them and his other Subjects to his Son Theodobald. They began now, especially the wifer fort, to be civilized, and in their civil Government conformed themselves much to that of the Franks. As to Religion they differed, bestowing

on Trees, Rivers, Hills and Groves Divine Honours, by cutting off the Heads of Sect. Horses and other Creatures, and Sacrificing them to these dumb deities.

39. Leutharis then, and Butilinus, as we have formerly shewn, with considence enough invaded Italy, and had fuch fuccess as was answerable to their rashness and Indifcretion. Before this, Justinian, while Totilas yet lived, had fent his Ambassadour to Theodebald to defire he would joyn with him against the Goths, the ancient Enemies of his Nation, but received this answer, that with the Goths an alliance was already made, and that if any thing he retained in Italy, it was by confent of Totilas and the free furrender of that People; for the Reader must call to mind what we have already hinted, that Theodebert had moreover made tributary to him the Cottian Alpes with those toward the Sea, and Liguria and the maritime Coasts of Venetia, without any Right or Title, as the Emperour alledged. With this answer he dismissed the Ambassadour, Leonatius, a man born of a consular House, and sent Leudardus unto Casar under the same Character; and not long after the deseat of

CHAP. I. Contemporary with the Const. Roman Empire. Chlotharius.

Leutharis and Butilinus, died without iffue in the seventh year of his Reign. Some Faustine in with Theodobald dies, tell us that by his Testament he left his Great Uncle Chlotharius his Heir. But A-Mauri apud Fagathias, having told his Reader that he died miferably of a Difease which from his lib. I. very Birth had hung upon him, adds that whereas the Law of his Countrey called Childebert and Chlotharius his two Uncles to the Succession, a most grievous contention arose about it, which had like to have destroyed the whole Family. Childebert was both grown old and very Diseased, so that he appeared a mere Sceleton, and he had no Male Issue, onely Daughters. Chlotharius was not very old and had Acathias. lib. 20. four Sons, all full of Spirit and Vigour. He objected therefore that the Estate of Theodebald was not to go to his Brother, whose Kingdom in a short time would fall to him and his Sons. Neither did his hopes deceive him, for within a while the old man of his own accord gave up his Inheritance to him, fearing its credible the power of the man, and desirous not to have any quarrels with him. And not long after he himself Died, and so the Monarchy of the Franks was devolved upon Chlotharius. Gregory writes that Childebert died of a lingring Disease at Paris, where he was buried in the Church of St. Vincent, which he himfelf had built. And

appears from Aimoinus. Childebert died in the forty ninth year of his Reign, the one and thirtieth of Justinian, A. D. 557.

40. Thus remained Chlotharius Monarch of the Franks, and Lord of all Gall, which accided Chlatha- had not happened to any of that Nation before him, and shews us that the best riss Monarch of things of this world are fometimes granted to the worst of Mortals. Yet was he Lord of all Gall. not contented, but behaved himself in that manner, as if all was his due without acknowledgment of the power and interest of his Benefactour. Chramnus one of his Sons was ordained as a scourge against him, whom being a young man very flout and crafty, he had made Governour of Aquitaine. He bore himself higher than the quality of a Governour, or indeed that of a King would permit, acting all things like a Tyrant, and taking no other measures than from his own mere Lust and Pleasure. His Father being informed what courses he took, sent for him that he might give him better Counsel, but he instead of coming to his presence, goes to his Uncle Childebert at Paris, whom he incenses so far against his Father, that they enter into a League to deprive him both of Life and Kingdom. Chramnus hereupon goes back to Aquitaine, and in his passage endeavours to bring all places to submit to his Commands, his Father being now employed in a Wan with the Who makes war Saxons, which hindred him from marching against him in Person, but he sent upon the Saxons. Cherebert and Guntran two others of his Sons to chastise their rebellious and unna-

that Chlotharius seized on his Kingdom and Treasures, driving his two Daughters

into Exile, whereof the name of one was Crothberga, and the other Crothfinda, as

tural Brother. They fent to him to restore what without any Right or Title he had seized, and to gain time he promised he would doe it, as some write, or as others, answered that he could not doe it, yet professed himself his Father's Subject and Vasfal, and defired to keep what he had with his good leave and bleffing. They no way fatisfied with this answer prepared to fight, and then such an hideous tempest of Thunder and Lightning happened, as diverted them from their Intentions. Chram- Cabillonum (bodie nus then betakes himself to crast. He causes a Rumour to be spread that his Father Chalan fur Sanne was flain in the War against the Saxons, to which his two Brothers giving credit oppidum Advinensis hasted away into Burgundy. He followed them, and taking in his way Cabillonum proceeded as far as the Caltle of Divio. In the mean time his Uncle Childebert believing almentum in Gallia fo that his Brother was Dead, lead an Army to Reims and wasted the Countrey with celica. Fire and Sword, which done, he Died of a Fever, faith Aimoinus, and was Buried at Reims slim Due Paris by German the Bishop in the Church of St. Vincent, of which he himself had been Gallia Belgica.

Z 2 41. Chram-

41. Chramnus thus deprived of his Uncle's Affistence, betook himself to Conabus King of the Britains in Aremorica, where he presently renewed the War. His Father having made an end with the Saxons, concluded he was now by any means to be suppressed, and for that purpose marched himself in the Head of an Army Invades Britain, into Britain, making his Prayers to Almighty God, that he would be Judge betwixt them, and as formerly to David over Absalom, so he would please to give to him the Victory over his unnatural Son. This Prayer he made, but not with that

Fatherly tenderness which he did, whom he took for his Example. For it pleasing God to give him the Victory, instead of rejoycing for the fafety and Preservation of his Son, as we may believe David would have done, by the great forrow he And furprizing underwent for his Death, he caused him with his Wise and Daughters, (his Labour his rebel son for whose Preservation caused him to neglect taking ship, and so to be surprized) to be shut up in a poor Cottage, and therein to be burnt to Death. But if we can believe Gregory, he shewed abundance of good Nature in his Wars with the Saxons lately mentioned. They themselves gave the occasion, rebelling and denying the payment of their accustomed Tributes. But when he was come near their Countrey, they fent their Messengers to him and offered to pay the Arrears, and what he pleased more, so he would but withdraw his Army and leave them to their wonted repose and quiet. He thought it reasonable, and advised that they should not proceed farther against them, lest they sinned against God; but his Men alledged they were Lyars, and there was no trust to be given to what they said. Then did the Saxons offer the half of their Goods to purchase Peace, which the King willingly would have accepted, and used the same Argument as formerly to his Souldiers: But they would not therein Acquiesce. Then did the poor People offer their Clothes, their Cattel, and all other moveables they had, with half their Lands, so they might have their Wives and Children free, and Peace to live with them. The King then was very earnest with his Men foretelling their Ruine, if they would not rest satisfied with such unreasonable Proposals, and slatly refused to accompany them in the War. Hereupon they fell into a great Mutiny, and running with violence to his Tent tore it in pieces, and loaded him with reproachfull Words; affirming they would kill him, if he refused to go along with them. He was forced to go, but Battel being joyned after an innumerable Company flain on both fides, the Franks recovered a mighty overthrow. Chlotharius in great trouble then asked Peace, professing that he was drawn into the Action by Constraint. Which having obtained he returned home. 42. So is the story told by Gregory and Aimoinus, both favourers of the Franks.

to the advantage of Chlotharius, which little fuits with the comfant Deportment of his whole Life. Twice he committed Paricide: First killing his Nephews, and afterward his own Son, with his innocent Wife and Daughters. Befides Whoredom and Polygamy; of Incest he was guilty, in marrying two Sisters, the one while the other lived, and he frequented her Bed. Redegund was his first Wife, who was descended of the Royal Bloud of Thuringia, as we faid before, after her the Wife of his Brother Clodomir, and the Wife of his Nephew Theodobert. Besides these he married Ingundus, by whom he had five Sons. Gunthar, Childerick, Charibert, Gunchramn, Sygilbert, and Chlotfinda a Daughter. Then when this his Wife recommended her Sister Aregundis to him, to provide her a wealthy Husband; he himself fell in Love with her, and took her to Wife, and by her he had Chilperick; belides Chramnus, by another Woman called Chunsena. Having this load upon his Conscience, no wonder, if he was a little fensible thereof, especially when he knew he could not live much longer. He came, as Gregory tells us, to Tours, where at the Sepulchre of St. Martin he earnestly prayed, that his fins might be forgiven. Then went he and hunted in the Forest Cotia, where being seized with a Fever he returned to the Village called Compendium, where as he lay desperately fick, he utcompedium (bettered these words: Woe is me, what think you? What kind of beavenly King is he, di Competer who kills so great Kings in this manner? which expression Papirius Massons to inter
**Mandaman (be Mandaman (be Mand prets, that being a despifer of God, and impious all his Life, he could not die o- Payle de Votherwise, but with his last Breath accused him as grudging Life to mortal Men. Confinentian for Yet he died not till the one and fiftieth Year of his Reign: Or rather, that com- winum Aunta pleted, and was buried by his four Sons at Soiffons, in the Church dedicated to St. (Ainc.) & O. Medard of his own founding, in the thirty fourth Year of Justinian, the nineteenth Gallin Belgites atter, the Consulship of Basilius, A. D. 560.

And Death.

43. For four Sons he left to succeed him and no more, Gunthar, Chramn and Childe-The Kingdom rick being dead before him. Cherebert Reigned at Paris, Chilperick at Soissons, Gundivided among rick being dead before him. Cherebert Reigned at Paris, Chilperick at Soissons, Gundivided among rick being dead before him. Cherebert Reigned at Paris, Chilperick at Soissons, Gundivided among rick being dead before him. Cherebert Reigned at Paris, Chilperick at Soissons, Gundivided among rick being dead before him. Cherebert Reigned at Paris, Chilperick at Soissons, Gundivided among rick being dead before him. Cherebert Reigned at Paris, Chilperick at Soissons, Gundivided among rick being dead before him.

fion was not made before some Quarrelling betwirt the two Brothers, for Chilperick Sect. 3. was before-hand with them, and feizing his Father's Treasures, which lay at Paris, therewith hired Souldiers, and began to usurp upon them all. But they timely gathered Aiminar Paritogether, and forced him to quit his pretentions and come to an equal division of the fifth Gregorius setogether, and forced him to quit his pretentions, and come to an equal divition of the in Tradauca of Kingdom by Lot, which fellout as we have observed. Cherebert, (or Charibert) mar. ferwars frish in ried Ingeberga a very devout Woman; who having two Maids called, Marconefa and Alimbian. 1. 2. Merofidis, he fell so desperately in Love with them, that he rejected their Lady. For c2 this German, the Bishop of the place, severely rebuked him, and as some say, exc. Chronic of Ind communicated him, but he remained incorrigible, and therefore by the just Judg. Campted in fine ment of God both of them were speedily taken away, with a Son he had by one parts is Decrease. of them; and himself not long after dyed at a Castle called Blavia in creit.

Aquataine, and was buried in the Church of St. Remain. Gregory mentions and Blavia (before ther Wife he had, Theodogildis by Name, the Daughter of an Herdsman, as the Santonomy the Santonomy of the Sa other two were descended from a Cottage, who after his Death sent to his Bro- rumme maritither Guntherann, offering her felf to him in Marriage with all her Treasures. He um Gallia in Celfeemed to comply with her offer, and receiving the Treasures thrust her into a ties. Monastery at Arles, were tired quickly with the Austerities of that sort of Life, the fent privily to the Gothick King of Spain, making the fame offer, the had done to Guntheramn; but the Abheis surprized her as she was going out of the Monastery, and caufing her to be foundly heaten committed her to close Custody, where in great Trouble, she spent all her Wearisome days. This is the Account we have from Gregory and Aimoinus, concerning Cherebert King of Paris, which shews him Guilty of one of his Father's vices, although otherwife, as appears from other Writers, he excelled in Virtue, both him and all his Predecessours. Amongst many other things worthy of Memory, he is celebrated for his kindnels towards Vultrogotha the Wife, and his two Coulin Germans, the Daughters of Childebert, whom he very much esteemed, though not onely outed of their Inheritance, but banished by his Father. He is farther faid to have hated War and Contention, and to have been a great lover of Peace, Justice and good Letters. For he was the first of those Kings that understood Latin, his Father, Grandfather all before him, having onely spoken the Sicambrian Dialett, as appears from Venantius Fortunatus. Be-Lib.6: ing dead, his three Brothers seized on his Kingdom and divided it amongst them.

44. And as they made themselves the Heirs of his Kingdom, so of his vitious Course of Life, for all were Inheritours of their Father's intemperance; two of those that survived especially. Guntheramn (or Guntrann) had four Sons by divers Concubines; the Names of which, we are of Aimoinus his mind, that it is not worth the while to mention, being fuch like as they were, and all dying with their Issue before him. Yet this vice excepted, he is otherwise reported to have been a very good Man, a Prince both very just and upright, and of him this very strange ftory is related. Being on a time hunting in the Woods, and his followers difper-fed here and there, as the manner is, with one of his most trusty Servants, he sate down under a Tree, and leaning his Head in his Companion's Bosom fell affeep. As thus he slept, a certain Animal crept out of his Mouth, and made toward the Bank of a Rivolet adjoyning, as if it would go over, which his Servant perceiving, he drew his Sword and laid it a cross the Brook as a Bridge for it to pass, which accepting it went over upon it, and entering at the Foot of a certain Mountain after some hours stay, returned by the same Bridge into the Mouth of the King, Hereupon he presently awaked, and told to his Companion a strange Dream he had had; as that he beheld a vast River, over which lay an Iron Bridge, which having passed, he entred into a certain Cave at the bottom of a Mountain, wherein he beheld inestimable Treasures, the hidden Gaza of the ancient Fathers. Then the other tells him, what he had feen come out his Mouth, and it's agreed that the Mougtain be fearched, wherein just as he faid a Cave was found, and therein an unspeakable quantity of Gold and Silver, out of which the King at first intended to fend a very rich Vessel to Jerusalem to our Saviour's Sepulchre; but considering the difficulty of the Journey, and how the Saracens infelted those Coasts, he changed his mind, and bestowed the Present on the Church of Cabilo, which he had caused to be built over the Sepulchre of St. Marcellus, and as long as the Tomb of the Martyr continued in Gall, nothing for Workmanship could be found that was comparable to it. This Dream of Gustram hath been much written and spoken of in later times. Marius tells us, that it's at this day to be feen (he wrote but in Chron. Belg. ad the Year, 1635.) ingraven on a Marble in a very ancient Nunnery, in a Town Decimo miliori a

called Vefontione.

Sect. 3. called Palme ten miles diffant from Befançon, an imperial City fituate in the middle of the County of Burgundy. Some that think it not altogether impossible, for the rational Soul to be separated from a Man's body, and yet the Body live, a certain kind of Life flowing from that Temperature into which a spiritual substance can have no Energy or natural influence, do much concern themselves about the Crea-

ture that went in and out at the King's mouth.

45. But, to our bulinels. Sigebert knowing, that as to the matter of Women all his Brothers were much blamed, resolved not to split his Reputation upon the same Rock, and therefore fent into Spain to Athanagild (or Athanahild) King of the Sighert Marries Goths, to ask his Daughter Bruna, or Brunia, in Marriage. Having received her Bruna the King Goths, to ask his Daughter Bruna, or Brunia, in Marriage. Having received her of Spain Daugh-with a very rich Portion; for that she was an Arian, he caused her to be Christned, faith Gregory, or baptized faith Aimoinus, and the later adds, that causing her to be instructed in the Catholick faith, he changed her Name from Bruna to Brunechild; whereas the other calls her Brunehild at first, making no mention of any change of Name. The noise of this Match being spread abroad, and, as in such Cases is usual, the same of the Ladies worth being very great, Chilperick the other Brother who was already provided of a great number of Women, fent into Spain to procure her elder Sifter, promiting that if he could be so happy as to enjoy her, Chilperick Mar he would difmits all his other Wives. Atavafild believing him, fent his Daughter Gallion at Water feet her Silter. to him, Galfonta by Name, with a great deal of Treasure, and his Ambassadours at the ries her Sifter. the delivery of her demanded of Chilperick an Oath, that he would never put her from the Dignity of Queen. He readily gave it, but being of a very fickle and inconstant Humour, Fredeg undis one of his former Wives, again wound her felf into his Favour, and prevailed to be once more restored to his Bed. Having got fo great an opportunity of working her ends, she ceased not to improve it, and knowing she had got fast hold of him, carried her self as Queen, and put all affronts imaginable upon Galsonta. She poor Lady hereupon makes her Complaints, and for a time is put off with good Words; but at length, the difference increasing, at But strangles her in Bed. the Infligation of the Strumper, he, who had she been taken by an Enemy, was in Honour ingaged to have redeemed her with his Sword, nay if the Case had so required, with his very Life, as Aimoinus observes, was not ashamed, when she thought nothing less, in their common Bed to cause her to be strangled; a Villany unknown to a Tyrant, a Frank, and much more to a King, in fuch a manner to violate the Dignity of Marriage. His Brothers were inraged at the Fact, and thinking themselves highly obliged to punish it, agreed together to deprive him of his Kingdom. And that the thing took not, Chilperick was not so much beholding to his own Policy, as the flightness of the Council, and Advice upon which the

Defign it felf was founded. 46. But, to leave the wiving of those Kings, and come to something more fit

for them to Practife, and us to Write, not long after the Death of Chlotharius their Father; the Hunnes resolved to invade Gall out of Pannonia, with intention there to Plant themselves, as Attila long before them had attempted. Sigebert having notice of their Motions and delighting in War, for which Nature had very well qualified him, determined to pass the Rhine, and if they still proceeded to give them Battel in the farthest parts of Thuringia, which was then subject unto his own Jurisdiction. At the River Albis they met and fought, where Sigebert re-Albis, Pulman mained Victour over a most fierce Nation, having slain many thousands of them in 25th, comthe place; and returning home, expected thanks from his Brothers, as the com
paint many thousands or them in a Chlorinus the place; and returning home, expected thanks from his Brothers, as the com
paint from his Towns, and amongst others, had made himself Master of Reims, so that Like Birty

paint from his Brothers, as the com
is Sword which was not yet fully dry, he must again bathe in the Bloud of his this formati. Countreymen and Relations. Suessio or Soisson, the ordinary residence of his Bro-tarjage in denter there he takes by Force, and therein Theodebert his Son whom he sent to safe Custo-tarjastic and the same and the dy, then ingaging in Battel with him himfelf, he routs his Army, puts him to flight, ferina dl u and immediately recovers what was his own before his expedition. Having done aliqui airman thus much, he was so good Natur'd, as to make a Peace with him, and not onely restored him his Son, whom he sent away with great Gifts, but the City of Soissons alfo; and then being at his ease, he sent Goga the Major Domus, or his principal Minister into Spain to setch Brunchildis, which he did to his sorrow, as the event proved. For after the came to have once an Interest with the King her Husband, the alienated his mind from him by degrees, and at last persuaded him to put him

to Death; from which Act proceeded such Essusion of Noble, yea also of Royal

Bloud amongst the Franks, and such slaughters were made, that in Sibylla her

Prophecy they now accounted to be fulfilled, which foretold, that Bruma thould Sect. 3. come from the parts of Spain, before whose Face the Nations, or rather, the Kings of the Nations, should perish; but she her self should be kicked to death by

47. In the mean time the Saxons being Neighbours to Thuringia, did much mifchief to that Province, so that Sigebert was obliged to send one Lupus, an industrious Man, and a very good Souldier, to reduce them to reason, which not being able to doe without blows, he fell upon them, and on the Bank of the River Bory Venantias Ferti-daba, cut in pieces many thoulands of them, befides multitudes that were drowned in the River. Yet notwithstanding this People would not contain it self within its own bounds, but playing again the ill Neighbour, Sigebert himself, with a complete Army, marched against them, and sending away his Horse, fought on foot twice beaten by at the Head of his Men, which so animated them, that they got another notable Victory. At this Battel was present one Conda, now very Aged, but formerly an excellent Souldier, who loft two Sons in the Fight, young Men of very great valour. Theodorich, the Son of Clodonæus, in confideration of his worth, first made him a Colonel; then Theodobert having more experience of Conduct, gave him the place of Great Master of his Houshold, and after his Death he was, in a manner, Tutour to Theodobald, during his Minority. Afterward he served Chlotharius in the fame capacity, he had one Theodobert, who did nothing of moment without him, and at last, having outlived so many Kings, he was so dear to Sigebert, that he, and he alone, fate with him at his Table, than which, amongst the Franks, a greater Honour could not be conferred on a Subject. On the Death of his Sons Venantius Fortunatus wrote an Elegant Poem, from which we have this Account of the Battel, and the Fortune of this excellent Captain, which otherwise had been bu-

ried in eternal oblivion. Gregory and Aimoinus writing of the Wars against the

Saxons, spake nothing of this Conda, but great things of Mummolus, who obtained

feveral notable Victories over them, and the Lombards, which the Reader may find

in the History of this People, who at feveral times and under conduct of feveral

Captains invaded Gall. 48. Not long after the finishing of these Wars with the Saxons and Lombards, the Brothers fell at odds amongst themselves, the quarrel beginning betwixt Sigebert Gill Wars a. and Chilperick, whose Son Clodomeus seized upon Burdigala, but was thence expel. Burdigala, but was the Burdigala, but was the second Burdigala mang the Bre- led by one Sigulfus, who concerned himself in behalf of Sigebert. In the mean dum Binuigum time a difference also arose betwixt Sigebert and Guntram, who assembled all his Vibiscorum, de Bilhops together at Paris, to determine the Controversie, but the Civil War being ran in appendix to grow into greater slames they refused to stand to their determination, so great at linearism were their fins, as Gregory observeth. Chilperick after this fruitless Mediation was Gallia. Biturizes fo far incensed, as to send Theodobert his eldest Son, who had, when a Prisoner, gi- duabus suc gents ven his Oath never more to fight against his Uncle, to invade the Countries of the Countrie been part of the Inheritance of Cheribert, had fain to Sigebert. At Pittario or rum diters, but Poittiers he gave Battel to Gundobald, who endeavoured to put a flop to his Ca-guniberral, reirer, and gave him a notable overthrow, with which fuccess animated, he wasted lessen, ill Tarwith Fire and Sword the greatest part of the Countrey about Tours, and if they believe. with Fire and Sword the greatest part of the Countrey about Tours, and if they believem. Ut had not yielded themselves in time, had utterly destroyed them. Thence he re- in Geographia moved to the Lemonices, and Cadurci, the Territories of whom he invaded, wasted, Gallie. destroyed, burnt their Churches, caused their Service to cease, killed their Clerks, demolished the Monasteries of Men, deluded the Women, overturned all things, fo that in the Opinion of Gregory, the groans of these Churches were greater than they had been in the very days of Diocletian. Sigebert, as he had some reason. being moved with these violent Courses of his perfidious Nephew, sent and raised Forces beyond the Rhine, out of Thuringia, and the neighbouring Nations, which making up a great Army, he led them against Chilperick, who fearing that his Brother Guntram, had deserted him, because overcome by the Threats of Sigebert he had let his Forces pass the readiest way through his Countrey, desired Peace, which being granted, he capitulated that the places his Son had wasted, might not be called to account, having done nothing but what they were constrained to doe by Acts of fuch a violent and terrifying Nature.

49. By Virtue of the Accord, he was to give up all that Theodobert had lately Conquered, which done, the Army of Sigebert was to disband and march away. But being strangers, and having no other motive to the Service, but the defire of pay and Booty, they resolved, seeing their time was to be so short, to make the

Battel.

360 Sect. 3.

best use of it they could; and therefore risled all the Towns about Paris, and so returned, being nothing pleased with Sigebert for his so short Entertainment, who overpowered some with good Words, and others with harsh Deeds, causing several Mutineers to be stoned. Now all differences were composed betwire the Brothers, and nothing was expected but a perpetual Amity, and a good Correspondence nor to be infringed. But see the natural Disposition of these Franks: Chilperick the Year after railes Forces, and again makes Excursions into the Dominions of Sigebert, making waste of all things he light upon as formerly, which obliged his Brother to recall the Army, he had lately remitted into Germany. He himself marches toward Paris, and fends Orders to his Subjects living about Tours and other places, to make head against Theodobert, who having no mind to the Employment; he fent Godegifilus and Guntram, two of his Officers against him. Upon their appearance in the Field most of his Men deserted him, yet would he with a few, in Comparison, give them Battel, and being slain was carried by Arnulfus to the City of Engolisme and there buried. Chilperick upon the approach of Sigebert, when he heard that his Brother Guntram had made his Peace with him fled, to Tour-Tornacom, hale nay with his Wife and Children, and therein fortified himself. Sigebert took in Tournai, quinay with his wife and climoren, and therein forther minical solution and belgianm all Towns on this fide Paris, and came as far as Rothomagus or Rouen, whence re- ad scalding fix turning to Paris again, thither came to him his Wife Brunchildis with her Chilen bodie Metro-polis Venetio Cassorum in Gallia Celtica,

50. Now did these Franks, who had formerly been subject to Childebert the El-

der, fend to him, offering to renounce the Title of Chilperick, and to put them-

selves under his Government. Incouraged by this Address, he sent a Party to befiege his Brother in Tournay, resolving himself to follow with a greater force. At

a certain Village called Victoriacum, his Army came to a Rendezvous, and here fetting him upon a Target, (according to the custome of these Northern Nations, for so Vitigis was by the Goths inaugurated) they saluted him first King of Paris. Thus far all things tended to his wish; but the Fortune of the greatest Mo-King Sigebert

narchs is very instable. Two young men corrupted with gold by Fredegundis, the Wife or Strumpet of Chilperick, while he prides himself in his new Title, and receives the congratulations of his Officers, even in the midft of the Army, with poisoned Knives, in those days called Scramasaxi, set upon him on each side, and wounded him so, that he died speedily in the place, in the fortieth Year of his Age, and the fourteenth of his Reign. Chilperick having received the News, came out of Tourmay, and buried him at a Village, called Lambrus, near Doway, whence he was afterward removed to Soissons, to the Church of St. Medard, which being founded by Chlotharius, his Father, had been finished and beautified by himself. Chilperick thus, by the wickedness of other Men, being faved from imminent Ru-

ine, from Tournay went streight to Paris, where finding Brunichild, and her two young Daughters, he banished the Mother to Rouen, and the Daughters to * Meldi, * Meldos Paji young Dauguters, no commet in North Market Pierre Martona; as for Childer in Malle Pierre Is forceded by a Town lying upon, or rather a People living near, the River Martona; as for Childer in Malle Pierre Is forced by a Town lying upon, or rather a People living near, the River Martona with the Golden of Sigebert, Gundebald, his most faithfull Friend, had beforehand with the Childer in the Children of Martona pierre.

all feerecy imaginable conveyed him unto Metz. † Chilperick by Andonera, his first war, at var Wife, had three Sons, Theodobert, Meroneus and Clodonæus. Meroneus he fent against the first was the People living about Tours, being the Subjects of his Brother Guntram; but co-quaram aftifut

ming to that City under pretence of going to visit his own Mother, who lived banified amongst the Cenomani, he went to Rouen, and there he married Brunichildis.

tici Sepanaminer of Matronam shwiss; Les Brisis Celiques, le People de Brie Celique, aut var de Meux, of desse desse view Asme. Ali sons Melds Maritimi aque Belgici, sui Strabo diserte ait, of Cafar isse indicat com feribis, su justificatat Kant in Melds, ad showbendas exercitus in Britanniam. rn orients, an purchement exercises in streamment.

4 Chiberice in Venantius tradit, c), potentein dy validom adjutorem finat. Abjello litera C, quax in aliis minishus, Scaligero muntel, fieri abete, gf Hillp-rich, Hilps adjut estammum Helpe auxilium, Rich dives aus potents.

Hilperice potens si interpres Barbarus extet, Adjutor fortu hoc quoque nomen habes.

51. Chilperick was inraged upon hearing thereof, fearing the Craft and Wit of . the Woman, who he knew would never be reconciled to him, nor his Wife Fredegundis, but would work his Son to her own Will, and thrust him on to dangerous attempts against his Family. He goes down therefore with some Forces to Rouen. They take Sanctuary in a Church of St. Martin, whence they refuse to depart, till he had given his Oath, not onely for the immunity of their persons, but of their Marriage also. The Accord is made, and being come out of the Church, he fealls them for two days together, but then takes away his Son, not at all regar-

ding his Oath. As he returns, News is brought, that those about Campania and Sect. 3. Reims, had rifen up in Arms, and taken from him the City of Soiffons, which raifed in him fuch Indignation, that speedily increasing his Forces by new Levies, he goes against them, overthrows them in Battel, and retaking Soissons, puts many of the Nobility to death. Then fends he his Son Clodonaus against the People inhabiting about Tours, joining with him, as his Cousellour and Assistent, one Desiderius. Against them Mummolus, the Patritian of King Guntram, made head, and giving them battel, got the better, killing, Aimoinus faith, no less than fifty thoufand of their Men, with the loss of twenty thousand of his own followers, though Gregory mentions but twenty four thousand on the one side, and five thousand on the other. This put Chilperick much out of humour, and Fredegundis, his Wife, observing it, thought it a fit time to turn his Rage and Displeasure upon Meroneus his Son, whom she accused of Treachery, and abetting the Interest of Brunichildis. At her instigation he is shaven, and being thrust into a Monastery in an Island called Anifola, near to the Cenomani, there it is commanded that he be ordained Aninfula Mona. Prieft. But by the perfuafion of one Guntrain, a Count, he makes his escape thence, ferium of Cenard reassuming the Habit of a Lay-person, comes to Tours, and takes Sanctuary in Caring hate the Church of St. Martin, where Gregory the Bishop, our Historian, refused to Numan non proat give him the Communion, till he threatned to cause a Massacro of the People there. minds (Lain) for about to be made. He continued here for some time, to the great regret of his Fa-Vindecino (Van ther, and Fridegundu his Step-Mother, who used all means possible to intrap him. dome) urbe Pto-Being by her Wiles drawn out of this Church, with intention to be flain, though he escaped the danger, at length, after he had had recourse to Brunichildis, but was Qui Tarabannenrejected, he was circumvented by the People called Tarabannenses, who pretending Taranagis sithey would revolt to him from his Father, he used all speed imaginable to put himself minn. Est nature that the state of into their Hands. But having him once in their Power, they fent his Father no Tarnanna feu tice, who used all expedition to come at him, which he dreading, and expecting to don Morin be cruelly handled, he prevailed with one Gailenus, his follower, to kill him bodie Teroane. which he did with a Knife, run into his fide. The King coming after he expired, caused Gailenus to be tortured to death, with several others of his attendants. The Report went, that this Train was laid for this unfortunate young Man by Guntram Boso, who was very dear to Fredegundis, because he had slain Theodobert, another Son of Chilperick, and by Ægidius a Bishop, who had been a long time very familiar with her.

52. Childebert all this while reigned in the room of Sigebert his Father, a Child of scarcely five years old when the Succession was devolved upon him. By the procurement of Gundebald his faithfull Friend, the Estates resolved to stick close to him, rejecting all Proposals which could be made by Chilperick his Uncle, who feeing that he had escaped his Hands, and that his Subjects were not to be moved from their Fidelity, made a Virtue of Necessity, pretended great kindness, and at his demand released Brunichildis his Mother, and sent her to him. Guntram, his other Uncle, feemed more ferious and fincere in his pretenfions, who having loft all his Children, after that grief would give him leave to confider the flate of his Affairs, cast his Eye upon this his young Kinsman, as him whom both Nature and Providence designed for his Heir, and therefore he sent to him, offering him all kindness, and desiring that he would do him the favour to see him. Those about childeter cour. the youth weighing all circumstances, were of opinion, that considering he had no ted by his Un- Children of his own, he could have no Plot upon him, and so they came to an Interview, at a Bridge called Petreus, where there wanted no expressions, nor other

figns, of Joy and Affection. After long Embraces, Guntram told him, that feeing that his Sins had pulled down the Judgment of being Childless upon him, and that those who proceeded from the Loins of others were to inherit his Territories, and his Treasures, he thought none so fit as himself, his Nephew, whom he now adopted for his Son, defiring that fuch affection might grow betwixt them, as became so near a Relation, that one Buckler might protect them, and one and the fame Lance defend them against their Enemies. In case it should so happen, that he should have Children, he promised he would look upon him as his Son, and have the same kindness ever for him as he had at present, expecting the like from him, which his Nobility promifed in his behalf. After this they dined lovingly together, and making each other rich Presents, parted asunder, having agreed upon a joint Embassy to Chilperick, to require that he would restore such parcels of their

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Dominions as he had got into his Hands, or otherwise to expect and prepare for War. Chilperick flighted the Message, spending his time in making Cirques both at Soiffons and Paris, for entertaining with Shews the People of those

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53. About this time happened some stirs in Britain, upon this occasion. Macli-Stirs in Britain. anus and Bodiccus, both Counts of that Countrey, had by Oath covenanted betwixt themselves, that whosoever was the longer liver, should patronize and defend the Sons of the other, no otherwife than his own Children. It happens that Bodiccus dies first, and leaves behind him a Son, named Theodorick, whom Maclianus treats fo contrary to his Oath, that he outs him of his Inheritance, and lays it to his own Demains. Theodorick thus abused, wanders a long time up and down in a desolate condition; but at last the Britains took pity on him, and fell with such violence upon the Usurper, that they kill him, together with Jacob his Son, and settle Theodorick in what was left him by his Father, Warochus, another Son of Maclianus, stoutly making good his own Inheritance. In the mean time Chilperick busies himself with Prætextatus the Bishop of Rouen, whom accusing of having conspired with his Son Meroneus against him, he brings him to his Tryal before a Synod of Bishops. Prætextatus denied all that was objected. The Bishops either flattered the King, or at least held their peace, onely Gregory of Tours, the Historian, as he himself tells us, stood to the truth, and for so doing came into trouble, but he told the King his own freely. *Chilperick* seeing he could not prevail, but that the Bishop justified himself sufficiently, set some upon him, who persuaded him that an end might speedily be put to his troubles, and he might not in vain contest with the King, to confess himself guilty, which he did, casting himself at his feet, acknowledging that he endeavoured to depose him, and settle his Son (whose Godfather he was) in his Throne. Chilperick most unworthily takes advantage at this confession, and falling at the Feet of the Bishops, demands Justice against him, and afterward fends them a Book of Canons, wherein this was contained, That a Bishop being taken in Murther, Adultery, or Perjury, should be deposed. He required that either his Coat or Rochet might be torn in pieces, or that the hundred and eighth Psalm, containing the Curies of Iscariot, might be read over his Head, or that they would proceed to excommunication. The Bishop of Tours withstood all these demands, urging the Canons, against which the King had promised that he would act nothing. But Prætextatus was taken from them, and committed to Prison, whence endeavouring to make his Escape, he was grievously beaten, and fent into an Island of the Sea, near adjacent to the City Constantina. This happened a little before the death of Meroneus.

54. Not long after Samfon, the youngest Son of Chilperick, died of the Dysenterry, joyned with a Fever. He was born then when Chilperick was befieged in Tourney by his Brother, and Fredegunds being in great apprehension of death, neglected the Infant, affoon as it was born, and in a desperate humour would have suffered it to perish, but he reviled her for her neglect, and commanded it to be baptized, after which it fearcely lived four years. Fredegundis also her self was at this time very fick, but recovered, to the ruine almost of her Husband's Family, through her implacable Malice against his Sons. He, though his Charge and Care by the death of his Children might have been lessened, yet grew more covetous than ever, at the instigation of his Wife, laying such heavy Taxes upon his People, that many of them made the best of what they had, and departed out of his Dominions.

Subjects of

The Lemonices made an Infurrection, had flain (Aimoinus faith they did flay) Mark Lemonic faith the Collectour, but that he was refcued by the Bifhop; and burnt all the Books Lemonic, had not Papers they could come by, that concerned the Tax.

To suppress this Rebel. In Gallecthin. lion, the King fent certain of his Officers, with competent Forces, who punished the Rioters with great feverity, and Churchmen, amongst others, whom the Courtiers, as Gregory tells us, falfly accused; which done, more heavy Impositions were laid upon the Countrey. Not long after, viz. in the fifth year of Childebert, which was the nineteenth of Chilperick and Guntram, feveral Prodigies appeared, and were followed by a violent Difease, which raged all over Gall, being that which Physicians call Cholera Morbus. The Parties were taken with a Dysentery and Vomiting, which were accompanied with a great pain in their Reins, and in their Heads or Necks. That they vomited was yellow or green, and many thought they were poisoned, it's certain that such Herbs as are accounted to relist Poison,

did relieve most that made use of them. Beginning in August, it first destroyed a Sect. 3. multitude of Children, and then invaded those of riper years. Chilperick himself was brought very low with it, and when he recovered, his youngest Son, as yet not baptized, fell fick, whom when they faw in danger, they caufed to be chriftned. When he grew fomething better, his Brother Chladobert was feized with the Difeate, whom his Mother Fredegundis perceiving in danger of death, began to confider, and entertain more ferious thoughts than formerly.

55. In this good fit, which was not like long to continue, the became a Preacher of Mercy to the King her Husband, she defired him to consider in what danger they were to be bereaved of their Children, and affirmed that the Cries and Tears which destroy of Orphans and Widows pulled down these Judgments upon their Heads; thereed wast numbers fore she befought him that he would no-more burthen his People, but commit to the Fire the Books of the late Tax, which he did with his own hands. Not long after this their youngest Son died, whom from the Village Brennacus they conveyed to Paris, and caused to be buried in the Church of St. Denis, Chlodobert, their other Son, being very weak, they carried in a Litter to the Church of St. Medard in Soiffons, and laying him at the Sepulchre of the Saint, made Vows for his Recovery; but he died at midnight of a Confumption, and was buried in the Church of St. Crifpin and Crispinian, Martyrs, the whole City being in deep mourning, as for their nearest Relations. Of this Disease also died Austrigildis, the Wife of King Guntram, so wicked at her death, that unwilling to die alone, the procured two of her Phylicians to be fent after her, through her false Accusations. Chilperick, by the loss of his Children, was grown very charitable, giving much to the poor, and liberally endowing many Churches. Yet the bewitching words of his Wife Fredegundis made him forget natural Affection it felf; for whereas he had but one Son remaining, Chlodonæus by Name, the caused him to be sent to Brennacus, a place, as she thought, infected, for there her own Children had yielded to Nature. Here, as he lay, he let flip some foolish words concerning his future greatness, (for he thought he had reason to expect to be King) and the punishment he would inslict upon his Enemies. The report hereof being brought to her Ears, she was filled with Rage and Jealousie, and accused him of very wicked Designs unto his Father, who was fo uxorious and unnatural, as to give him up into her Hands. Within a while the caused him to be stabbed with a Knife, and gave out, that he had killed himself, which his miserable Father easily believed, and rejoiced in his destruction. His Mother was put to a cruel Death, his Sifter condemned to a Monastery, and all their Estates were seized to the use of the Queen, who caused a young Woman, with whom Chlodoneus was faid to be in Love, to be burned alive, and others that favoured his Cause, with various torments to be destroyed.

56. During these Domestick Miseries, which if he could have understood it, happened to Chilperick, the Britains, under conduct of Warochus, their Count, invaded his Dominions with Fire and Sword, against whom some opposition was made, but onely with this Effect, that exasperated them the more, and made them commit great outrages in their Incursions. He attempted also something against his Nephew Childebert, though to no purpose, whose Officers had both honesty and ability faithfully and successfully to serve him. Betwixt his Brother Guntram and him, there was no good Intelligence, and it happening that Miriothe, King of Gallicia, who there reigned over the Suevi, fending his Ambassadours to Guntram, he intercepted at Poictiers, and caused them to be conveyed to Paris. where he clapt them in Prison, and dismissed them not till after a whole years durance. With Lewigildus the King of Spain, he feems now to have been at Peace, notwithstanding the just offence given to the Nation of the Goths in the matter of Galfuintha; for that King fent his Ambassadour to him, Egilanus by name, with whom, being at present a violent Arian, though afterward in his misery he recanted. Gregory our Historian had a disputation, which verbatim he has published in his Book. Not long after the Ambassadours, which Chilperick had sent to Tiberius the Emperour, returned, after three years spent in their Employment, and after so much labour and toil, were shipwreckt in the Haven. For not daring to put into the Port of Marfeilles, by reason of the Dissentions risen amongst the French Kings. they made for that of Agathe, a Town belonging to the Goths, and before they could land, their Ship was by a Tempest driven, and striking upon ground was broken to pieces. The Ambassadours, and most of their followers, yet escaped upon Boards fafe to land, and most of their baggage was saved, though, as usually

Sect. 3. happens in wrecks, that the adjoining Inhabitants, instead of relieving those in distreis, rob them of what the fury of the Waves hath spared, the Townsmen pilfred all they could. Gregory the Bifhop tells us, he then waited upon the King at Novigentum, where he shewed him a Jewel he had, made up of Gold and pretious Stones, weighing fifty pounds, for the adorning and ennobling the Nation of the Franks, as he faid, adding, that if he lived, he would doe more in that kind. He shewed him also certain Aurei, sent him by the Emperour; whereof each weighed a pound, being stamped with the Emperour's Image, encircled with this Inscription, Tiberii Constantini Perpetui Augusti: and having on the reverse a Chariot with four Horses, and a Driver, with these words, Gloria Romanorum. Besides many other things the Ambassadours had brought him.

57. Mention being here made of the Diffentions of the Kings, we are told by our Authour, that while the King lay still in this Village of Novigentum, or Saint Civil Wars again Clou, Ambassadours came to him from his Nephew Childebert, making offers of Peace and a strict Alliance, by virtue of which they were to out Guntram of his Kingdom, and part it betwixt them. Chilperick was very glad of the overture, being very desirous to beget an ill Understanding betwixt his Brother and Nephew, and foothing them with good Words and large Promifes, of making childebert his Heir, (foralmuch as he had not now any Sons left him,) difmifed them with very great rewards. The cause of the Quarrel betwixt Childebert and Guntram, it seems, was this: Guntram, after his Brother's death, had given part of Marseilles to his Son Childebert, but now thought fit to deprive him of it, which the young man much stomaching, first strengthened himself by this New Alliance, and then sent to him, requiring he might be put into Possession of what was his own, else he lets him know the keeping of this inconsiderable thing should cost him the loofing of far greater matters. Guntram however refuses to put him in Possession, and aware of some force to be attempted, secures all the Avenues of his Kingdom. Chilperick takes his opportunity at these their Dissentions, and sends Defiderius with an Army into the Territories of Guntram, who takes *Petrogoricum, † Aginnum, and all other fatis augustus Progoricum Towns in those Quarters of Aquitaine.

pulus Les Peri-

Metropolis Volfana, Elle amni impofita Perigneus. † Aginnum, bodie Agen, Metropolis Volcarum Nitibirigum, ad dextram Garanza. Ripam, sipra ipsius of Oldi staminis constantum.

58. The following Year, which was the feventh of Childebert, and the one and twentieth of his two Uncles, in the Month of January, there was great Thunder and Lightning, Flowers appeared upon Trees, and a Comet appeared, encircled, as it were, with Darkness, having a terrible Tail. On Easter-day, at Soissons, the Heavens feemed to burn. Not far from Paris it rained Bloud, and fo stained the Clothes of many, that it could not be got out. These Prodigies were followed by a grievous Contagion, which swept away multitudes of People, dying suddenly, afloon as the Bubo appeared on their Groins. This same Year, wherein also Tiberius the Emperour died, had Chilperick another Son born, after so many he had loft, which so affected him, that he commanded the Prilons to be set open, and forgave many Debts owing to his Exchequer. His Son he would have baptized at Paris, whither he went on Easter-Eve, and because by the common Agreement of the Kings, a Curse was laid upon him that should come into that City without the Knowledge and Consent of the rest, to avoid the Curse he was so cunning, as to have feveral Reliques of Saints to be carried before him at his Entry. All this while the difference about Marseilles continued betwixt Guntram and his Nephew, who now again sent his Ambassadours to Chilperick, with offers of entring into a more strict Alliance; and desires to join with him in an Invasion of Guntram's Dominions, to force him to reason with dint of Sword. The Agreement being confirmed on both fides by Oath, Chilperick being of himself sufficiently inclined to the War, prefently raifed an Army, and marched to Paris, where having done much harm to the Inhabitants, he entred his Brother's Territories, and wasted all where he came with Fire and Sword. Some of his Officers he fent to take an Oath of Fidelity from the Biturices, who refusing to break their Faith, gave Battel to Desiderius his Captain, and so great slaughter was made, that of both Armies perished more than feven thousand. But it seems the Biturices had the worst, for Chilperick his Men proceeded toward their Metropolis, and made such havock and destruction of all things, as, if we can believe an Historian, and a Bishop, the like was never heard of in former times, not so much as an House, nor a Vine, nor any other Tree,

being left standing, and as great Indignities being offered to all hallowed places, by Sect. 2. which these Forces did pass.

59. This did Chilperick by himself without the conjunction of his Nephew's Arms, which might more imbolden his Brother Guntram to make head against him, and that he did with fuch fuccess, that falling upon his men in an Evening, he cut off the greatest part of his Army, and compelled him the day following to fend, and desire a Peace, which was granted, the matter being put into the Hands of certain Commissioners appointed on each side. Then did Chilperick recall all

After the Civil his men he had fent into feveral Quarters, who yet in their passage they great war agent Mur mischief to the Countrey People. This defolation by War was followed by a great ration Quet.

Muyerin and Deeth of Crest which have difficult was followed by a great ration. Murrain and Death of Cattel, which raged in fuch a measure, that it became a strange fight to see a Cow, or any other such like Creature. In the mean time, Childebert got his men together, and made up a confiderable Army, which fell fuddenly into a Mutiny, crying out that the Bishop of Rheims, and some others of the prime Ministers were Traitours, selling his Countries, and Cities unto his Enemies, and Tumults arose to that height, that they came to the King's Tent, demanding them to be delivered up into their hands, and they with much adoe escaped, the Bishop amongst the rest flying as fast as his Horse could carry him, and leaving one Shoe behind him for hafte. What this Mutiny of the Army procured we know not, but Childebert in the Ninth year of his Reign, had his share of Marseilles delivered up to him by his Uncle Guntram. What content soever he received hereby, his Uncle Childebert about the fame time had his former forrows renewed, his young 8on now scarce a year old being taken away by a Dysentery. This caused him to give cool Entertainment to the Ambassadours of Lenvichild the Spanish King, who being fent to ask his Daughter in Marriage, for the Son of that King, though he had already consented to the Proposals, yet upon notice of his Son's Death, he recalled back the Ambassadours, who were now on their way homewards and would needs change the Bride, pitching, instead of his Daughter begotten on his beloved Fredegund, on another which he had by Audonerá, lock't up in the Nunnery of Poictiers. But the young Lady was averse, Radegund the Abbess exceedingly concerning her self, and affirming, that it was a thing altogether improper, for a Maid that had dedicated her felf to Chrift, again to return to these Earthly pleasures.

60. But there wanted not some flatterers who made the Queen believe that her young Son was bewitched to Death, and that by the especial procurement of Mummolus a great Officer, whom she had of a long time mortally hated. Many of the Women of Paris, which either she or her Attendants pretended reason to suspect. she subjected to various Torments, burning some, and breaking others upon the Wheel; then went she with the King to Compendium, where she took her opportunity to lay the load upon Mummolus, who was instantly fent for, loaded with Chains and grievously tortured. Yet did not he confess any thing which had relation to the Death of the Child, though he could not deny but that feveral Ointments and Potions he had received from those Women, to procure favour and respect from the King and Queen. After an increase of Torments, when the Hangmen themselves were weary of their Office, and an end was to be put to their pains, and his fufferings by the impending Sword, by the wonderfull bounty and kindness of the Queen he was reprieved, though carried in a Cart to Bourdeaux, and utterly despoiled of his whole Estate, the loss of which he not long survived. Fredegund to put an end to her forrow by destroying what was an occasion of it, burnt all the Clothes and Furniture that belonged to the Child, four Waggons full as was reported, neither would she spare such Gold and Silver as had belonged to him, but

made it pass the fornace to alter and deface its former fashion.

61. As foon as grief would give him leave, Chilperick confidering that his Brother and Nephew were reconciled, and measuring the desires of others by his own Inclinations, prefumed that they would fall upon him to wrest out of his hands those Towns which upon their difference he had invaded. He therefore sent to the several Governours to bid them stand upon their Guard, he himself went to the City of Cambray where he refolved to secure both his Person and all his Treasure; while he here mues up himself, he has another Son born to him, whom he commanded to be close kept in the Town called Victoriacum, lest appearing abroad any mischief should befall him. Childebert at this time was in Italy, having been formerly hired by Mauricius the Emperour for fifty thousand Solidi, to make War up-

Scot. 3. on the Lombards in that Countrey. Gregory tells us that they being apprehensive of his great Power submitted themselves to his Commands, gave him great gifts The Lumbards and promifed fidelity, which done, he returned home having thus deluded the Emperour, who demanding the money to be repayed, he confiding in his own ilrength, returned him no answer at all as to that matter. This Summer many Prodigies appeared, and all the Corn and Wine was destroyed by ill weather, a great Murrain also raging amongst Cattel. But the Eyes of the People were something diverted from these sad spectacles, by a splendid Embassy sent from the Goths to Chilperick about the Marriage of his Daughter. Nothing was wanting to fet out the Bride in fuch an Equipage, as might demonstrate the Wealth and Magnificence of her Family. An incredible quantity of Gold and Silver he gave her, and her Mother out with such abundance that she her self had hoarded up, that the King himself imagined she had utterly exhausted his publick Treasure. But she went away with the curses of the people, of which some whole Families were thrust into Waggons and compelled to accompany her, and as she passed out of the Gate of Paris, the Axletree of her Chariot brake, which was interpreted as an ill Omen. Fifty Horsemen of her Train slipped away, and went to Children with their Golden Bridles and Chains, and every day almost some of her Company left her. The Army that attended her for fear of any attempt from the other two Kings, being about four thouland men, rifled and pillaged the Countrey; and committed all forts of Outrages in their passage.

62. While the Bride was thus on her way toward her Nuptial Enjoyments, Fredegund her Mother enjoyed her beloved Lauderick the Major Domus of the Palace. with whom she was ordinarily unclean, carrying it so cunningly, that nothing was less expected by her Husband, who still in an extravagant measure doted on her. But on a time when he was gone out to Hunt, she thinking he was sure, retired into the inner Room of her Apartment to wash her self, when the King, either changing his mind as to Hunting or upon some other account, speedily returned and followed her into her Chamber, where as she lay upon her sace, he in jest gently struck her with his Rod. She imagining it had been Lauderick called him by that Name, and a so. 56. asked him why he did fo, or used some more wanton kind of expression, which has a guiden the Chilperick having heard, sell into a violent fit of Jealousse, and thence into so terrefer. On the control of the control o great a Rage that the House could not hold him, but out he would go into the Gallici alii ali-Woods to cool himself and vent his passion. She understood very well by his ter. Audi value words and gestures in what Estate she was, and adding boldness to her Crime, Du Haillan dasscalled for Lauderick, told him her mistake and bid him think of his Grave and not Jon Hillsine de of her Bed any more. He fell into a great unquietness cursing the day they had prochas ferentbegun their unlawfull Pleafures, and cried out that he knew not what way to turn ment & else, & chilprick Mur-him or to escape the danger. She in short takes him up and tells him what she qu'il tenite a li uriance of his would have him to doe to save both their Lives, and this was no less than to procure main, by dans trianged in him to doe to save both their Lives, and this was no less than to procure main, by dans the contract of the contra Wife Fredgand Some to kill the King, as he came home in the dusk of the Evening from Hunting. The same home in the same home from the same home in the same home from the same home in the same home from the same home from the same home home home home from the same home f He approving fire advice, which takes a within the fire and it is the fire from his fitt quee being fary, fent fome he could trust upon the Errand, who as the King lighted from his fitt quee being fary, fent for the far far within the dark without discovery, and when it was done, gave houst. Ilms out that the Fact was committed by fome that had been set on by his Nephew Chil. He man Lady debert, who, they said, were sled amain into the Woods, taking the advantage of said in some the woods, taking the advantage of said in the fit in spirit in the fit in th

the Night and thickets.

par deriere D'autres difens qu' elle dit Leudry, pourquéy trapper vous par derriere, frapper par deuant , si vous en avez envie , sant on que le Rey suir party. Quoy qu'il en sist, l'euze ni l'autre résponse ne vault gueres, & ne pouvoit estre gueres plaisante a un chary.

63. These No-bodies were by some body pursued with as great success as the Reader can imagine, Lauderick and Fredegund laughing in their Sleeves, and rejoycing that through the fecret management of the affair, they had not onely escaped Death, but should Reign together with her, (it's probable also his) Son Chlotharius; for fo was the young Child called. Madalulphus the Bishop of Sylvaneata, who attended three days but could not be admitted to his presence, (he carried Who is buried himself so haughtily) hearing he was killed, came to the place and causing the body to be washed, and better Clothed, carried it by water from Cala where the Murther was committed to Paris, and there Buried it in the Church of St. Vincent, Locan iffin now St. Germain Dezprez, where as yet is to be feen his Tomb with his Image, cut appellat Villam upon an hollow stone, in the Walk that lies before the high Altar toward the North. Calenjam, Dr. upon an hollow itone, in the Walk that his before the high Anat toward the North. Guiding with His left hand is ftretched out toward his Beard and Throat, as it, as fome imagine, innair of children with the chi

he would fignifie that in that part he had been Murthered. But Philip Lautery. Master of the French King's Mint, had his very Seal wherein he was cut in this very posture, which makes it more probable that it was familiar to him, it having been the ordinary course when long Beards were in fashion, for all sorts of men as they walked or mused, to handle them and put them into shape. Round about his Sepulchral-stone are these words ingraved, Rex Chilpericus hoc tegitur Lapide, or King Chilperick lies under this Stone. In the Table of the French Kings to be seen still in the Library at Bruffels, he is Pictur'd in an ordinary travelling Coat, fuch as Capitolinus writes that the Emperour Verus used, or an Hunting Garment, such as Virgil faith Dido was wrapped in when she went out to that sport, (by him called Chlamys , but by Juvenal Cucullus , and Martial Bardocucullus ,) and that in such an ordinary Habit he was flain appears by what is written concerning the Bifhop, that he caused his body after it was washed to be adorned with more Royal Vestments. He was the first of those French Kings that applied their minds to Poetry, and without the help of an Interpreter could discourse in several Languages, if Venantius Fortunatus doth not flatter him.

CHAP. I. Contemporary with the Conft. Roman Empire.

64. Gregory, the Bishop, and from him Aimoinus writes, that he thought himself wifer than all men living, and in imitation of Sedulius composed two Books of Verses, which were very lame in their feet, or Scazontes, as Aimoinus calls them, Endow Claudie, Thort fyllables being put for long, and long ones for fhort, through his exceeding Scatomes vertis, great Improvement in things of this Nature. Ver from the Entroph he made for the idefl. classic great Ignorance in things of this Nature. Yet from the Epitaph he made for St. canet, qui en-great Ignorance in things of this Nature. Yet from the Epitaph he made for St. canet, qui en-German, some plead that he wanted not a Poetical genius, and they grive whethat these meris his nontwo Books of Verses are not extant to answer for themselves. It's certain that the Papirius Massium. Orthography of the Franks lame before for want of certain Letters, he made upright by addition of fuch as answered to $\uparrow \omega$, χ , θ , φ , or Omega, ch, th, ph, in the $\uparrow Green$, ih, ξ . Greek Language, sending his Edicks abroad, whereby he commanded that Children error Likaring should be taught them, and such Books as wanted them, to be razed and transfering in Edicar fhould be taught them, and fuch Books as wanted them, to be razed and transcri-rum in Editine bed. But whatever he was as to his Intellectuals, his Morals were naught, as Gre-Paiss, 1510., gory inflanceth, and we already have feen in feveral particulars. The Bishop calls 8, 4, 7, 7, 7, min the || Nero and Herod of his time, and thus he makes good the names he gives Ref. dimining the purpose and deventation of Cities and with like 1820. him. As Nero of old, so he rejoyced in the burning and devastation of Cities and His inque car Provinces. He animadverted upon perfons on purpose to conflicate their Estates. has pressinged the made his Belly his God, hated the Poor, despited and reviled the Clergy, up-cs, Ner nifit braiding the Bithops with their Riches * and Honours, and affirming that all respect tempor to the was from Kings transferred upon their persons. Out of such a kind of principle, redsensed with the nulled such + Testaments as were made in favour of the Church, as also many tax as were reade in favour of the Church, Orders made by his Father, believing that his own Rules would be infringed after vifiana quali cenhis Death. As for Lust and Luxury, that in thought cannot be imagined which he cedit. indeed did not practife. Never was he wanting in devifing new Arts and Mysteries. ** Mall penius to oppress the people, and if any were found blame-worthy, it was nothing with regamment by the property of the property of the people. him to bid their Eyes to be pulled out of their Heads, this being one of his efpe. **manife-directions given to his Judges against such as disobeyed his Orders.** In conclusions distinctions given to his Judges against such as disobeyed his Orders. fion, he never cordially loved any man, nor ever did any love him. He died in Greg. lib. 6. cult. fion, he never cordially loved any man, nor ever out any love min. Fit died in the 23 year of his Reign, the fecond of the Emperour Mauricius, the tenth of Pe. † Object his the 23 year of his Reign, the fector of the first forgation. lagius the fecond Bithop of Rome, the year of our Lord 387, according to the foliamma que common account, although if according to the computation of Joseph Scaliger, we firstfully confix his beginning at the 560 of our Lord, and he Reigned but twenty three years, plrange slipes his Death must have fail at farthest but into the beginning of the year 584. But it is described in considering that Gregory Turonensis makes mention of the Emperour || Mauricius, be-7, c-7, shi air fore the Death of Chilperick, and that he had Reigned some time, (some years it's de Gantson monocolible) whereas the beginning of Musicius is placed but at the 38 cay of our Fidemant depossible,) whereas the beginning of Mauricius is placed but at the 586 year of our Instruments de Lord, had Chilperick Died in the 584, at that time there must have been no such edisa bestern-Emperour; and therefore this account cannot be true, or the feries of the years of finerant & the Emperous mult be also presculted as years find a fine of the company of t the Emperours must be also unravelled, as upon farther consideration we shall find press. furant, they must; Tiberius the Emperour Dying, and Mauricius succeeding him, rather restaurant. in the 582 year of our Lord. autem Mauricio

quinquaginta millia folidorum acceperat scil. Childebertus, ut Longobardos de Italia extruderes

65. Chilperick being Dead, the Murtherers notwithstanding their former hopes by some fresh accidents, found themselves obliged to make their Addresses to Gun-

Sect. 3. tram, who they knew, upon the rumour of the Murther if once it should come out, would be speedily upon them. To colour therefore the matter, as well as to make Fredezend ap a vertue of Necessity, Fredezend having taken up her abode in the Church of Paplies her fell to ris, fends him Letters moft tull of fawning and flattery, calling him her Lord, and flatter or ris, fends him Letters moft tull of fawning tulk to the Merchant of the Buschen of the desiring him to come and take Possession of the Kingdom of his Brother, whose Son an Infant the was ready to put into his Armes, and fully accommodate her felf to his will and pleasure. Guntram it's said, as he ever shewed more good Nature than any of his Brothers, wept bitterly at the report of his Brother's Death, and as foon as grief would give him leave got together fome Forces, and therewith who eners the marched to Paris. Childebert his Nephew having notice of what had passed, was Dominions of perfwaded also to go thither and see what Markets he could make out of the late Calamity, but the Citizens of Paris would not admit him into the Town, whereupon he was forced to fend his Ambasladours on his Errand, which was to flatter Guntram with the Title of most pious Father, and to desire that the League made betwixt his Father and him might be now most strictly observed. Guntram received them as they had deserved, charging them with perfidious Dealings, who had never suffered his Nephew to stand to any Agreement, but lately caused him to break all Leagues and Alliances by a late Compact made with Chilperick, for driving him out of his Kingdom, and sharing his Cities betwixt them, and therewith he shewed them the very Articles themselves signed with their own hands, and therefore demanded of them how they could be so impudent, as to desire that now he should friendly entertain his Nephew, whom they by their tricks and devises had rendred so much his Enemy. They intreated him then that if he would not be pleas'd to grant his Nephew what he had once promifed him, yet he would let him enjoy these Towns that had faln to his share by the Death of Charibert. To this he replied and shewed them the Writings, whereby it was agreed that which soever of the Brothers without the consent of the rest should go to Paris, should loose his share, and that Poliotius the Martyr, with Hilary and Martin the Confesiours, thould be Judge and Avenger betwixt them. Yet did Sigebert his Brother enter

> it, except by his own bounty and free gift. With this answer, he bade them begon, like diffembling and perfidious Persons as they were, and make a relation thereof

> to his Nephew their Master. 66. These Ambassadours being returned, others were sent within a while to de-

mand Fredegund the Queen might be given up into his Hands, which had procured the Death, as they faid, of his Aunt, and had Murthered his Father, his Uncle, and his Coulin Germans; but Guntram thinking the might be ferviceable for fetling the Affairs of her Son gave answer onely, that he would consider of it, and made much could be found to the could be something the would protect her against all her Enemies. Now did the on her, promining ne would protect ner against all ner Enemies. Now did the ceeds chilprick Nobility affemble themselves to their King of four months old, whom they called a fing. Chlotharius, and ordered that all the Towns which had been subject to Chilperick, should swear fealty to Guntram and Chlotharius his Nephew. Guntram as a means to keep all in quiet as well as to fatisfie Justice, caused Restitution to be made of what had been unjustly taken away from any in his Brother's time, gave much to Churches, and confirmed fuch gifts as having been made to them by Testaments, had been affigned by Chilperick to other Uses; he carried himself to all with much affability, and was very bountifull to the Poor. Yet knowing fufficiently the humour of his Nation, would not he trust himself amongst them without a strong Guard where c'er he came. On a certain Lord's day when he was at Church, and the Deacon had injoyned to the People filence that the Service might begin, he took the opportunity to fpeak to them, "adjuring them to be true to him, and not

that place, and perishing by the Judgment of God, lost his share, and so also did

Chilperick, fo that both of them having forfeited their parts, the whole Kingdom of

Charibert together with his Treasures was by Law devolved upon him, and that

he was refolved to have it as his right, not having any one to enjoy any parcel of

" were but three years longer to foster his young Nephews, which were now be-" come his Adoptive Sons, left it should come to pass (which God forbid,) that he "and they being made away, all the People should also Perish with them, there "being none left of their lineage to protect them. This he having faid, the "whole multitude poured out their Prayers to Almighty God for his Prefer-

" Murther him as they had lately done his Brothers; that he might live though it

67. While matters thus went about Paris, the Daughter of Chilperick, Rigun- Sect. 2. this by Name, having proceeded in her Journey toward Spain as far as Tolouse, and being now upon the Borders of the Gothick Territories there made a stop to rest her felf and followers, and put her Train into some better order and Decorum, being wea-

ried and disordered by the Travel, and Accidents of so long a Journey. Here while they made an hault, News comes of Chilperick his Death, which when Defiderius a great Officer of the Countrey understood, he got together a Company of flout Fellows, and entring Tolouse seized upon all the Treasure the Lady was carrying along with her, and committed her to close Custody till his return. He then

tarius, he fent and demanded him of his Brother, and being brought to his Prefence.

caused his long Hair to be cut off; affirming, that he never begot him. After the Death of Clotarius King Charibert received him, afterward Sigebert got him into

his hands, and fent him to Coloine to Prison, as Aimoinus and the French Chroni-

clers will have it. However, thence he made his Escape and went to Narses, who

then Commanded in Italy, for the Emperour; his Hair being grown again, like

those of the Frank Bloud Royal. In Italy he married, begot Children, and after-

wards went to Constantinople, when long after he was invited by some (by Gun-

tram Bojo'tis faid) to come back into Gall, and Landing at Marfeilles was enter-

tained by Theodore the Bishop, who furnished him with Horses to convey him to

Mummolus, who then also lay in Avinion. Hereupon Guntram a Dux (as Gre-

gory calls both him, Desiderius, and Mummolus) the same with Boso, as appears from

Aimoinus a great Officer of those parts, to conceal it seems what he had done, ap-

prehends the Bishop, and commits him for having admitted a stranger into the

Countrey, and made way for betraying the Kingdom of the Franks into he Empe-

rour's hands, and though he produced a Letter written by some Noblemen of the

Subjects of Childebert, to testifie he had done nothing but what he was Commanded

goes and enters into Council with Mummolus, with whom he had entred into a othersenter in Strick League and Confederacy two years before, who then lay at Avinion with to a Compiracy one Gundebald, who bore himself for one of the Bloud Royal. And so it seems he

was, being a Bastard Son of King Clotarius, who not owning him; his Mother having Educated him after the Royal Fashion, with his Hair grown in length, prefented him to Childebert as his Nephew, and his flesh and bloud. He having no Sons Gregorius, lib. 7. of his own, receives him and keeps him with him, which being made known to Ch-

to doe, yet came he to great trouble, as also did Guntram the Officer himself, whom King Guntram had suspected to have sent for Gundobald. 68. For Guntram the Officer, sharing with another Officer of King Guntram, the Treasure of Gundobald (who had retired for his Security into a certain Island of the Sea adjoyning) after he had carried much Gold and Silver to the Metropolis of the Arverni, where it feems his Command lay; went to speak with Childebert, and in his return was intercepted by King Guntram, who threatned him with Death, for inviting Gundobald into Gall. He laid the fault upon Mummolus, and as a Testimony of his Innocency, delivered his Son as an Hostage into the King's hand, till he took Mummolus and brought him before him. Hereupon he dismissed him, and he gathering a numerous Army went and befieged him in his City, but to no purpose, for after some vain Attempts, Childebert sent Gundulfus one of his Captains, and raised the Siege; Mummolus he brought to Arvernum, whence after fome time he returned to Avinion, and there joyning with Defiderius, as was faid, they conveyed Gundobald to a place called Briva Curretia, and therefaccording to the Custome, lifting him aloft upon a Target proclaimed him King. But carrying him a third time about the Army, he and the Target fell together, fo that he could feareely be raifed by the Standers-by. Now was it October, when Bunches of Grapes appeared upon Vines, and Flowers upon other Fruit-Trees. Several strange Lights also appeared in the Heavens, the Earth quaked, and several other strange things fell out, which in the opinion of Men, were foreruners and figns of the Ruine

69. In the mean time, King Guntram sent his Captains to take in such Cities as having formerly belonged to Charibert, his Brother Sigebert had reduced to his test Gree. own obedience. Those of Tours and Poictiers were inclined toward Childebert, Sigebert his Son; but the Biturici fell into their Territories, and forced them to submit themselves, at least for a time, to the Government of Guntram. Childebert his Affairs thus going to wreck, he fent his Ambassadours once more to his Uncle to require, that his Towns might be restored, and Fredegund given up into his hands, to re-

67. While

Sect. 3. ceive her Condign punishment. But he fent those that he had formerly employed, who being very unacceptable to Guntram; very sharp words passed betwixt them, and from Words it came to Deeds, the King caufing Dung and other kinds of filth to be cast out upon their Heads at their departure. Fredegund perceiving how much the was favoured by the King, was more imboldned to follow on that Course of Cruelty and Bloud, to which her wicked Nature did incline her. Such as came from her Daughter now at Toloufe, though but to bring her the News of her misfortune, the handled with all Indignities imaginable. Prætextatus, the Bishop of Rouen, she still persecuted, who appealing to Guntram, it was found that he never had been by any Synod deposed, which she objected, and so he was remitted to his See. The King being now very fenfible of her unquiet and turbulent Humour, caused her to retire to a Village called Rothoiale near to Rouen, whither she was Conducted by her Husband's Nobility, who used her with all Respect, and promised her to use all diligence and fidelity in the Education of her Son. But this Confinement she took in great distain, and perceiving her self out of request and Power, began to think of *Brunechild*, whom being in good Esteem in the Court of her Son Childebert, she much envied and hated, and to that degree her more than Womanish Emulation rose, that she persuaded a certain Clerk to go to her House, and getting into her Family by degrees to infinuate himself into her Presence. and when he had got a convenient opportunity, to kill her. He cunningly enough observed her rules, but by some means or other the Plot was discovered, and the fellow was fent back Ignominiously to her, whom for his Labour she rewarded, by cutting off his Hands and his Feet. Whether the report of these Acts of Cruelty, made Guntram suspect she had an hand in her Husband's death or no, we know not. but presently after, he began to make Inquisition after it. But she so craftily ordered her Affairs, as to cast the whole load upon Eberulfus the Chamberlain, with whom she was faln out, because after the Death of Chilperick he refused to live with her. This Eberulf was a very bad Man indeed, as appears from the Character given him by Gregory, who had too much occasion to understand him, and whether Guilty or no, took Sanctuary in the Church of St. Martin, his Estate being disposed of by the King. Here he had not long continued, when Guntram fent one Claudius with great Promises to Tours, persuading him, either to take him alive or kill him; yet so, as not to violate the Privileges of the place. This Claudius being covetous, goeth to Fredegund and gets Money of her for doing the feat, then with many Oaths doth he promife Friendship to the man, and grows fo Familiar with him, that getting a convenient opportunity he kills him within the Sanctuary. A great Tumult hereupon arising, the Servants of Eberulf, coming in to rescue their Master, seeing him already dispatched kill Claudius, who thus received the reward of his Perjury, and those that belonged to the Church and the Abby, mixing themselves with the multitude, much more Bloud was spilt in the place.

70. This Year being the tenth of King Childebert, those of Poiltiers revolted again from Guntram, against whom he sent a strong Army, and constrained them after much hurt done to the Countrey, to return to obedience. This done, the Army had Orders to march against Gundobald, who improved his time in risling of Patities to Several Cities; fome whereof willingly received him, and others that their Gates dated. upon him, as did Tolouse, though to no purpose, not able to withstand the Power he brought along with him. He perceiving he was like to have a great Task of it, a strong Army being already on its march against him, sent two Messengers, or Ambassadours as he would call them to Guntram with consecrated Rods in their hands, as was the Custome of the Franks, that none might touch them; but having done their Message, they might return in safety with the Answer. But they were so indifcreet as before they came to the King's Presence, to blab out the Errand on which they were fent, which coming to his Ears they were met in the way, and being bound with Chains, were then brought before him. They concealed nothing of their Message, but told him that Gundobald who lately arrived out of the East, and affirmed himself the Son of Chlotharius, had sent them to demand his share of his Father's Kingdom, which if by fair means it could not be granted; they were to let him know, that with a numerous Army he would speedily be with him, for all the Men of Courage which inhabited beyond the River Dorononia. had joyned themselves with him, and this he said, that when once they came into the Field, then God Almighty would determine the Controversie, whether indeed he was the Son of Chlotharius. Guntram fell into a great Rage, and Commanded

them to be tortured. In their pains, they confessed that his Niece the Daughter of Sect. 2. Chilperick had given up the Treasures, at Tolouse; that Gundobald was earnestly defired as King, by all the Nobility of King Childebert; for Guntram Boso, who some years agoe had made a Journey to Constantinople, had invited him to come 71. King Guntram was very much startled to hear what they faid, concer-

CHAP. I. Contemporary with the Conft. Roman Empire.

ning the Noblemen of Childebert, and thought fit to fend for him, that he might hear the Confession of the Messengers. In his Presence they constantly affirmed the same thing, and some of those that were Guilty absented themselves, not daring to be present at the meeting. Guntram seeing how his Nephew was betray'd, in a great Passion of Pity and Commiseration, delivered a Spear into his hands, telling him thereby, he delivered over to him his whole Kingdom; and bidding him go, and what Cities foever belonged to him to use them, no otherwise than his own, for as much as he onely remained of his Lineage, being his Brother's Son; and therefore defigning him his Successiour, utterly disclaiming all elle whatsoever. Then taking the Youth apart, he discoursed with him in private, Conjuring him, that he should not reveal what he propounded to him. He told him, whom he should make of his Council, whom he should trust, of whom to beware, whom to employ, and whom to remove from places of truft and Employment. Especially, he gave warning to beware of Egidius the Bishop, who said, had everybeen an Enemy to him, and had forsworn himself very often to his Father. Then Dining together, he turned to the followers of his Nephew, and bade them look upon him now no more as a Child, but Respect and Reverence him as their King. Having spent three days together, they parted with all Expressions and Tokens of love and kindness. Guntram gave Order, that whatever Towns had been ever his Father's should be given up into his hands, and bade him beware of Brunechild his Mother, whom he ought not to trust, though his nearest Relation, in matters which concerned Gundobald. 72. Gundobald hearing of the great Army that was coming against him, and be-

ing now forfaken by Desiderius, came with Mynmolus, Bladasses and others to Connena, a City seated beyond the River Garumna upon a very high Rock; the Inhabitants whereof he informed, how great a force would prefently be with them. and therefore as a Friend he advised them, that whatever Provisions, or other things they had in the Countrey, they should not fail to fetch them in. This when the Inhabitants had done, after a little time he told them, the Enemy was come, and perfuaded them to iffue out against him, which they innocently did, and then shuts the Gates upon them, and keeps them out. The Army which we faid had incamped it felf upon the River Dordonia, hearing that Gundobald lay on the farther Bank of the Garonne, were restless to be at him, upon a Rumour, that there he lay with all the Treasure which had belonged to Rigundis, the Daughter of Chilperick. Leaving the more inconsiderable fort, with the Baggage behind them, the rest ventured to pais the River, and though many of them were drowned, yet a sufficient number got fafe over to the other Bank, where they found a multitude of Camels and Conducted Bage Mules loaden with Gold and Silver, which having thared and incamped themselves before Connenæ, and not fatisfied with their former Booty, plundred and wasted all the Countrey adjoyning. Then began they to jeer and revile Gundobald, calling him Bellimeres, for fo King Guntram affirmed he was rightly called, and that his Father was a poor Artificer, naming him both a Miller and a dreffer of Wooll. He from the Walls laboured to take them off from their violent Profecution, telling them, he was the true Son of Chlotharius; and how by Guntram Boso he had been invited from Constantinople, upon Pretence that the Royal Family was much dimmifhed, Guntram his Brother (as he called him) onely surviving now of all his Father's Children; besides Childebert the Son of his Brother Sigehert was but young, and Chilperick his other Brother had lately left an Infant behind him. He infifted much upon the Hardness of his Case, and said he was willing to appear before his Brother Guntram, and stand to his Judgment and Award.

73. This nothing moved the Souldiers, who perceiving the Town was not to be stormed, thought best to send to Mummolus, and try whether they could work him off, and persuade him to oblige King Guntram, by deserting and delivering up into his hands this Counterfeit, as they termed him. Lendegifilus then who Commanded the Army (being by Office the Over-feer of the King's Horses, whom they commonly call Comestabilis saith Aimoinus) procuring Speech with him up-

Bbb 2

Sect. 3. braided him for quitting his Allegiance to his King, and serving an Usurper; asked him what it was he could expect, whether to perish miserably, the Town being once taken; and advised him by all means to return to his Master, who was very mercifull, and whom he might oblige by removing these Difficulties and Intanglements, into which he had been the great means of bringing him. Mummolus promising he would consider of the matter, goes back into the City and resolves with Sagittarius a Bishop, and Waddo (for Bladasses fearing what might happen, had set Fire to an House belonging to the Church, and while they were busie in quenching it escaped) to yield both the Town and Gundobald into the King's hands. Lendegifilus promifing them Pardon and Indemnity. Mummolus then tells Gundobald, he had tried the minds of the Beliegers, and found them not at all averse to him; but they admired he would not have recourse to his Brother Guntram, whom he knew would be Friendly to him, and he uses many Arguments to put himself into the King's hands. The poor Man saw well enough his drift, and sell into a Passion. upbraiding him and his Companions, for inviting him into Europe, taking his Treasures from him, when he arrived, and now betraying him into the hands of his Enemies. Perceiving it was no contending he went out with them, and being

his Cause, he was by one Bollo Count of the Bituriges, tumbled down the Rock into

the Valley, and by Boso brained with a stone. 74. The Rabble insulted over the dead Body, stabbing it with their Lances, which done, they tyed a Rope to the Feet, and dragged it throughout the Camp; after which having the Hair and Beard torn from the Head, it was cast out unburied in the same place, where he had been slain. The Town they plundered, put all to the Sword they found in it, and then burnt it, no kind of Persons, things or places being spared. Lendegifilus returning to the Camp with his Prisoners, Mum-molus, Sagittarius, Cariulfus and Waddo, sent privately to the King, to know what should be done with them. Guntram returned word they should be put to Death, for Mammalar and a Terrour to others in time to come, which was executed speedily upon Mammalas the reft faring and the Bishop; for Waddo and Cariulfus having left their Sons as Hostages were got away, Waddo who was the Major Domus of Rigunthis, afterward betook himfelf to Brunichild, and being kindly entertained was difmiffed with great Gifts; Cariulfus took Sanctuary in the Church of St. Martin. Of all the Treasure which Lendegifilus brought home, Guntram bestowed the greatest part upon Churches and the Poor, and of another vast sum (two hundred and fifty Talents of Silver, and above thirty of Gold, which being an old Treasure was found by Mummelus as it was thought, and was now by his Wife discovered) that part which fell to his share (for he divided it betwixt himself and his Nephew Childebert) he bestowed (or the most of it) upon such like uses. Those that had been too slow in the expedition against Gundobald were fixed, and amongst the rest, such as belong-

ed to a Cell of St. Martin, which our Historian, the Successiour of that Saint takes,

delivered up after a Prayer, wherein he defired Almighty God to be the Avenger of

very ill. This year was there great Famine throughout all Gall, many of the poorer

fort perishing for want of Victuals. 75. Childebert having received Money from the Emperour to fight against the Lombards, was so wearied with the Importunities of the Imperialits, or ashamed to have received the Money, and not performed this part of the Bargain, that he fent his Army into Italy; but his Captains it feems being too many, and equal in Power, quarrelled one with another, and returned without having any thing of moment performed. This year was notable for the great Rains, which feemed to turn Summer into Winter; but neither they, nor the Water of the Sea it felf was fufficient to extinguish two Fires, which if we may Credit our Authour, confumed two Islands, in the space of seven days, with the Inhabitants, and all other things upon them. In another Island near Vienna was there a Pool, which being full of Fish, the Water of it was for the depth of an Ell turned into Bloud, so that for many days together multitudes of Dogs, Fowls, and such like Creatures came and Spain allo invaded by the Contention of Ingundis his Niece, the Sifter of Childebert; who having been married to Herminichild, the Son of Lennichild, the King. was grievously readers. Orthodox Religion, and her Husband being put to Death, was before (or after) Gregoriu bar in delivered into the hands of the Emperour's Officers, (he having an Army in those re man fils con-Quarters) and died in Africk, as the was going with her young Son to Constantinople, who, as others write, after his Mother was dead in Italy, was thither conveyed

The Britains

in fafety to the Emperour's Court. The Armies of Guntram and his Nephew Chil- Sect. 3. debert made several Inrodes and Attempts upon certain places, upon the Fronteers. but usually with bad Success, and one time with very great loss of Men. Of this defeat Fredegund was thought to be a principal Cause, by the close Intelligence she was presumed to have in Spain, though nothing could be proved against her. However, she attempted to Murther Childebert by her Emissaries, whom she furnished with poisoned Knives, and though this her design was discovered by the Men themselves, who confessed she had sent them to doe the Deed, under the difguise of Beggars; yet Pratextatus the Bishop of Rouen, against whom she had long time born a great Grudge, she procured to be wounded to Death in his own

76. About this time, the whole City of Paris in a manner was burnt, yet were

Church, as he was celebrating Divine Service.

the Churches and the Houses of the Priests saved; a Report going, that the City was fo Confecrated of old, that no Fire should absolutely prevail against it, neither any Mouse nor Serpent be found in it; but in his time Gregory tells us, the River about the Bridge being cleansed, a Serpent and a Mouse of Brass were found in it, after which both Mice and Serpents appeared without number, and it was thenceforth subject unto Fire. This same Year, which was the eleventh of Childebert, was a Son born unto him, and called Theodobert, at whose Birth King Guntram so very much rejoyced, that upon the News received, he speedily sent away his Ambassadours with great Gifts to the Child: "Saying, that if it pleased God, that Fa-"ther and Son should live together, the Boy might prove a great Instrument for "advancing the Honour and Reputation of the Franks. Fredegund was much out of Humour, to fee the Family of her Rival thus profper, and though of late she had had but ill Success, as to the Bloud Royal; yet she resolved to make another Tryal, and that now upon the Person of Guntram, thinking that if he were once out of the way, she should be better able to deal with young Childebert and his Relations; but neither would this Project take, for the Man was discovered in the Church e'er he could come at the King as he went to Prayers, and rewarded as he had deserved. The same Year, which was the twelfth of Childebert, he had Green Thronanother Son born, who was named Theodorick, and a little after by the means of lib. 9. his Uncle Guntram, he discovered a dangerous Conspiracy for taking away his Life, entred into by one Rauchingus Urfio, and Berthefred, Men of prime note and Employment in his Kingdom. Not long after, was Guntram Boso by both Kings at a meeting judged to Death for Treason; whose Death broke the Heart of Agenius Bishop of Verdun, that passed his Word for him. About this time the Britains inhabiting Aremorica, made great Devastations in the Countries about Nantes and make great De-valuations about Renes, and though upon apprehension of an Invasion to be made into their own Territories, they humbled themselves, and condescended to terms, yet when the Danger was over, they again renewed their Hostilities. The Lombards now courted Childebert, and defired a Marriage betwixt their King and his Sifter Clodofuinda, to which he at first was minded to condescend; but Leunieldus the King of Spain being lately Dead, Richardus his Son and Successour, having abjured the Arian Herefie, purged himfelf of the other Sisters Death, who had been married to his Brother, and most earnestly desired his Alliance. This made him break his Promise made to the Lombards, and because he knew not well how to excuse him-

77. This Army had the same Success, as others that had been sent before, and was to be expected from the joynt and equal Command of feveral Officers. So great flaughter was made of them, as if we may Credit an Historian, and a Bi-Thop, the like never had happened unto this Nation. Childebert upon the News of capculation of the defeat, was touched with fo great a Sense of the Diminution of his Honour, while the the resoluted to raise another than the resoluted than the that he resolved to raise another Army, and lead it himself into Italy, of which defign they having notice given them, fent to him, gave him fair Words, and by a Promise of Tribute diverted him from his purpose; though when they saw the fform was over, they never became so good as their Word. Guntram his Uncle had advised him to a Peace, as indeed being more favourable to the Lombards than the Goths, whom he distasted for the Cruelty shewn to his Neice, the Wife of Herminfredus; and for that in the feveral Attempts he had made to revenge her misfortune, and to gain upon the Territories of the Goths, he had most commonly

felf, and come off by fair means, he resolved to begin the Quarrel first, and in Complyance with the Emperour's pretentions, fent an Army to invade Italy.

come off with disadvantage. Notwithstanding what his Nephew Childebert had

Sect. 3. defigned about the Match, he fent another Army into Septimania, where it was furprized, lying in great fecurity, by the Goths, and utterly routed, above two thouland being taken Prifoners. This made Guntram suspect his Nephew of having held Intelligence with the Enemy, and, as it was usual with those Kings, upon any milunderstanding he shut up his frontier Towns, and denied all passage to his Subjects, and this increased his jealousie, that Childebert had lately thoughts of sending his eldest Son Theodobert to reside at Soissons, which he interpreted as done with defign to make, as it were by flealth, a passage to Paris, by which means gaining the Hearts of the Citizens, he would pull then for the whole, and deprive him, if it might be, of his Kingdom. He spake now very harshly of Brunichild, as having laid the platform of this delign, and affirmed the had fent for one of the Sons of Gundobald to marry him. He caused a Synod of Bishops to be summoned to meet on the first of November, and many were on their way from the utmost parts of Gall, when News was brought that Brunichild had purged her felf by Oath of the things laid to her charge. Hereupon they returned, and the ways were again opened to any of Childebert his Subjects, that had occasion to pass into these Quar-

78. Childebert now dared to fend his Son to Soiffons, without fear of giving Offence and matter of Jealousie to his Uncle. Keeping his own Court with his Wife and Mother near Stratzburg, he consented he should reside there, at the earnest defire of the principal Inhabitants, who received him with all demonstrations of Kindness and Assection, with his Train and Equipage, which was every way appointed as for the Son of so great a King. Presently after a discovery was made of a Conspiracy betwixt Sanegiflus, his Comes Stabuli, and others, who had made a compact with Septimina, the Nurse of his Children, to poison or bewitch Failenba his Queen, which being done, when he had married another Wife, they thought they should rule him as they pleased; if not, he was also to be sent out of the way, and then, as Guardians and Protectours of his Children, they were to share the Government. This Year, which was the fourteenth of Childebert, after Easter-Week, fo great Rains fell, that in the space of three Hours great Rivers seemed to run through the Vallies. In Autumn the Trees blossomed, and Apples appeared as in the Spring. In September Roses were found to grow, and Rivers overflowed their Banks to such an height as never formerly had been known, to the great hindrance of fowing the Winter Corn. But these Overflowings not onely happened in Gall; for Gregory tells, that the year following his Deacon returning from Rome with certain Reliques, made relation, that the River Tiber, in the felf fame Month, had, by an unheard-of Inundation, drowned all that City, destroyed the ancient Buildings thereof, and overturned the Barns belonging to the Church, wherein fome thousands of Measures of Wheat were laid up. A Multitude of Serpents, with an huge Dragon, as big as a Beam of Timber, Iwam down the River into the Sea, and being funocated in the falt Water, were cast dead upon the shore, and then followed a dreadfull Plague (called Lues Inguinaria, from the Bubo's that arose in the groin) which fwept away a great number of People. This is the Plague wherewith many being feized, fell into a fit of fneezing, and fuddenly died, whence some would derive the custome of praying for such as sneeze, which Opinion we consute in another place. As for this Dragon which swam down the River, it could not be of that fort of Creatures which Naturalists properly call Dragons, but fome other Serpent, monstrous for bigness, and therein exceeding all such creeping things, by Pliny called Box, which he himself relates to have been sometimes seen Lib. 8. 6.14 in those parts of Italy which lie upon Tiber. From the noisome Vapours isluing out of their Carcasses, a Venome might be transmitted into the Air, already subject to putrefaction through excess and moisture.

79. About this time Childebert fent his Ambassadours to Mauricius the Emperour, who touching at Carthage in their way, there happened a great Fray betwixt their Train and the Townsmen, a French Boy having taken something out of a Tradesman Shop, and refusing to restore it. The Magistrate of the Town, to revenge the injury, which was utterly unknown to the Ambassadours, fell upon them and their followers at their Lodgings, and though they promifed to spare their Lives, if they would furrender their Persons, yet in the heat of their Fury two of them they killed, Bodegifilus and Evantius by Name, and Grippo, the third Man that bore this publick Character, hardly escaped their violence, standing upon his guard, and so gaining time to reason the matter with them, and shew them the

danger they had incurred. Moved with his Arguments they pacified themselves, and at length withdrew to their Houses, and the Magistrate came to Grippo, and would have excused, or at least extenuated the Fact, offering him his utmost assistence for his sate travel to the Emperour's Court. Thither being come, after the fignification of the business for which he was sent, he complained of the violence offered to the Law of Nations in the Murther of his Fellow-Ambassadours, of which Mauricius shewed a great Resentment, promising to give all satisfaction that Childebert should require, who being satisfied with what Grippo reported at his return, by virtue of the League lately renewed, fent twenty Captains into Italy, to destroy the Lombards. Several of these Officers used in their passage their fellow-Subjects and Countreymen no otherwise than as Lombards indeed, acting all things Souldiers are wont to doe in an Enemies Countrey, and when they were come into Italy, through their variety of Opinions, and separating themselves, did little of moment, but being exposed to the Strategems and Arts of the Lombards, after a vain expectation of succours from the Emperour, which was promised would be with them after three days, having spent three Months in the Countrey, and most of them being confumed with Sickness and Famine, the rest returned home. And before they could reach the feveral places of their abode, they were forced to fell their Arms and their Clothes to buy them Victuals.

80. The Army of the Franks being thus retreated, Apracharius, the King of the Lombards, to prevent all farther Inconveniences of this nature, fent his Ambassadours to King Guntram, hoping by his Authority to prevail with, and pacifie his Nephew Childebert. Guntram by his good words was moved to recommend Peace as a defirable thing to his Nephew, but while the Ambassadours expected their difpatch in his Court, News came that the King their Master was dead, whereupon Childebert resolved to take farther time to deliberate, and telling them he would after mature confideration fignifie his Mind to those concerned, therewith dismiffed them. Mauricius, the Emperour, mindfull of the Affront which had been offered Childebert, ient twelve Men, who were conceived the guiltiest in the violence made upon his Ambassadours in Africk; but he, whether to reserve an occasion to make use of against the Emperour, or for other reasons, sent the Men back unhurt, saying, he could not accuse them particularly as Authours of the Injury, and that he

would fend Messengers of his own to him about this Assair. While these Transacti-The Britains a. ons were in hand, the Britains inhabiting Aremorica renewed the usual Devastagain infelt the fion into the parts about Nantes and Remes, where committing all forts of Infolencies, King Guntram fent an Army against them, under Command of two Captains Beppolenus and Ebracharius, who being equal in Authority, a pernitious course, which yet our Franks ordinarily practifed, fell out by the way, and thereupon the expedition had a fuccess suitable to those principles. In their march yet they agreed in this one thing, to commit all manner of Villanies upon the Countrey, and having passed the River Vicinonia, came as far as the other called Ulda. It happened Fredegund, that Fury of France, had a grudge to Beppolenus, and therefore hearing that he was employed against the Britains, sent to the Aid of Warocus, their Prince, a Party of Baio Cassine Saxons, with their Hair cut, and apparelled after the Britilh Falhion. Beppolenus ingaging with both Nations, though forfaken by Ebra-chartus his Collegue, who would not come near him out of defign he should miscarry, for two days together had good fuccess, and slew many of them, but the third day was overpowered and flain; which done, Warocus flattered Ebracharius, and fent him back with fair words, promiting to submit himself in all things unto Guntram. Yet forgetting both his Oath and Hostages, he had delivered, he sent Canain, his Son, to fall upon fuch of the Army as loitered, which he made Prifoners, killing those that resisted him. The Franks in their retreat fearing to come nigh the Countries they had so much injured, lest they should be prepared for them, took other ways, and did as much mischief where they came unlooked for. Some accused Ebracharius the Dux, and Wiliacharius a Comes, as having for money betrayed the Army, whereupon the former was forely taken up by Guntram, and discharged the Court; the other withdrew, and concealed himself till the form should be over.

81. The Year following being the fifteenth of Childebert, and the twenty ninth of Guntram, this King, who was eminent otherwise for his Mildness and Moderation, (confidering the fierceness and precipitancy of his Nation and Ancestours,) committed a Fact, for which he was taxed even by himself, with great cruelty

Sect. 3. and raffiness. Hunting in the Royal Wood or Forest, called Wosac, he perceived by fome evident tokens, that a Deer had been killed, and examining the Keeper. An Act of Cru- he accused Chundo, the King's Chamberlain. Chundo being taken into custody, fliffly denied the Fact, and the other as earneftly maintaining that he did it; for deciding the Controversic, the Combate was appointed to them. The Chamberlain had a Nephew which undertook it for him, who wounded the Keeper mortally, but falling upon him, the other received him upon the point of his Dagger, and fo they perished together. Chundo seeing this, and that his Innocency was left as doubtfull as before, made his escape towards the Church of St. Marcellus, at Cabillo- Cabillonium num, but the King being in a great Passion, commanded him to be pursued and one opposition apprehended, e'er he could reach the Sanctuary, and then to be tied to a stake, and Administration apprehended, e er ne condition into sanctual, and that death interface and flowed to death, which he much afterward lamented, and blamed himself, that in laters flows drain that the sanctual interfaces drain the sanctual that the sanctual interfaces are sanctually and blamed himself, that in laters flows drain the sanctual that the sa to precipitous and violent an humour, for fo small a fault, he had caused to be little Same, made away a very faithfull and usefull Servant. In the mean time young Chlotharius, the Son of Chilperick, fell dangerously sick, and all hope of Recovery was over, which caused Guntram to take a Journey towards Paris, to settle matters, and prevent all diforders, in case he died, but e'er he reached his Journeys end, news was brought that he was on his Recovery, a great means whereof was a rich Pre-fent his Mother had made to the Church of St. Martin, in the Opinion of our Gregory his Successour, who farther tells us, that Fredegund her Devotion being now very Warm, sent to Warecus into Britain to dismiss those that had been taken Prisoners The Villenies of When the Forces of Guntram made the last Invasion, whereby he judges it was evident. that by her tricks and devices Beppolenus had been flain, and the Army defeated in that ingagement. The temper of the Woman confidered, a very flight occasion might juffly minister matter of suspicion, for about the same time when Childebert was come into his Chapel, a fellow was there taken upon suspicion, and being tortured, confessed he was sent on purpose by her to kill him. He affirmed her Emisfaries were twelve in all, whereof fix were come thither, and the rest were ordered to Soiffons, to intrap, if possible, his young Son, there as then residing. Such of those Men as could be found, were subjected to mutilations of Members, and several forts of Torments; and fome, to prevent fuch Sufferings and Indignities, killed themselves. Above all, Sunnizglilus was most plied with tortures, his wounds be-

> posed, and afterward banished his Countrey, another being put into his place. 82. Fredegund was become so obdurate in cruelty, at least had brought her self into that opinion with the People, that no Murther scarcely could be committed, no Bloud fined, but she must be thought to have an hand in it. The People of Campania, upon such an occasion, fell into a Mutiny, desiring Childebert that the might be apprehended, and put to death, and the was forced to make use of her Friends and Dependents for her removal to another place. To divert these florms, at least to procure her felf shelter against them, she betook her to her flatteries, and now wrote to Guntram, to whom giving the Title of her Lord, she befought him to take the pains to come to Paris, and there cause her Son to be baptized, and be Godfather to him, looking no otherwise upon him than as his other Child. The King she had often heretofore amused with this Complement, but had still put him off from time to time, he suffering her not onely to enjoy her Life, and a Fortune becoming her condition, but also to order her young Son's matters, out of respect to the place she had born, and her present quality of a King's Mother. Now affoon as the Gout would give him leave to Paris he went, and commanding a Font to be prepared at the Village called Nemptodore, where attending the folemnity, Ambasladours come to him from his Nephew Childebert, who no jooner had received the News of his Uncle's Progress, but was seized with a fit of Jealousie and Emulation. They exposulate with him for joyning himself in Friendship and Amity with his Enemies, contrary to their former Accords, and complain that he designed to inthrone the Child in the City of Paris, a thing which confidering what regard was ever had to that place by all former Princes could not Lut tend to the difrepute and damage of *Childebert* and his Succeffours. *Guntram*

> ing still again opened when they began to heal. In his pains he confessed not one-

ly what related to the death of Chilperick, but feveral other Villanies, and discovered that Egidius, the Bilhop of Reimes, was a party with Raningus Orfio, and Buthefred, for taking away Childebert his Life. The Bishop was summoned before a

Syncd of his Equais, who upon the King's Command, convened for this purpose,

and being not onely found guilty of this, but of other notorious Treasons, was de-

gave them good words, professed he would make good to a tittle what he had ever Sect. 3. promifed their Mater, who had no reason to be offended at so good a work, as being Godsather to his wn Brother's Son, an Act of that Piety, that no Christian ought to refuse. He caled God to witness, he did it not with any design, but in the simplicity of his heart, and out of fear of divine Vengeance. In summ, he bad them go and tell him, that he would keep the Agreement inviolable, and would ne-Chairing their Font, he gave the Child the Name of Chotarins, withing that he might grow to be distant.

Head at Fath that Height, Eminency and Power, as he did formerly whole Name be here ver in the least infringe it, except e first gave some just occasion. Coming then to the Then, after mutual Feafting and Presents, he returned to Chalon, where, about two King Guntram years after, he died in the three and thirtien year of his Reign. In goodness he feems to have furpassed all his Predecessours, his bounty to the poor, his Piety toward the Church was remarkable. Leaving onely one Daughter, Chlothiardes by Name, Childebert his Nephew, the King of Australia, succeeded him in his Kingdoms of Orleance and Burgundy. He was buried in the Church of St. Marcellus, (which now they call a Priory,) at Chalons, of his own foundation, being fo well accounted of by Posterity, as to have his Name put into their Martyrology, in which the eight and twentieth day of March is confecrated to his Memory. His Death fell in or about the thirteenth Year of Mauricius, the seventh of Gregory the

Great Bishop of Rome. A. D. 596. 83. Childebert his Dominions being enlarged by the Accession of two rich and powerfull Kingdoms, had the fame Itch of Ambition and Covetousness in his bloud Appendix Add Groas had been usually in his Ancestours. To cover yet this Passion of his Mind, he hist of himself and the state of the history of the history of himself and history of history o was not destitute of very specious pretences. Fredegund was yet alive, not onely PMS lib. 3. 6.81. his Enemy in particular, but the Plague and Bane of his whole Family. To revenge

the Death of his Father and Uncle he would take up Arms, both who had peri-Who prepares flied by her Villany, not to mention others of their bloud, as the several Sons of was prepared in the Husband, whom, as the most wicked of all Step-Mothers, she had caused most reduced and cruelly to be made away. He raises his Forces, and commits them to the Confliction duct of two Captains, Gundoald and Wintrio, whom he commands to invade the duct of two Captains, Gundoald and Wintrio, whom he commands to invade the Enemies Territories, to plunder and burn all before them, and take as many Prifoners as they could lead away, and with these Instructions they march from Campania, lying about Reims, to Soissons, which they beliege. In the mean time Fredegund knowing how much she was concerned to bestir her self, omitted nothing requifite for an effectual refiftence. Having called together such of the Franks as had been subject to her Husband, she shewed them their young King hanging at her Breast, and by words and gestures, fitted every way to the present occasion, moved their Pity toward the Infant, and their Indignation against those that had no regard to his Tenderness and Innocency. She promised large Rewards to such as should shew themselves zealous and courageous in his behalf, and desiring them to obey the Orders of Lauderick, (whom King Guntram, as Aimoinus writes, had left Guardian to her Son,) told them, she her self would find out a Strategeme, whereby they should easily overpower their Enemies. Having in the night season entred a Wood, Lauderick their Captain takes an Hatchet, and cuts down a bough of a Tree, which done, he hangs a little Bell at the neck of his Horse, and commands all his Followers to doe the like. This they did, and marching all the

Night, by break of day came up with the Enemy.

84. One of the Sentinels that belonged to Childebert's Army, when the day dawned, perceived fomething he had not feen before, and ignorant of what had really happened, demanded of his Companion what should be the matter, for here was a Wood all on a fudden grown up in that place, where the night before not fo much as one stick appeared. His Companion told him he was drunk the day before, and having not yet digested the crudities of his Intemperance, had forgot what he had formerly feen; for he affirmed they were in a Forest where he might hear the Bells that hung about the necks of the Cattel that were feeding, it being a custome amongst the Franks, especially those of Austrasia, to hang those Bells at their Necks, that if they wandered far, or were got amongst Thickets, they might eafily be discovered by the found. But while the Centinels continued their discourse, down fell the Wood, and instead of green Trees Men appeared in bright Armour, who advancing, fell upon their Enemies unexpected, and taking them at this advantage, while some were asleep, and others lay upon their Pallets, but all were well wearied with their Travel the day before, killed very many, some say thirty thousand Men, and put the rest to flight, amongst which the Captains

He is over-

Theodobert

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Sect. 3. themselves hardly escaped. Fredegue naving obtained so great and so unexpected a Victory, with Clotair her son, and a numerous Army invaded Campania, by Rheims, wasting all as she passed with Fire and Sword, which done, in a triumphant manner she returned to Soiffons. Such was the success Chidebert had in his design against her and her Son. The Year following his endeavours against the Britains had little better fortune, for he lost as many of his own men, well-nigh, as he slew of the Enemy. But his fuccess against the Varui & Varni, made him some amends, who attempting to rebell, he put almost all the whole People to the Sword. He who attempting to repen, he put aimon an the white Faileuba his Wife, by Alia Falana, furvived this their defeat not long, perifhing, together with Faileuba his Wife, by Alia Falana, King Children Poifon, as was reported, (for they both died on one day) in the fourth year of his to minulla state of the control of the co

Reign over Burgundy, and the twenty third of that over Austrasia, the five and delands. twentieth of his Age, A. D. 600. Aimoinus, the Monk, gives us this Account of his Death. The Continuatour of Gregory the Bishop his History, faith nothing of the Poison, but tells us onely that he died in the fourth year after that he had succeeded his Uncle Guntram. Some of the modern French Chroniclers, after their manner of Haranguing, use many words, and as generally they make more of every ftory than ancient Authours do warrant, descant upon his deseat, and will have him to have died of Melancholy, and they make his Uncle Guntram to have outlived this Battel. To be fure Childebert left a great miss of him amongst his Subjects, not onely for that his Sons were young, and the inconveniences usually happening in the Reigns of Children, struck them with apprehension of future troubles,

but out of respect of the worth of his Person, and his fitness to govern.

85. He left two Sons behind him, Theodobert and Theodorick, and one Daughter, Vide Tillium in named Tandellema. Some write that he had both his Sons by his Wife Faleuba, quifit, de Riba others say, he had Theodobert by a Concubine, and they found their conjecture up- Gallicin, 1962, 15. on this, that Brunechild, their Grand-mother, made Theodorick afterward believe. that he was not his Brother, which she would never have attempted, had they been born of the same Mother; but hereupon Theodorick sought his Life, and also desired to marry his Daughter. By what ties of Bloud soever they were related, their Father's Dominions were divided betwixt them. To Theodebert, being twelve years old, fell his Grandfather's Kingdom of Austrasia; to Theodorick, but ten years of Age, the Kingdom of Guntram, his Great Uncle, to which his Father succeeded by right of Adoption; the one reigned from the Moselle to the Rhine, and thence to Albis, or Aube, far and wide, and the other over Burgundy, and down the Rivers Arares, Saone and the Rhofne, as far as to the Sardoan Sea. Brunechild, their Grandmother, had the Protection of them, and by her conduct their matters feemed well fettled, which must needs be a great Eye-fore to Fredegund. To bring them into trouble, if not into danger, she, say some, procured the Hunnes (or Avares) to invade Thoringia, which having done out of Pannonia, they could not thence be driven, but by a receipt of great fumms of Money. Before this, while the Reputation got by the defeat of Childebert's Army was yet fresh and vigorous, she seized on Paris, and the other Cities of those Parts, in a barbarous manner, as our Authours phrase it, and sent an Army against the Forces of the two new die. ad Green Kings, which taking them at unawares, made great flaughter of them. This Turonent, Hill. Was the same Year that Childebert died, and in the second Year of Theodorick, & ex ill Almir was the same Year that Childebert died, and in the second Year of Theodorick, & ex ill Almir was the same Year that Childebert died, and in the second Year of Theodorick, & ex ill Almir was the same Year that Childebert died, and in the second Year of Theodorick, & ex ill Almir was the same Year that Childebert died, and in the second Year of Theodorick, & ex ill Almir was the same Year that Childebert died, and in the second Year of Theodorick, & ex ill Almir was the same Year that Childebert died, and in the second Year of Theodorick, & ex ill Almir was the same Year that Childebert died, and in the second Year of Theodorick, & ex ill Almir was the same Year that Childebert died, and in the second Year of Theodorick, & ex ill Almir was the same Year that Childebert died, and in the second Year of Theodorick, & ex ill Almir was the same Year that Childebert died, and in the second Year of Theodorick, & ex ill Almir was the same Year that Childebert died, and in the second Year of Theodorick, & ex ill Almir was the same Year that Childebert died, and in the second Year of Theodorick, & ex ill Almir was the same Year that Childebert died, and in the second Year of Yea Fredegund, Mo (for by his Reign our Writers chuse to count) she her self was summoned to give

ther to Closair, an account of all her Murthers and Villanies in another World, (for by a strange Fortune she escaped Judgment in this) being the most wicked of all Women that ever breathed the Gallick Air. But dying thus peaceably in her Bed, her Son, or his Governours for him, buried her honourably by her Husband, in the Church of St. Vincent, now St. Germain des prez, where yet at the Feet of Chilperick her Monument is to be feen, on which her Image was pourtraicted, but is now fo worn out with treading, handling, or with age, that the Lineaments thereof cannot be

86. The news of her Death brought no little Joy to Brunechild, who though as yet she was short of her in respect of Villanies and Murthers, yet bore as high a mind (as well she might,) and was of a very restless and ambitious temper. Her Carriage toward her Grand-Son Theodobert and his Nobility was fo uneafie, that they drove her out of that Kingdom, and that in fo desolate a Condition as the story is told, that she was alone found in the Fields by a certain poor Man, with whom the prevailed to bring her to the Court of Theodorick her other Nephew. Theodorick received her with that respect which became her Quality, and so near a Relation, and of her Guide she was so mindfull, as of a poor Shepherd (it may be,) she

their own Inclinations induced, the two Brothers now longed to be revenged on their Coufin Clotair, for the advantage he had taken of their Youth, and the unfetledness of their Affairs. Matters growing still worse, at length they come by his two to an open declared War, and to an Ingagement, near the River Arvenna, not far the mijer modella Results from a Village called Doronell, where to great a flaughter was made, that the Ri-Françoid England Teachers was flaughter was made, that the Ri-Françoid England Teachers was filled to the whole and the transfer of the results of the res ver was filled with dead Bodies, and was itopped in its Current. But Cletair had marabi tempora the worst of it, who not able to see his Men Butcher'd in that manner sled away, dunt. and coming to Milidumm, a Castle seated in an Island of the River Seine, thence Milidum fur passed to Paris, his two Cousins following him, but not so fast, but that they took passed the seatest seatest seatest seatest. in a great part of the Cities belonging to him in their passage. They forced him num basic Meto submit to terms very disadvantageous, giving him no time to breathe, nor well to usem restinguishment. consider what he did. For by this accord the Kingdom of Theodorick was inlarged, rum V adicallism betwixt the Loire and the Seine as far as the very Ocean, and the limits of Aremorica or Little Britain. And betwixt the Seine and the River Ifara, the entire Duke-dom of Deutelenus, as far as the Sea, fell to the share of Theodobert, so that twelve redomin Albert Villages in those parts were onely remaining subject unto Clotair.

87. After this, the two Brothers subdued the Wascons, and set over them a Duke

the Volgan or and the Reader is first to understand, that the Wascons or Vascons were anciently this.

This the Reader is first to understand, that the Wascons or Vascons were anciently this. feated, where now is the Kingdom of Navar, than which yet their Countrey was more large and spacious; and under the name of Vascones the Cantabrians are, by reason of some Conquests the Vascones made in Cantabria, included; for whom the French called Basques and Biscainers, and the Spaniards Vascongados now, amongst Learned men, is a common Custome to call by the Latine Name of Cantabri, their Language being by the French called Basque, by the Spaniards Vastquenze, and Cantabrica in the Latin Dialect. In what State and Condition these Vascones lived before the coming of the Carthaginians into Spain, is utterly unknown, as indeed the General Condition of that Country, but that after the taking of Saguntus, in conjunction with Hannibal they invaded Italy and fought against the Romans, is evident from divers passages in Silius Italicus, who quandam Tyrinreckoning up the feveral forts of People, that came with that Punick General, this Caffra, and Vafeo in-mentions them amongst the rest, and takes notice of them upon several occasions for gother, forduring that War. But this alliance with the Carthaginians feems not long to have re arma morati, continued, our Vascons, as well as the other Nations of the hithermost Spain, imbra den lib. 5, in cing the Friendship and Society of the Romans, as may be gathered from Livy. And narraine reality of the Romans are publications of the strength of the Romans and the strength of the Romans are publications. that their Faith once given they kept inviolable, notwithstanding all the other Na-nium confulem tions of Spain almost Rebelled, no War being by them undertaken against the gesti, item, lib.9. Commonwealth, onely in that betwixt Sylla and Marius, the Calagurritani, and fi, or lib. 10. de not one other fort of People amongst the Vascons joyned with Sertorius, for whose ead fake they indured great Miferies, but could not be the least shaken in their fidelity.

Therefore did they ever retain their Native Native Assets. Therefore did they ever retain their Native Liberty; for no Colonies do we reade of that were fent into their Countrey, nor any of their Cities made subject to Tribute and Impositions, which were laid upon most of the Nations of Spain. And in this freedom without any alteration in any respect, did they continue down till the coming of the Goths, as may be made appear by feveral Testimonies. That

> ced and made Masters of the Field, by the gallant demeanour of the Vascon Cohorts. 88. These Vascons lived in Spain beyond the Pyrenæan Mountains, which is agreed on all hands; but when they came into Gall, and when they seized on part of Aquitain is difficult to be determined. Joseph Scaliger was of opinion that the Cantabri Libited. Lettand Vascones being overthrown by Messala, passed over the Pyrenwans, and placed on Australia themselves in the Seats of the Tarbelli; but Strabo, Ptolemy and Pliny, who all lived after Messala, place both these Nations in Spain, and neither of them in Aquitain, neither is there any other Authour that makes mention of any War betwixt them and Messala. Tibullus indeed celebrates the Triumphs which Messala had over the Lib. 1. Eleg. 8. Inhabitants of Aquitain, but not a syllable is to be found in that place, concerning the Cantabri and Vascones. Some tell a story of Pompey, that having subdued the Vascones in Spain, and fearing the restless humour of this fierce People, he forced them to transplant themselves into that part of Aguitain where the Convenæ now

their Valour was highly prized by the Romans, and made use of in long and diffi-

cult expeditions, appears from Tacitus, who relates, how in the War managed by

Vitellius his Men against the Britains and Germans, the Leader of whom was Civi-

lis, when the Enemy was in a fair way to become Conquerour, the Romans were reinfor-

made a rich Bilhop of the Diocese of Auxerre. Whether by her Importunity, or Sect. 3.

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him upon the Borders.

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Sect. 3. inhabit, and thence was the name given to their City; but this opinion having none more ancient to patronize it, than Isidorus Hispalensis, and the current of all ancient Geography running against it, which after the time of Pompey finds the Vascones in Iberia, (or that part of Spain on this side Iberus,) and no such People in The Original of Aquitain, it is as obnoxious to exception as the other. As for that People of Aqui-

tain called Convenz, they derived their Original from the Vellones Arrebaci, and Celtiberi, Nations inhabiting the farther Spain, and not from the Vascones as Isidore believed, for so we are taught by St. Hierome in his Book against Vigilantius. O. C. 2. Vode & thers more probably gather from Aufonius the Poet, that as long as till the Reign of Compensation in th Gratian, the Vascones contained themselves within their own bounds, and that that usque lattitudes part of Aquitain which after they possessed, was then held by the Tarbelli the an-Dai & devento cient Inhabitants, for * he in his Epiftles to Paulinus both calls the Countrey Arva mibus Artebuis Cient Inhabitants, for "he in his Epittles to manning far differing from that there, Colliberings and Tarbellica, and placeth the Vascones in a Countrey far differing from that there, condens inausin both in fituation and Custome, even in Iberia, or the Pyrenæan Mountains, which Galliarum eads the answer of Paulinus to him doth sufficiently confirm.

89. But after the Death of Gratian, the Roman Empire mightily declining even Epilia. Admit to Ruine in Gall and Spain, and especially the Coasts about the Pyrengans, being wasted & prains Part to Ruine in Gall and Spain, and especially the South of Ruines, Vandals, Suevi and other barbarous Nations, then might our Vafcons soil respondent a Warlike People, and ambitious of inlarging their Bounds, seize on that Mountainous part of Gall, which adjoyns to the Fyrenwans. But by what degrees, and in what method and manner it's very difficult, if not impossible for any to affert,

we may conjecture with others, that befides that Region which the Bafques or Biscainers hold at this day, the Principality of Bearne, and the County of the Bi-Biferious were now taken and held by them, for this very reason, that at this day Biferroum el gerrians were now taken and held by them, are to be seen the Ruines of old Towers, in those Mountainous tracts, disposed as our Beacons one against another, to receive and give warning by Fire upon any Vide Maintain our neacons one against amother, to return with the fortified Towns, as Lapardum ne fripum at Invasion. But the plain Grounds together with the fortified Towns, as Lapardum ne fripum at now Baion, Benears or Orthes, which gave name to the Principality; Bigorra of Arnaldo Other old the Metropolis of the Countrey, and now a Village, and Convenze now St. Ber-tage Medicar Philips. trand were yet under the Dominion of the Kings of the Franks , as may be under- wen Movement flood from several places of Gregory Turonensis. Thence came it to pass, that so Jestiam in Gre Mountainous and barren a place not being able to maintain fo numerous a People, state of a Mountainous and barren a place not being able to maintain fo numerous a People, squitamine. they were constrained to make several Inrodes into Novempopulania, which was

then also subject to the Dominion of the Franks. Hereof Gregory Turonensis affures Lib. 9. 6.7. us, where he writes that the Vascones descending from the Mountains, depopulated the Fields and Vineyards, burnt the Houses, and led some Men and Cattel away with them, to incounter whom Aftronaldus the Duke was sent, but was able to doe little against them. *Venantius Fortunatus also after his manner hints to us the *Canadate at Incursions they were wont to make. But before this expedition of Astronaldus, timen, Valo we find in Gregory that Blandastes by Command of Chilperick the first, made War Vagus arms it upon them, but with fuch fuccess, that having done nothing of moment he loss this might have put Life, together with the greatest part of the Army. These Events shewed that has defent the this Strenuous and Magnanimous People was not to be overcome, but by the power his own. The Vascous lub- of two Kings in conjunction together. Theodorick and Theodobert having overthrown Lib. 6. 6.22 &

Clotair, and become Masters of the greatest part of Gall, especially of Aquitain they Frederica in Hill. Frances. were unable to refult their Power and Majesty, and so were forced to submit and tum. c. 87. accept of a Duke called Genialis. How afterward they shook off the Yoke and invaded and made themselves Masters of Novempopulania, which from them receiwed the name of Gascoigne, as also concerning the places they left, we shall speak Hajim can \$2-

90. The two Brothers having this fuccess against the Valcons, farther strengthned their interest by a stricter League and Alliance with the Lombards, the Daughter of Theodobert being contracted to their King's Son, and so Peace and Prosperity now seemed to be returned to the Franks. But all things were again put out of order by the wicked practices of Brunechild, who being as we faid expelled the Court of Theodobert, was kindly entertained by Theodorick her other Grandson, Branchild's Vil- and now began to play her Pranks more dangeroufly and with greater fuccefs. Being vitiously inclined her felf, she hated and opposed all about him that were vertuously given, Egila a Patritian, a man of great Integrity and excellent parts, for no other fault but because he was rich, she loaded with grievous Complaints, and caused to be put to Death, and his Estate confiscated. Desiderius Bishop of Vienne, a Prelate eminent for Holiness, she procured to be removed from his See, and, one Dommilus being put into his place, to be recalled out of Exile and cruelly Murthe-

red. He that flood most in her way was Bertoald the Major of the Palace, a per- Sect. 2. fon of great Wifedom, Conduct, Fortitude and Fidelity, whom though the endeavoured to remove, yet armed by his Innocence and Prudence, for a time he withstood all her Assaults, till a furious lustfull passion seized on her, which rendered her fo fierce and violent, that he must needs at length give way and perish. There was one Protadius a Roman by Birth, with whom as old as she was, she was wont to be too familiar, and out of her filthy love to him, had already advanced to the dignity of a Dux or Patritian , in the parts that lay beyond the Mountain Et ob id in page Juna. But thinking this too finall Preferment for her Minion, as she burnt with Union in the street with University of the Luft towards him, so with greater Envy and Malice toward Bertoald, whom she are abore onmust now by one means or other fend to another World, that in this Protadius Stimum. Sie Aimight enjoy his place and Dignity; and for this purpose, she had the impudence of solutions, lib. 3. to move her Nephew that he might be put to Death, upon slight and trivial pre- Author Appendic. tences. Theodorick whether to gratifie her in her humour, in fuch a way as the ad Gregor. High. Vulgar could not discover, or to divert her purpose, sent Bertoald away into Neu- funds Wandalfiria, or that part of it which called him Mafter, to protect the Countrey, but with made in Pafo fmall a Power, as if he intended he should want protection himself, for he allow-made of Seninged him no more than three hundred men. He as fortified against the Event, and rum Protation ed him no more than three hundred men. He as fortned against the Event, and a paritise estimate of the findible for what Encounters such an Army was most proper, spent his time in the rest, infigurine Hunting of wild Beasts, which Clotair understanding, and hearing what numbers Breastlike of of men he had with him, imagined, as well he might, that he was come to affront Fagus be in his

Contemporary with the Const. Roman Empire.

mith off Comitatus Gallicé Pays & Comité dividebatur in Vicarias, Centenas & Decanias, in quibus Judices erans Vicarii, Centenas (& Decanias, in quibus Judices erans Vicarii, Centenas (& Belgis Hunderfluman) & Decani. Sed de bis alibis.

91. He dispatches against him his Son Meroneus, together with Lauderick his Mothers Minion, of whose Villany as to his reputed Father's Death, he seems all this while to have been Ignorant, or else must have spared him out of a more than ordinary, (if not filial) sympathy. Bertoald was so wise as upon notice of their approach, to leave off his Sport and seriously to betake himself to Orleance, where he was kindly received by Austronus the Bishop. Lauderick diligently pursues and brings his Army before the Gate, where he upbraids him with Cowardise for running away, and challenges him to come out and Fight. Bertoald fends him word. that he made an hypocritical shew of Valour, knowing how much he was superiour in Numbers, but if he would demonstrate himself a true Cavalier, he should fet his Army aside and fight with him a single Combat, to which he sent him a formal Challenge. Lauderick refusing to accept it, he then gave him to understand, that for the affront and injury he had offered to Theodorick his Master, in invading his Dominions, he was very certain that fatisfaction would be demanded in an high manner, and that a strong Army would shortly be in the Field, where when the Battel joyned he would meet him, defiring they might put on such Clothes, as might diftinguish them, and make them known to each other, and then he should find proofs of the Cowardife wherewith he charged him, and have opportunity to give a full evidence of his own supposed Valour. Lauderick would not reject this Proposal, and promising to meet him, both laid heavy curses on themselves if they sailed of their word. This passed on the Feast of St. Martin, and Theodorick ham ving notice of the Invasion, on Christmas-day following began his March, and coming to Stampa, a Town standing upon the River Juma, there expected his gunna fou prises Cousin Clotair, who was nothing flow in his preparations for the Encounter, for Juinafluvia/Car-Coulin Clotair, who was nothing flow in his preparations for the Encounter, tor fainthuistication before Theodorick could pass all his men over the River, the fight began. Here mum Failtedwas Bertoald mindfull of his promife, and amongst the Ranks of Armed men, fought run (bute Failor, and provoked his Adversary to make good his word, but he thought fit to save no Sallection one, and by degrees giving back into the Rere, declined the Combat. Bertoald the Ethamps of the Combat. See the Combat of the Co inraged hereat till bore forward, and confidering what Ginns were laid to intrap identified him by Brunechild, and that he must loose his Office, thought it better to Die an meislean opinion and the must loose his Office, thought it better to Die an meislean opinion and the must loose him to be an meislean opinion and the must look be a meislean opinion and the mu Honourable Death in the Field, than to end his Life in an ignominious manner, dam, for 19th and fo ruthing amongst the Troops of the Enemy, after he had killed many men, dam tel civilia was at length overpoured by multitudes and sain.

But Theoderick cost the day, um, admeridium. was at length overpowred by multitudes and flain. But Theodorick got the day, seq again by Theodo- Clotair and Lauderick being put to flight, and Meroneus taken Prisoner, or as some Seine infunditure fay killed. He entred Paris in triumph, and had purfued his Victory, but that Theodobert being jealous of his Power, thought fit to balance him, and therefore joyning his Forces with the remainders of Clotair his Army, came with him to Compendium, and obliged his Brother to return home, without having any thing farther at-

Theodobert

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92. Brunechild therefore in effect was the onely Person, whose Designs succeeded Sect. 3. 92. Brunechild therefore in enece was an analysis of the Palace, or Major by the Death of Bertoald, into whose place of Mafter of the Palace, or Major by the Death of Bertoald, into whose place of Mafter of the Palace, or Major by the Death of Bertoald, into whose place of Mafter of the Palace, or Major by the Death of Bertoald, into whose place of Mafter of the Palace, or Major by the Death of Bertoald, into whose place of Mafter of the Palace, or Major by the Death of Bertoald, into whose place of Mafter of the Palace, or Major by the Death of Bertoald, into whose place of Mafter of the Palace, or Major by the Death of Bertoald, into whose place of Mafter of the Palace, or Major by the Death of Bertoald, into whose place of Mafter of the Palace, or Major by the Death of Bertoald, into whose place of Mafter of the Palace, or Major by the Death of Bertoald, into whose place of Mafter of the Palace, or Major by the Death of Bertoald, in the Palace of Theodoxic by the Death of Bertoald by the Death of Ber Domus, Protadius her Gallant was speedily advanced, in the tenth year of Theodorick his Reign. This yet would not fatisfie this wicked Woman, whose passions would not be terminated by the fatisfaction given to Ambition and Lust, to these she must joyn Revenge, else all things seemed to be nothing to her. Her expulsion from the Court of Theodobert she still bore in an exulcerated mind, and no Plaster was large enough for the Sore, but the utter Destruction of himself and Family. Calling in then to her affistence her Friend Protadius, (whom she had by her tricks brought into great grace and favour with her Nephew, though for his Pride and Covetousness, he was grievously hated by all the Nobility of Burgundy;) she instilled by degrees the venome of Jealousie and Malice into the mind of Theodorick: She tells him that Theodobert had got into his hands all their Father's Treasure, and that it was a dishonour for him to be so sleepish, as to let him run away with it all, without once demanding his share; she perswades him he was altogether alienated from him in his affections, and (taking occasion of what had lately passed,) makes him believe that all his inclinations are for their Cousin Clotair, in sum, that he envied him for his parts, (conscious to himself how meanly he was furnished,) and had resolved upon his Ruine, as soon as time and opportunity should serve, but it was no wonder for one of the bloud Royal to be hated by the Son of a rascally Gardner, who had not onely robbed him of his Father's Treasures, but gaped also Affering illen after his two Kingdoms. Pretadius supplying this slame continually with Oil medical factorist burns with that rage and malice against his Brother, that nothing but rates from the continual factorists. Fire and Sword in the Bowels of his Territories can allay his fury. An Army he is distingting far raises and comes as far as Cariacum, where he incamps himself, prepared the next lib. 3.4.91.

Tenderil, and day to incounter Theodobert, who was not far off with a very firing force of his Austrasians. In the mean time, his Leudi or Leudes as our ancienter Historians call them, meaning his Subjects or the Nobility of Burgundy, remonstrated to him how unnatural a quarrel he had undertaken, at the fuggestion of some violent Spirits, and petitioned him, that in a friendly manner it might be composed. Protadius finding himself concerned took the wrong Course, and disswaded him from making a Peace, affirming the quarrel to be good, and a War the fittest means for

restoring a perfect understanding betwixt the two Brothers. 93. The Nobility bearing him implacable malice before, was now out of all

measure inraged, finding him to be the man, who upon all occasions thwarted what ever they propounded for the publick good, and they began to lay their Heads together, affirming it were better that one man perished, than that so many should lose their lives as must inevitably be killed the day following. The King understanding they held such consultations would himself in Person have gone to dissolve their meeting, but being hindred by those about him, for fear of danger he sent one Uncelenus to forbid them expresly to attempt any thing against Protadius, but he found them already to have furrounded the King's Tent, where Protadius was playing at Tables with one Peter, a Physician. Coming to them he changed his tale, and faid it was the Command of King Theodorick his Master, that Protadius, as an Enemy to Peace, should be put to death, which heard, they all unanimously rushed which con- in with their Swords drawn, and there flew him. By this Act (though illegal, cludesina Peace, and of dangerous consequence) the impending mischief was diverted, and Theodorick was compelled inflead of a War, to make a Peace, and to return home, as he came, without having any thing performed. But however he bore it out, Brunechild neither could nor would digest the Injury. Beginning with Uncelenus, who had prevaricated away the Life of her Friend, she procured him to have one of his Feet chopped off, and to be reduced to the condition of a Beggar. Wolfus, a Patritian, who had been a principal Agent in the Murther, she also, by command of Theodorick caused to be killed, reserving Theodobert to a more convenient season. And the late deseat she had received in the death of her Minion, did but incite her to other Acts for the Eslablishment of her threatned and tottering Power. All this while Theederick lived most unchristianly in Whoredom, having no lawfull Wife, but gratifying his Lust by such Imbracements as were most pleasing to him, and by such unlawfull Copulations had got four Sons. At length he bethought him-felf what infamy he incurred, and how uncertain the succession might be for want of Legitimate Islue, he cast his thoughts then on Hermenberga, the Daughter of Bertrick King of Spain, and sent his Amhassadcurs to desire her in Marriage, giving Oath that he would never deprive her of the Society of his Bed, nor of the Royal 94. Upon

94. Upon this Condition Bertrick fends her with a Portion fuitable to her Quality, and Theodorick receives her with as much Love and Respect, as becomes a Royal Bridegroom. But his Grandmother was far from wishing them Joy, for though to bring her felf into a better Opinion with the People, she might feem to have Confented, nay propounded the Match, yet now she found her self in danger of a Rival, who by her Royal condition, the Beauty of her Person, and her conjugal Alurements might make her Husband totally her own, and exclude her from that Domination. Of which his Reverence to her Person, as a near (but neither so near, nor dear) Relation had possessed her. She goes to work, and by her Inchantments the effects that, how much foever he defired it, he could never enjoy his Bride; and this bringing him into some dislike with her, she follows him close. causes him to discard her, for I wot not what Womanish impotency, and to send her back to her Father without her Portion. Bertrick finding himself concerned no otherwise, than as Nature and Reason required; protested to the World his Refentment of fo foul an Injury, and fent to Clotair to complain of the affront, and invite him to joyn in a League with him for Chastising a Prince, who had no regard either to Conscience or Decorum, and doubtless, would as little scruple to commit any other piece of Injustice against the rest of his Neighbours, when he should be tempted to it, by any thing that gratified his Lust or Appetite. Clotair entred into the League, and promiting him Afliftence, fent fome of his own with his Ambassadour to the Court of Theodobert; who moved with the same Arguments entred into League, as also did Ago King of the Lombards, who when he had given his Faith, that he would joyn his Forces for depriving Theodorick both of Life and Kingdom; the Ambassadour, having dispatched as he thought all effectually, for which he was fent, returned by Sea into Spain. But Alliances of this Nature made for Punishment of a fault, which redounds to the Detriment but of one of the Parties, and else carries onely ill Example with it, seldom take Effect; and Theodorick accordingly flighted this, as a Scar-crow, the King of Spain dying not long after.

95. Yet had this League fuch Effect upon Theodobert, as to incourage him to ripen fome Defigus he had in his Head, though thereby he extremely served his Grandmother in the Machinations, she laid for his own Destruction. Thinking himself secure of those that would back him, he complained of a most unequal Division of his Father's Dominions, and required that a New and more equal Partition might be made. The matter proceeded to that height, that had not some of the wifest on both fides most diligently interposed, all had been suddenly in a Flame; but they procured both Kings to hold their hands, and agree to come to an Interview at a place appointed, for a fair and Friendly deciding of the Controversie. Theo-dorick came with ten thousand Men, with pure and simple Intensions, altogether free from Defign and Treachery; but Theodobert brought with him a far greater number, wherewith having incompassed and caught his Brother as in a Net, he forced him to submit to such terms as he himself propounded: These were to quit feveral Provinces, as that of Champaigne, Tours, Artois, and that which in the days of Aimoinus had the Name of Sugitensis, and so they parted with seeming Love and Friendship, though covered by deep flattery and Distinguistion. For Theodorick being got out of his Brother's hands, and coming seriously to ruminate upon what he had, was so inflamed with desire of Revenge, that he renounced the Agreement as wrested from him by force and Terrour, and set himself serioufly how to Revenge the affront; Brunechild ever being at hand, and spurring him on to that, to which of his own Disposition he was sufficiently inclined. In the mean time, Theodobert by an Act full of wickedness, provoked the hatred of God and Man against him, and made way for that Destiny, which was but futable to his Actions.

96. He had to Wife one Bilechilde, a Woman indeed much inferiour to him in Birth and Quality, for his Grandmother, while she resided in his Court, bought her of certain Merchants, and for the rareness of her Beauty as the made him believe, but indeed that the might have none to controll her, this Woman by reason of the Obligation being wholly at her Devotion, married her to him. By her he had feveral Children, but falling in Love with another called Theudechilde, he Murthered her to be in a Capacity to marry his new Mistress. But long he had not reaped the Pleasures of this new Conjunction, when he was diverted by the noise of his Brother's Arms, and forced to exchange the Combats of Venus for those of Mars. Their Coulin Clotair was so near a Neighbour, and of such Power, that to which

Sect. 3. fide foever he would please to incline, in all Probability he should bring the Victory. Theodorick therefore, refolving not to miss the advantage thence offered, sent tohim, and by a promise of restoring to him the Dukedom of Deutelenus, which as he faid, Theodobert detained unjustly from him; he persuaded him to stand Neuter. He mustred then all his Subjects that were very fit to bear Arms, in the month of May, and the seventeenth year of his Reign, and from the Lingenes coming through Vernona, to a place called Tullum, in the County adjoyning he met with his Brother, and they joyned Battel. Theodobert was beaten, but escaping with his Life, In Campania Infled to Coloine upon the Rhine with intension to renew the War, and hopes of better frame togged. Success in the next Ingagement, for which he provided himself of fresh supply of fee. Aimin. Saxons, and other Nations of the upper Germany. Theodorick aware hereof, made the 3 c. 97. what hafte he could after him, and didaining he should prevent him from reaping Tool opinion of the Fruits of his late Victory, fell upon him with all Fury imaginable. Yet he Leaven me, the Fruits of his late Victory, fell upon him with all Fury imaginable. Yet he will be applied to the state of the sta the Fruits of his late Victory, fell upon him with an interpretable medium and another linguage land, used funch diligence, as that he was not ill provided to receive him; and another linguage land, Battel was fought with equal Valour and Animofity. Our Authours report, that do then de.

Battel was fought with equal Valour and Animofity of the Computants and do time de. to great was the Croud through the Pertinacious resolution of the Combatants, terminanter Me. for great was the Croud through the Frinancian and the Croud through the that fuch Troopers as were killed fate upon their Horfes, no otherwise than as Men man show of the that fuch Troopers as were killed fate upon their Horfes, no otherwise than as Men man show of the throughout the companies of the control of the con as to loofe this day alfo, and fled again to Coloine, his Brother purfuing him with di, tensire jac refolution, that now he would not be hindred from finishing the War. Entring the dat Matroamb Territories of the Ripuarii that lay upon the Rhine, he destroyed all things in his Mediamania way, and refused to give over till they should bring Theodobert to him, either alive for Laurenin. 97. This perfidious People, thinking the Price not too great wherewith to pur-

case their Security, send some into Coloine to Theodobert. The Messengers make great Complaints of the Miferies they had undergone by fuch Devastations, Rapines and Murthers, as never had formerly been committed. They tell him a formal flory, that his Brother complained of the defrauding him of his share of his Father's Treafures, which if he might but receive, he would be Friends with him, and remand his Forces. Theodobert confidering his present Estate and Condition, was glad he Theodolers kill'd. could come off so well, and giving them Credit carried them into his Treasury, where he busied himself in searching and Collecting such things as he intended to Present the Conquerour, which as he was doing, and bowed down his Head, one of them drew his Sword and slew him. His Head was cut off, and shewed about upon the Walls, which done, Theodorick was received into the Town without any impediment, and in the Church of St. Gerion took the Oath of Allegiance of the Inhabitants. As he was doing this, he thought that fome Body struck him on his fide, and knowing the treacherous Humour of the Ripuarii, commanded the Doors to be shut, and a strict inquiry to be made after him that did it. But upon search no suspicious Person could be found, and his Clothes being removed, no Wound was there to be seen, onely a Purple spot appeared, as Aimoinus guesseth the sign of his Death, which speedily followed; with the Treasures, and Children of his Brother he returned in Triumph to Metz, where his Grandmother Brunechild found him, and congratulated with him for his Victory. To make the Triumph complete, she would have him put to Death his Prisoners. And she prevailed for the Sons of Theodobert, whereof the youngest Meroneus by Name an Infant that fucked, she her self took by the Heels, and dashed out his Brains against a stone; but his Daughter escaped, for which she was not to thank her Grandmother, but attribute her Life to the rare Beauty of her Person. And such was the end of Theodobert according to the general Opinion; though some wrote, that after his defeat he retired beyond the Rhine, where he was apprehended by Bertarius the Chamberlain of Theodorick, who had fent him to make the discovery, and confined to Cabillona. Here some add, that Brunechild caused him to be made a Monk, and

98. By Virtue of the late Agreement, Clotarius was now to stand possessed of the Dukedom of Deutelenus, and he accordingly got Possession of it. But Theodorick having as he thought done his business, and elevated with his Success, and the Accession of his Kingdom of Austrasia, began to grudge not onely that he enjoyed zes on his king that Dukedom, but indeed any thing elfe in Gall; and refolving to pick a Quarrel dom. with Mennages required him to quie wheele to do. with Mennaces, required him to quit what he had newly got into his hands. So great was his Ambition, that no moderate or ordinary Matter could divert him; but a certain Fire had of late begun to kindle in his Breast, which by indulging and continually Ventilating, within a little time grew to that strength, as to consume and

that he was afterward put to Death.

obliterate all other Passions. He fell grievously in Love with the beautifull Daugh- S. Ct. 2. ter of Theodobert, but was so honest withall, as to design the Satisfaction of his Defires, no other way than by that of Marriage. Brunechild was wonderfully concerned at it, and sensible in what danger her domineering Authority stood, used all the Arts and Devices she could to hinder it, and at last, as her utmost refuge declamed against it, as a most wicked and Incestuous Copulation of an Uncle with his Brother's Daughter. He grew to fuch impatience upon hearing this, that calling her a Woman hatefull to God and all good Men, he demanded whether she had not told him that Theodobert was not his Brother, and why she had caused him to commit fo great a Crime as that of Fratricide? And he was fo far transported as to draw his Sword and make at her, but she was faved by those that stood by, and conveyed to some place out of the House, where thinking it time to bestir her felf, the refolved to kill rather than be killed. It's certain, that thortly after he died, being as was generally believed, taken with a Dysentery. It was said by some, 7000 Abbas in and thought by most, that she hired his Attendants to possion him in a Cup of vita Santii CaTandarit dies. Drink, when he came out of the Bath. Others reported, that he perished with humbani, c. 28.

Thunder; that Breast being pierced by Fire, which already burnt with Ambition, Lust and Cruelty. He married Heronneberta the ninth Daughter of Berterius, or Terius King of the Visio Goths, by whom he seems to have had no Children at least that lived, but by Concubines he had four Sons, Sigebert, Chorbus, Childebert and Meroneus. He died in the eighteenth Year of his Reign, about the feventh

Year of Heraclius the Emperour, A.D. 618.

CHAP. I. Contemporary with the Conft. Roman Empire.

99. Brunechild now thought her Condition as fecure as ever, not doubting but to Domineer as she had done formerly, in the Minority of Theodorick his Chil-Sigher his Son dren. Sigebert the eldest she named King, but her Trade could not always hold, King of Auftra- this was the third time she had Usurped the supreme Power. The Nobility could ill brook the Domination of these, whom all knew to be Bastards, and they were quite tired out with her Cruelties and Infolence. Two of the chiefest of them, Arnulph and Pipin, began now to hold Intelligence with Clotair, and they prevailed with him, to come as far as to Captoniacum. Brunechild hearing the News was fufficiently alarmed, and lying then at Wormes, fent to him to exposulate his Invalion of the Dominions of King Sigebert. He answered, that he would doe nothing, but what the Nobility of the Franks affembled together should approve, and promifed to stand to their Determinations, for which purpose he willed her to call them together. She was too old and cunning to be lulled afleep by fair Words, and therefore to provide against the worst, she sent Sigebert into Thoringia, attended by Warnarius the Major of the Palace, and Alboinus most eminent for Nobility of all the Auftrafians, to hire Souldiers from amongst the Nations, inhabiting beyond the Rhine. But not long after their departure, the imagined the had reason to believe that Warnarius was fecretly inclined toward Clotair, and out of Jealousie sent a Letter after them to Alboinus, wherein she defired him, to take some fitting opportunity to make him away. Alboinus having read the Letter, tore it in pieces. but did not fo much deface it, but that one of his Servants out of Curiofity gathered the pieces together, and perceiving the Contents, therewith acquainted him, who was most concerned. Warnarius perceiving the danger he was in, was very carefull to secure his Person in the first place. Then resolving to use his utmost endeavour for the Destruction of Brunechild and her Race; those Nations he went to folicite about fuccours, he quite alienated from the Service. After this, going with her and Sigebert into Burgundy, he held private Caballs with the Nobility and Prelates, into whom he fufficiently instilled the Doctrine of Revolt. Then fent he to Clotair, to come with an Army, promising on Condition to be maintained in his former Estate and Dignity, to deliver the two Kingdoms of the Austrafians and Burgundians into his hands.

100. Clotair was not flack in his endeavours, to become fole Lord and Master of Gall, and with his Neustrafians as Aimoinus calls them, met Sigebert and offered In Campania him Battel, in Champaigne near the River Axona, or Aisne; where when the Armies per fluvium Axofaced each other, Warnarius according to former Agreement with the greatest part nam. of the Army revolted to him. The rest ran away as far as the River Araris, Clotair Ad Arasim ufbeing not eager after the perfuit of those he now looked on as his own Subjects) gus flowing (at which putting a flop to their flight, three of Theodorick his Sons were there taken, man Regions dis viz. Sigebert, Chorbus and Meroneus, for the fourth Childebert by Name escaped, citur) persent. and was never after heard of: With them he returned to a Village called Sion, upon the River Vincenna, whither at the Instance of Warnarius and the other Great Ddd

Sect. 3. ones, Brunechild and Theudelina the Sifter of Theodorick were sent for. In her fight he commanded Sigebert and Chorbus to be killed, sparing Meroneus, because he was his Sigebert is over- Godson; then Brunechild her felf being condemned by Sentence of the whole Army, thrown and killed by Cl- as well Burgundians and Austrasians, as those that came out of Neustria, was for three tair with Brane days together subjected to various Tortures, and then set upon a Camels back. and so carried in derision like a Witch up and down the Camp. At last, having ripped up her Life past, he laid to her Charge, that she had procured the Death of no less than ten Kings, reckoning up her own Husband Sigebert, Meroneus the Brother of Clotair, and Son of Chilperick, with Chilperick himself, whom misinformed it feems, as to the true state of his Family, or willing to conceal the Vilanies of his own Mother, he affirmed to have perished by her Devices. Having fummed up her Crimes, he demanded of the Souldiers, what Punishment was fit for her to undergoe. All cryed, that fome one unheard-of was but fuitable to her Deserts: Whereupon he commanded a wild Horse to be brought, to whose Tail the miserable Woman was made fast by her Hair and Armes, and then was the Horse let loose and provoked to take his Heels, wherewith having first dashed out her Brains, he drew her Carkaís over Thorns, Stones, Hills and Dales, till it was dashed and all torn in pieces. Such pieces yet as could be found were gathered together, and buried in a Church at Augustodunum, or Autun of her own founding.

101. Such was the end of this wicked and miserable Woman, not too severe, if we fully consider the merits of her Life and Actions. Yet together with her prodigious Vices, were great Vertues joyned as some esteem them, and these were Magnificence and Devotion, which appeared in the Religious respect she gave to Saints, and the very many Churches the built, and dedicated to their Memory. Aimoinus tells us, that the Fabricks which she raised and remained till his time were fo numerous, that it feemed incredible, that one Woman should build fo many, not onely in Austrasia and Burgundy where she Reigned, but in so many several parts of France at great distances. In our days these possibly may be decayed, yet in the Low Countries there still remain some Monuments of her Manly Spirit. These were the Military High-ways of the Romans, which through Gallia Belgica and Burgundy she caused to be repaired, being by the Gallo Belgæ still after her called Chausses de Brunchault, by the Flandro Beligæ, Groote Cassie (in English Great Cawfeys) and by the Modern Franks Chemins ferrez in their several Dialects. Now the Reader may take notice, that these Roman Cawsies, or High-ways, were first in Gall begun, to be made by Agrippa the Son-in-Law of the Emperour Augustus. who caused four to be raised and paved, one from Lugdunum Segusianorum (Lyon Sur Saone) leading toward Spain, through Aquaitain; another toward the Rhine; a third through the Countries of the Bellonaci, and Ambiani to the Ocean, and a fourth through Gallia Narbonensis, extending it self towards Italy. Afterward other Emperours, and Roman Captains applied their minds, and the Hands of their idle Legions to this work, and through Gallia Belgica, caused other High-streets to be raised; being either paved with four-square Stones, or strewed with Gravel or fmall Flints. Of these ways, the remainders of several are to be seen in many pla- De viii ifiti Mi ces throughout Hainault, Artois, Flanders, Brabant, Loraine, Champaigne, Picardy, linaribus Bassin the Countries belonging to Luxenbourg, Leige, Cleeve, Juliers, Coloine, Triers, Abertan Mir.

Mentz and others, the Aructure whereof strike all lookers on with Admiration. unin Chraelic. From Banacum (now Mons ex Hainault) the Rome of Belgium, where in the giro ad A. 613 middle of the Forum was crected a Column, as anciently in that and other Cities, per Arighm at the beginning or end of Miles, eight of these several Cawseys took their begin. Flantium allies at the beginning or end of Miles, eight of these leveral Cawleys took their begin braining or Centre. But these and the rest being by length of time decayed, and by White leading the Irruption of Barbarians into Gall neglected, did Bruncebild the Queen Regent but Typon Gall of Australia and Burgundy, repair as we said before, whereby her Memory, how-like Belgitz ever her Body was used, remains whole and entire, they being by Learned men in An 1632 Coars. the Latin Tongue still called via Brunechildica, and by the Burgundians and others, evident blue Chausees de Brunehault.

102. But so fell the Family of Sigebert with Brunechild his Wife, and Austrasia with Burgundy were united to the Dominions of Clotair. Here we find our felves obliged for the better understanding of the Reader, to tell him what we particularly mean by the so often repeated Word of Austrasia. He must know then, that the Victorious Franks having wrested a great part of Gall out of the hands of the Romans, divided it into Austrasia and Neustria. Austrasia (by St. Remigius in his Testament called Austria) reached from the Borders of Burgundy, as far as the Fristan Sea inclosed by the Rivers Rhine, Meuse and Schelde.

Therefore it comprized the feveral Countries of the Mediomatrices, Treveri and Sect. 2. Whii, those about Mentz, Cleeve, Gelderland, Brahant, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, Hafburg, the Eburones and Tungri, the Dukedoms of Lauenbourg and Luxembourg, with Alfatia, Loraine, the Palatinate of the Rhine, Burgundy and Ardenne; the Metropolis being the City of the Mediomatrices, afterward called Metz. Now Neustria, or Westrasia being the Western Kingdom of the Franks in Gall, as the other the Eastern, comprized Flanders, Artoss, Picardy, the County of Bolvigne, Normandy, and all other Countries lying betwixt the Scheide, the Seine, and the Loiere, the Metropolis being Paris; fo that they mightily err, who would restrain A Catalogue of this ample Kingdom within the narrow bounds of fingle Normandy. But of Authe Kings of Au- ftrafta, the first King as we have formerly feen was Theodorick the natural Son of Clodonæus the Great, to whom succeeded his Son Theodobert, as to him Theodebald his Son. Theodebald dying without iffue, Clotair, the Legitimate Son of Meroneus, held Auftrafia with his other Kingdoms. Afterwards a Partition of his Dominions being made amongst Clotair his Children, it fell to Sigebert, who by Brunechild had Childebert, and left him his Successour. He left two Sons Theodobert and Theodorick, whereof the later outed the former; but leaving no Legitimate iffue, Sigebert his natural Son was, as we fee, deprived both of Life and Kingdom by Clotair the fecond, the Son of Chilperick, who hereby obtained the Monarchy Chair fole Mo- of the Franks. Afterward Austrasia had other Kings, as in due place may be difcovered; and then as time altereth all things, this Kingdom exchanged the Name of Austrasia, for that of Lotharingia or Loraine, which it received from Lotharius the Son of the Emperour Lotharius the first, whom it had for King, as after him many others in Order, and at length exchanged Kings for Dukes, the Title of whom, though not the extent of the Dominion, at this day continueth.

CHAP. I. Contemporary with the Const. Roman Empire. Clotair.

103. So many Kings of the Franks, who had Reigned for the space of about Aimsinus, lib. 4 fifty Years, perishing in several manners; Clotair now remained the sole and Legiti- 6-1.

Sentes his King mate Inheritour of all their Kingdoms and Dominions. Having got so great a Ultrajurani qui Crowns) he provided himself of the best Supporters he could find, and first ha-tiens the time the time for June 1981.

ving had good experience of the Abilities of Warnarius by his Conduct of the late Mons eff Sequering has good experience of the had effected without any confiderable expense of Bloud, mining glashing great Revolution, which he had effected without any confiderable expense of Bloud, mining the result of Treature or Time, he made him Major Domus, or Governour of Burgundy for Life, Indiging game. ingaging by Oath that he would never remove him. Over Australia he set Rado, dam scans et a Person of great Desert, and one Erpo over the Ultrajurani, who by his Love of priming as mo Justice became insupportable to the Rabble, and was killed through the Insti-mination Mont gation of Aletheus a Patritian, and Leudemund the Bishop of Sedunum (or rather dem nomine ston-Segodunum, at this day Rhodes.) The King happening at this time to lye not far off, transcription of arthur cdf arthur cdf caufed a ftrict Inquisition to be made of the Murther, and punished many that per style approached a trip Rose were found Guilty, and the process went so far that Aletheus apprehending that dani, lan temsnow all mult be discovered, advised Leudemund to try if he could prevent it by a not desermine trick wrought upon Berthtrude the Queen. The Bilhop tells her a Tale of a Reve-ture dethewing lation he had, that Clotair must insallably dye this Year; he would make her be- we for Breamob-lieve, that her Assairs stood in a dangerous Condition, and that there was no way disput purishin. to provide sufficiently for her self, but by retiring with her Treasures to some ricorum; contre frong Town, and chusing some Person eminent for Nobility, and Interest in the coasing version People wherewith to marry; and to make Application of his Ghostly discourse, he tribatus Sequatells her, Sedunum his City was the fittest place, and Aletheus that Noble Burgun-norum opida or dian, the most proper Person. The Queen, who was eminent for her Modelly but divisity and other Vertues, heard him with great Indignation, and starting from him as Validated distinctions. fome dangerous infecting Person discovered the whole Matter to her Husband, who Mint jou, Mont spared the Bishop out of Respect to his calling, and at the Intercession of a certain gura Access. Abbat, permitting him to return to his See. But Aletheus he Commanded to be tryed by the Nobility, and being able to say little for himself to be put to Death.

104. Thus by the fidelity of his Wife, and his feafonable feverity, he evaded the danger, and established his Power; but through the corruption of those about him, and his own remiffinels, shortly after committed an errour, which tended to the diminution both of the greatness of his Name and Nation. The Lombards having formerly made Incurfions into Gall, were fo received by the Kings of the Franks, that they not onely drove them back, but followed them into Italy, and constrained them to purchase Peace, by parting with several of their own Towns, and a yearly payment of twelve thousand Solidi. This Tribute had been duely paid in the Reigns of Guntram, and Childebert, and downward, till the time of Agi-

CHAP. I.

388

Sect. 3. lulf, the King of the Lombards, who feeling the burthen heavy, and not conceiving himself in a capacity to be eased by Steel, resolved to try what he could effect Releases the Tri- with Gold and good Language. Having picked out some fit Men for the Errand, but that was be found them to the Court of Clotair, where having flopped the Mouths of his prin, formerly paid by the Lone cipal Ministers, they had the better opportunity to open their own, and cunning-but.

In eliected what they were sent for. They much insisted upon this plansible Arcipal Ministers, they had the better opportunity to open their own, and cunningly effected what they were sent for. They much insisted upon this plausible Argument, That the Friendship of any People is better founded upon Love and Goodwill, than Force and Servitude: That the Lombards quit of this ingratefull duty, would exchange it for others more generous and fincere of Gratitude and Fidelity. In conclusion, by their pleasing Language and Deportment, and paying down 3600 Solidi, (befides 3000 wherewith they had bribed three of the principal Ministers,) they struck up the Bargain, and bought off the perpetual Tribute at three years purchase. 105. Herewith Clotair of what confequence soever it was, rested satisfied, but

fhortly after, in the fix and thirtieth Year of his Reign, he was overwhelmed with

grief at the death of his Queen, who for her excellent Vertues and Endowments. left a great miss of her amongst the People. To make up this loss, assoon as forrow would give leave, he married another Wife called Sichild, by whom he had a Son called Hairbert; and confidering what Jealoufies and Enmities are wont to arife in Families where Step-mothers have opportunity to shew their biassed Inclinations, he thought fit to fend away Dagobert, whom he had by his former Wife, and made his Son King of him King of Austrasia, delivering all the Countries formerly subject to that Crown into his Hand, except Ardenna and Vosagus, lying toward Neustria and Burgundy, Ardenna Sylva which he thought fit to keep to himself. Having given him a Kingdom, in the next place he provided him a Wife, and fuch an one as by the Alliance was likely to preserve Unity, and a good Understanding in their Family. Sending for him to Clippiacum, a place near Paris, he married to him Gomadinde, the Sister of Sichild his Wife, and two days together they kept the Wedding with all Joy and Magnificence suitable to such an occasion. But the third day the Bridegroom fell into a discontent, not that he was now tied and bound by the Bonds of Matrimony, but

straitned and confined within the limits of too narrow a Kingdom. He complained that he was not rightly called King of Austrasia, whereof the best and principal Parts were withheld from him, though, if his Judgment did not flatter him, he was now of Age and Abilities sufficient to take the Government of the whole.

106. Such were the complaints of the Son, but the Father thought he had no reason to make them, who had no right to any thing, nor could claim one foot of ground as his due, but had received all from his mere bounty. The Contest grew high, and the difference feemed to threaten the Franks with mischief, of which being aware, they interpoled, and the matter being committed to twelve of the Nobility, they persuade the Father for Peace and Quietness sake, to yield to the youthfull heat and ambition of his own Son, (whose all must be at last,) and so they were throughly reconciled, the whole Kingdom being delivered into Dagobert's Hands, Provincia Physical Phys except that Region called Provence, and those places that lay on this side the Loire. censis, ut quiden

The following Year Warnarius the Governour of Burgundy died, who was hardly cold in his Grave, when Godinus his Son married the Widow his Step-mother. This coming to the knowledge of Clotair, he commands him as an Incestuous Person to be put to death, but the noise of the Sentence anticipating much the Execution, he flies to Dagobert, and eafily obtains of him to intercede for his Life, which at length was granted, in confideration of the great and eminent Services of his Father. His Life he was content to purchase with a Divorce, but she was not therewith satisfied, but as if it more behoved him to gratifie her fenfual Appetite, than to defire Life it felf, fell into an implacable Passion and Hatred, which so far transported her, as to accuse him of designs against the King's Life. The King being in this point credulous enough, commanded him to make Oath, he had no fuch Intention, which, at the importunity of Chranulph and Wandalbert, he did, both in the Church of St. Medard at Soiffens, and St. Vincent at Paris; yet this would not fatisfie, they would compell him to reiterate it at Orleance, in the Church of St. Anian, and at Tours in that of St. Martin, whither as he travelled to doe it, those fawning Courtiers, the King conniving at it, fet upon him as he fate at Meat with feveral Friends, and, notwithstanding their opposition, cruelly murthered him.

107. Clotair being exasperated by this imaginary Conspiracy, or his hand being now in, resolved to be very severe. This same Year he banished one Palladius, with Sedocus his Son, the Bishop of Tolouse, as being privy to the Rebellion of the Vascons, and having laid to the charge of one Boso, an Inhabitant of Stampa, that but God and himself, which he took kindly, and would not impose any new Governour upon them. In the mean time Dagobert highly concerned himself about the Saxous, who despising his Youth, disdained to be subject to him. He disdained as much to bear the affront, and getting an Army ready, passed the Rhine, and ingaged in battel with Bertoald their Captain. Here he was fo hard put to it, that fighting manfully in his own Person, he received a wound in his Head, from which a piece of his Helmet was cut, with part of the Skin, Hair and all, which, having retreated to his Camp, he fent with the Skin, bloudy as it was, unto his Father. defiring him to make all the hafte he possibly could to his relief. Clotair then was making a more gentle fort of War with wild Beafts, but the fight of the Present fent him by his Son quickly diverted him to a ferious Hostility, and he rather flew than went to his fuccour, not giving himself rest, day nor night, till he reached the place. His presence filled the Franks with excessive Joy, of which they were not wanting to give ample demonstrations, and the noise easily reached the Ears of the Saxons, the two Camps being but parted by the River Viscere. Berto-ald was unwilling to believe (at least that his Souldiers should) that Clotair was so

Contemporary with the Const. Roman Empire.

he had debauched Sichild his Queen, caused him to be put to death. Affembling Sect 2

the Estates of Burgundy together, for the Election of a new Major of the Palace, in-

to the place of Warnarius, they declared, that they defired to be governed by none

near them, and gave out that the Enemy did but dream, forafmuch as he had certain Intelligence, that the old King was dead. Hereupon he shews himself upon the Bank of the River, uncovering his Head, that his reverend grey Hairs, known to all, might convince them of his presence, but kept silence, to strike them with

the greater apprehension of his Design.

108. Bertoald, to make amends for his mistake or fraud, fell into opprobrious Language, using this Expression, Art thou there, dumb Beast? Wherewith Ch. Time his mutative instance, takes the water, and over he will pass, to be revenged, which his started with the start of the started with the started wit Men feeing, fwim after him, and to shore he gets safe and found, and sets upon the 4-1-12 But are fibelised his Enemy. Bertoald, not able to sustain the violence of their Fury, takes his senden by the heels, and Clotair, though burthened with his Armour, and with his Boots, with the home for your were full of water, follows after so fast as almost to come up with him. Bertoald gas falls Vir feeing the danger he is in, now expostulates, then chides downright, and still pro-rand. were lifesses himself his slave and vassal. But Clotair not giving heed to his hypocritical description with he have not seen and the second of the second state of the second se Expressions, which he knew a mere sense of necessity wrested from him, still pressure in the strength of fed forwards, and getting ground, at length came up with him, and slew him, or positive in the strength of the streng

the length of Clotariu his Sword. This Exploit and his Retreat he not long fur window Jaman-vived, dying A. D. 631. in the four and fortieth Year of his Reign, and the fifteenth of his Monarchy over the Franks, and was buried in the Suburbs of Paris in the Church of St. Vincent, now St. Germans, where as yet his Tomb (by whom, and at what time foever built) is yet to be feen on the South fide, overagainst that of his Father Chilperick, Bertrude his Wife being buried a little higher. He had two Wives, as we have faid, viz. this Bertrude, or Berotride, by Fortunatus, in his Epithalamium, called Richilde, a Saxon, and of the Family of Athanachild, King of the Vifigoths, who makes mention also of Clotair, her Husband; this diversity of Names, as Tily observes, flowing from diversity of Speech, as he instanceth in particulars of the French, and we might as eafly of our own Language. By this Lady he had his Son Dagobert, and a Daughter named Biltilde, married to Aribert, a Duke of Austria. His second Wife was Sichild, and by her he had Aribert, Haribert or Charibert, another Son. As for Meroneus, who was taken or killed at the Battel near Stampæ, he seems to have been base born.

109. Dagobert having notice of his Father's death, fent with all speed certain select Persons to the Nobility of Neustria and Burgundy, to secure his Interest. They without much hesitancy closed with him, as the rightfull Heir, and received him at Reims with great concourse and solemnity, Aribert, his younger Brother, and for him Brunulf, his Uncle by the Mother's fide, in vain contending for the Inheritance. The Estates thought Aribert far inferiour to Dagobert in parts, and for that reason, as well as others, declined his Interest. Dagobert having settled his

being the fecond Frank, if a modern Authour rightly observeth, who obtained rath apud Dasis the opima Spolia. Having cut off his Head, he returned back to his Son, and the advance object reft of the Franks, whom he found all in forrow and lamentation, because they play the found in formal could not keep pace with him, and had given him over for a loft Man. The Franks nem protrose voat the fight of him reassuming their courage, and under his Conduct invaded the lenter excipere, Saxons, where wasting the Countrey, all Males they put to death, which exceeded Orgb id eff, box

Sect. 3. lulf, the King of the Lombards, who feeling the burthen heavy, and not conceiving himself in a capacity to be eased by Steel, resolved to try what he could effect Releases the Tri- with Gold and good Language. Having picked out some fit Men for the Errand, he fent them to the Court of Clotair, where having stopped the Mouths of his principal Ministers, they had the better opportunity to open their own, and cunningly effected what they were fent for. They much infitted upon this plaufible Argument, That the Friendship of any People is better founded upon Love and Goodwill, than Force and Servitude: That the Lombards quit of this ingratefull duty, would exchange it for others more generous and fincere of Gratitude and Fidelity. In conclusion, by their pleasing Language and Deportment, and paying down 3600 Solidi, (befides 3000 wherewith they had bribed three of the principal Ministers,) they struck up the Bargain, and bought off the perpetual Tribute at three years purchase.

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into his Hand, except Ardenna and Volagus, lying toward Neuffria and Burgundy, Ardenna Syka, which he thought fit to keep to himfelt. Having given him a Kingdom, in the next place he provided him a Wife, and fuch an one as by the Alliance was likely to preferve Unity, and a good Understanding in their Family. Sending for him to Clippiacum, a place near Paris, he married to him Gomadinde, the Sifter of Sichild his Wife, and two days together they kept the Wedding with all Joy and Magnificence suitable to such an occasion. But the third day the Bridegroom fell into a discontent, not that he was now tied and bound by the Bonds of Matrimony, but firaitned and confined within the limits of too narrow a Kingdom. He complained that he was not rightly called King of Austrasia, whereof the best and principal Parts were withheld from him, though, if his Judgment did not flatter him, he was now of Age and Abilities sufficient to take the Government of the whole.

106. Such were the complaints of the Son, but the Father thought he had no

reason to make them, who had no right to any thing, nor could claim one foot of ground as his due, but had received all from his mere bounty. The Contest grew high, and the difference feemed to threaten the Franks with mischief, of which being aware, they interpoled, and the matter being committed to twelve of the Nobility, they perfuade the Father for Peace and Quietness sake, to yield to the youthfull heat and ambition of his own Son, (whose all must be at last,) and so they were throughly reconciled, the whole Kingdom being delivered into Dagober's Hands, Provincia Place except that Region called Provence, and those places that lay on this side the Loire, coss, st quidant The following Year Warnarius the Governour of Burgundy died, who was hardly interpretation. cold in his Grave, when Godinus his Son married the Widow his Step-mother. This coming to the knowledge of Clotair, he commands him as an Incestuous Person to be put to death, but the noise of the Sentence anticipating much the Execution. he flies to Dagobert, and eafily obtains of him to intercede for his Life, which at length was granted, in confideration of the great and eminent Services of his Father. His Life he was content to purchase with a Divorce, but she was not therewith satisfied, but as if it more behoved him to gratifie her fenfual Appetite, than to defire Life it self, fell into an implacable Passion and Hatred, which so far transported her, as to accuse him of deligns against the King's Life. The King being in this point credulous enough, commanded him to make Oath, he had no fuch Intention, which, at the importunity of Chranulph and Wandalbert, he did, both in the Church of St. Medard at Soiffens, and St. Vincent at Paru; yet this would not fatisfie, they would compell him to reiterate it at Orleance, in the Church of St. Anian, and at Tours in that of St. Martin, whither as he travelled to doe it, those fawning Courtiers, the King conniving at it, fet upon him as he fate at Meat with feveral Friends. and, notwithstanding their opposition, cruelly murthered him.

107. Clotair being exasperated by this imaginary Conspiracy, or his hand being now in, resolved to be very severe. This same Year he banished one Palladius, with Sedocus his Son, the Bishop of Tolouse, as being privy to the Rebellion of the Vascons, and having laid to the charge of one Boso, an Inhabitant of Stampa, that he had debauched Siehild his Queen, caused him to be put to death. Assembling Sect. 2. the Estates of Burgundy together, for the Election of a new Major of the Palace, into the place of Warnarius, they declared, that they defired to be governed by none but God and himself, which he took kindly, and would not impose any new Governour upon them. In the mean time Dagobert highly concerned himself about the Saxous, who despising his Youth, disdained to be subject to him. He disdained as much to bear the affront, and getting an Army ready, passed the Rhine, and ingaged in battel with Bertoald their Captain. Here he was fo hard put to it, that fighting manfully in his own Person, he received a wound in his Head, from which

Contemporary with the Const. Roman Empire.

a piece of his Helmet was cut, with part of the Skin, Hair and all, which, having retreated to his Camp, he fent with the Skin, bloudy as it was, unto his Father, defiring him to make all the hafte he possibly could to his relief. Clotair then was making a more gentle fort of War with wild Beafts, but the fight of the Present fent him by his Son quickly diverted him to a ferious Hostility, and he rather flew than went to his fuccour, not giving himself rest, day nor night, till he reached the place. His presence filled the Franks with excessive Joy, of which they were not wanting to give ample demonstrations, and the noise easily reached the Ears of the Saxons, the two Camps being but parted by the River Viscere. Bertoald was unwilling to believe (at least that his Souldiers should) that Clotair was so near them, and gave out that the Enemy did but dream, forafmuch as he had certain Intelligence, that the old King was dead. Hereupon he shews himself upon the Bank of the River, uncovering his Head, that his reverend grey Hairs, known to all, might convince them of his presence, but kept silence, to strike them with

the greater apprehension of his Design. 108. Bertoald, to make amends for his mistake or fraud, fell into opprobrious Language, using this Expression, Art thou there, dumb Beast? Wherewith Clo Time his must address 6: ila? rair inflamed, takes the water, and over he will pass, to be revenged, which his Sic Aller Anna. Men feeing, fwim after him, and to shore he gets safe and found, and sets upon the 4 cold

But are subdued his Enemy. Bertoald, not able to sustain the violence of their Fury, takes his tendent of the heels, and Cletair, though burthened with his Armour, and with his Boots, which have been were full of water, follows after fo faft as almost to come up with him.

Bertoals and Bertoals and the Vernicus of the come up with him. feeing the danger he is in, now expostulates, then chides downright, and still pro-rando men lifesses himself his slave and vassal. But Clotair not giving heed to his hypocritical for successions of the control of the con Expressions, which he knew a mere sense of necessity wrested from him, still pressore the sense in the fed forwards, and getting ground, at length came up with him, and slew him, who is the sense in the being the second Frank, if a modern Authour rightly observeth, who obtained rains may bear a modern Authour rightly observeth, who obtained rains may bear a sense of the second Frank, if a modern Authour rightly observeth, who obtained rains may bear a sense of the second Frank and the sense of the opima Spolia. Having cut off his Head, he returned back to his Son, and the adduce obtinet rest of the Franks, whom he found all in sorrow and lamentation, because they get valgo sail line for the franks, whom he found all in sorrow and lamentation, because they get valgo sail line for the franks. could not keep pace with him, and had given him over for a lost Man. The Franks nem problems toat the fight of him reassuming their courage, and under his Conduct invaded the later exister, Saxons, where wasting the Countrey, all Males they put to death, which exceeded ofthe Countre, the length of Clotarius his Sword. This Exploit and his Retreat he not long sur-ventum Jummer Vived, dying A.D. 6.11, in the sour and sortiest Vear of his Rejon and the fifteenth to filled distrevived, dying A. D. 631. in the four and fortieth Year of his Reign, and the fifteenth

of his Monarchy over the Franks, and was buried in the Suburbs of Paris in the Church of St. Vincent, now St. Germans, where as yet his Tomb (by whom, and at what time foever built) is yet to be feen on the South fide, overagainst that of his Father Chilperick, Bertrude his Wife being buried a little higher. He had two Wives, as we have faid, viz. this Bertrude, or Berotride, by Fortunatus, in his Epithalamium, called Richilde, a Saxon, and of the Family of Athanachild, King of the Vifigoths, who makes mention also of Clotair, her Husband; this diversity of Names, as Tily observes, flowing from diversity of Speech, as he instanceth in particulars of the French, and we might as eafily of our own Language. By this Lady he had his Son Dagobert, and a Daughter named Biltilde, married to Aribert, a Duke of Austria. His second Wife was Sichild, and by her he had Aribert, Haribert or Charibert, another Son. As for Meroneus, who was taken or killed at the Battel near Stampæ, he seems to have been base born.

109. Dagobert having notice of his Father's death, fent with all speed certain select Persons to the Nobility of Neustria and Burgundy, to secure his Interest. They without much hesitancy closed with him, as the rightfull Heir, and received him at Reims with great concourse and solemnity, Aribert, his younger Brother, and for him Brunulf, his Uncle by the Mother's fide, in vain contending for the Inheritance. The Estates thought Aribert far inferiour to Dagobert in parts, and for that reason, as well as others, declined his Interest. Dagobert having settled his

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Sect. 3. matters, took occasion to be revenged upon Brunulf, but was so good natured, as by the Advice of the Nobility, to give his Brother a good share out of his Domiand makes his mions, viz. all the Countries lying betwixt the River Loire, toward Wasconia, as And makes his produce Aithers far as the Pyrenæan Mountains, covenanting with him by writing, that content King of Aqual-with this Portion, neither he, nor any of his, should ever lay claim to any other tang. Part of their Father's Kingdom. Aribert having taken Possession, chose Tolouse for his Seat, and buckling himself to his business, thortly made it appear he was not the Man for which the Nobility had taken him. He proved exceedingly industrious, and tharp witted, and in the third Year of his Reign increased his Dominions, by the Conquest of all Wasconia. Dagobert reserving for himself the intire Kingdoms of Auftrasia, Burgundy and Neustria, and using the Counsel and Direction of his Tutour, Arnulf the Bilhop of Metz, with other fober and judicious Persons. ordered his matters at first with great Prudence, Justice and Moderation. Into Burgundy, not long after his Father's death, he made a Progress, where he got great Fame by his impartial acting betwixt all Parties. But after his return to Paris, entertaining new l'avourites, and giving ear to the Whispers and Infinuations of the Parafites about him, he began to enter into a contrary course, whereat the good Bishop discontented, and not able to obliterate the Impressions which, fuiting his Appetite, the Courtiers had made upon him, with grief departed home to his See. Pretending that Gomatrude his Wife was barren, he married another by their Advice, Nantilde by Name, whom he took by force out of a Monaflery. But this being as barren, it feems, as the other, or her Fruit miscarrying, he married a third, called Raguetrude, by which he had a Son by the years end. The Child was offered to the Font by Aribert, the King of Aquitain, so was he flyled, and being baptized at Ocleance, by the Name of Sigebert, when none would fay Amen to the Prayers of the Bishop that officiated, he himself is said to have opened his Mouth and have done it, though he was not above thirty days old-

110. After this our Authours complain, that Dagobert forgetting all the good Leffons his Tutour had raught him, turned an open Robber of Persons and Places, both facred and civil. Under pretence of giving to that of St. Denis, which he founded, he took away from other Churches, and his Luft, by gratifying it, grew fo extravagant, that besides his three Wives which he maintained, both in the Title and Port of Queens, he kept a great number of Concubines. These Vices of his were but rather strengthened and increased by Prosperity and good Fortune. In Aribert and his the ninth year of his Reign, his Brother Aribert, the King of Aquitain, dies, who Son dying, Da- having a young Son, called Chilperick, he flaid not long behind, but, in the Opinion of Men, was sooner sent after him by his Uncle's Procurement than Nature had intended, which done he dispatched an Officer to seize upon his Kingdom and Treasures. His Cossers being now full, what with the Rapines he had made, and

what by the Death of his Nephew, he took an occasion soon after to empty them, Then he makes and first by the War he made with the Sclavi. These were a People inhabiting

War upon the that Part of Pannonia, formerly called Pannonia Valeria, and Interannia, now appertaining to Hungary, lying betwixt the two Rivers Drawns and Savus. The Ro- Drawn Acid man Empire going to decay, first the Goths pierced into this Countrey, and quitting Straboni Dians, it upon better hopes, thele Sclavi, a Hunnish Nation, barbarous and fierce, whose Plinis valle Dea, Dominions extended as far as Odefa, and were separated from the Saxons onely by refle Latin, the River Albs, as wrote Helmoldus, though others fay, formerly feated upon the quem Danubies Lake of Meetis, invaded and made it their Habitation. Sclave, it's faid, fignifieth excipit. in their ancient Language Glory, or Glorious, but afterward an accident happened, Strabai zie, which might well cause it to be taken and used in a quite contrary sense, and to de-fet Protons in the contrary sense. note a Man subjected to the highest degree of Servitude. For these Sclavi, or Vindi, panning fluor, *Vindi, or Vindil, (for so also they were called, and from them the place, as in Danning fluor, panning fluor, and the state of the state o fome think, which at this day retaineth the Name of Vindifelland,) after their citam fe take from this Countries, were compared by the Human properly facelled and her ram, half San fixing in this Countrey, were conquered by the Hunnes properly fo called, and op- strato fertile present in no small degree of misery, but with such fort of bondage as fully answers same in the same to the word of Slavery. First, they served them as Auxiliaries, then as Tributaries errat. and Stipendiaries, and at last as the vilest Slaves indeed, or Bondmen; in Summer * Aut can depliin the Field, in Winter in their own Houses, where not onely they lived upon the gud Aminer, fipoil, and took what they had but abused their Back lying with their Williams, spoil, and took what they had, but abused their Beds, lying with their Wives and lib.4. 623. Daughters at their pleafure.

111. An Offspring in this manner begotten of slavish Women, but by lording and domineering Humnes, the bloud of their Fathers, it feems, being predominant, and boiling in their Veins, scorned, if not the Name, yet the modern signification of Sclaves, and being come to ripeness of Age strenuously afferted the Liberty of Sect. 3. themselves, and the Nation, on which they were ingrafted, maintaining a long and tedious War. While this was hotly managed on both fides, it happened that one

Same, a Gall, Samo, a Frank, or Gall by birth, of the Senoner, being a Merchant, and following Senoner, batic choice King of his business in those parts, was importuned by these Sclavi to put himself into the Senoneman, quark his business in those parts, was importuned by these Sclavi to put himself into the fine quadam its.

Army. Being prevailed with, he behaved himself with that Valour and Conduct, last face, at in that thinking none io fit to rule as the most valiant, who could keep as well as get, dramedly Trithey chose him for their King. And he carried himself so as they had no reason rule limitgum, to repent them of their choice, being beloved at home, and terrible abroad. He Carmann agric efpoused with the Title and Dignity their whole Interest, not sticking at Religion for the season of the control of the season of the it felf, which he exchanged for Paganism, after the manner of the Nation, marry. university oblineing twelve Wives, and he fo far forgot all respect for his native Countrey, and his rent. first trade of Life, that such French Merchants as came into Sclavonia to traffick, he spoiled of their Wealth, and caused such as made resistence, and appealed to the Law of Nations, to be put to death. Dagobert herewith much offended, fent one Sicharius as his Ambassadour, to demand restitution of the Goods, and satisfaction to Justice, for violence offered to his Subjects. Of Samo he demands audience. but can have none, till he puts himself into the Habit of the Countrey, and so in a difguise gets into his Presence, where discovering himself, he complains of the Injury, and demanding fatisfaction, flies into reproachfull Language, telling them. they were the Subjects of Dagobert, not onely the Tributaries, but the Bondmen or very Slaves of his Master.

112. Samo, with more temper, replied, that he was ready to comply with the King of the Franks in all things, not because the Nation was at all obnoxious to him, as Vasfals, but by virtue of their ancient Friendship and Alliance. The Ambassadour indiscreetly answered, there could be no Alliance nor Communion betwixt Christians and Dogs. Be it so, said the other, you are the Servants of Christ, and we are Dogs, but remember, that Dogs do often revenge upon Servants what they have faucily and naughtily committed against their Master; and therewith he commanded the Ambassadour to be hurried from his presence, and out of his Dominions. Dagobert with the report hereof was so exasperated, that he resolved to raise a mighty Army, and fubdue this malapert Nation. The Lombards and Alemans also under Conduct of Rotbert, he procured to join with him, who demeaned themselves with that courage, that they eafily overthrew the Sclavi, and returned home, inriched with booty, and many Captives. The Australians being now left to themselves, befieged a Fort, called Vogastrum, to which many of the most valiant of the Enemy had fled for their fecurity. But they managed the Siege with remissness, that those within acted by necessity, and desperation made so effectual a Sally, that having killed many of them, the rest most shamefully ran away, leaving their Camp, Baggage and Provisions, a feafonable Prey, to the almost starved Enemy. The Sclavi incouraged by fo unexpected good fortune, purfued their Victory, and invading Thoringia, and other Parts of Germany, Subject to the Franks made such destruction of all places, and struck such terrour into all round about, that Dervanus, who commanded certain Cities of the Sclavi, that were in the Dominion of Dagobert, out of desperation, revolted to them; there being small hopes of any effectual fuccour to be had from the King, who was now altogether enervated by his Luxu-

113. Luxury is accompanied often with Cruelty, though feldom with true and fubstantial Valour. At this time there happened a contention betwixt the Bulgari (a People which from the Banks of the River Volga, had passed into the inferiour Mefia, and there feated themselves) and their Neighbours the Avares, or Hunnes, with whom they had joined and embodied themselves, out of which Nation their King should be chosen. To blows it came, and the Victory remained with the Hunnes, who dealing now with the Bulgari, as with absolute Enemies, many of them fled their Countrey, and humbly belought Dagobert to bellow on them fome place to inhabite. He ordered them into Baioaria (or Bavaria) there to winter, till he might confult where to bestow them, and they were accordingly disper-sed in the several Houses of the Inhabitants, whom at last, by advice of those about him, for fear, as was pretended, that they should attempt some dangerous matters, he commanded to kill them, every Housholder, his Guest, with his Wife and Children. This was done according to his command, all their Throats being cut in one and the fame night, as they innocently flept, onely fome feven hundred efcaped, and by one Alticeus were brought unto the Sclavi. About this time Sifebodus

the King of Spain died, and was succeeded by Sentila, who by his cruelty and other vices, quickly alienated the minds of his Subjects from him. Amongst them Silenendus a Nobleman, more unwilling to bear his Insolency than the rest, came to Dagobert, and defired his Affistence for expelling Sentila out of Spain. He was willing enough to doe mischief to whomsoever, and appointed the whole Force of Burgundy to attend him, which being noised abroad in Spain, all forsook Sentila, being already offended at his Carriage, and affoon as Sifenendus arrived made choice of him for their King. Abundantius then and Venerandus, the Leaders of the Franks, having brought him as far as Casar-Augusta, where he received the Homage of the Nobility, returned home with good rewards. But Dagobert was not therewith fatisfied, for Sifenendus had promited, in case the Design took, to give him a great vessel of Gold of five hundred pound weight, adorned with Gems and pretious Stones, which formerly had been presented to Torismund, King of the Goths, by Ætius, the Patritian of the Romans. Dagobert therefore fends back Venerandus, with Amalgarius, to demand a performance of the condition. Sifenendus very willingly delivered the Vessel into their hands, but in the way, the Goths having had notice of it, took it from them by force, not enduring that their Nation should be deprived of such a Monument. Therefore did Sifenendus, in satisfaction of the lofs, pay afterward to Dagobert two hundred thousand Solidi in Silver, which he bestowed in building and beautifying the Church of St. Denis, a work which put him to very great Expence.

114. Hitherto, with the Affront received from the Sclavi, Dagobert flept suincly; but at length awaking, and coming to himself, it rose upon his Stomach, and he could not possibly digest the Injury. In the tenth Year of his Reign he rai. Collegic tellow and he could not possibly digest the Injury. In the tenth Year of his Reign he rai. Frantis tellow fed a choice Army, and himself, in Person, resolved to lead it. Having passed traiting Statem. through Arduenna, the Forest, as far as Moguntia, or Mentz, and being now ready quammon turnum to pals the Rhine, the Saxons, though Tributaries, and in perfect Peace with him, peter when yet fearing the Approach of forgreat a force, came and offered their fervice for the Aminius, the chastisement of the malapert Sclavi, professing themselves ever to be at his Devo-Scara Transmiss tion, and without an expectation of Reward, onely they defired that he would re-vas, quantum the yearly Tribute they paid, of five hundred Cowes, called Vaccæ Inferenda-modern Fraction, which Petition he granted, by advice of his Counfellours, on this condition, Fauchtuning. that they should, for the time to come, faithfully protect these Borders of his Do- role magne: il minions. Oath hereof was made (as they were wont to swear) upon their Arms, plus habilas Scsbut was never confirmed by any Act, though they got free of the Tribute, and no-rap Francisco-thing came of this expedition. The Sclavi therefore finding they had been more during a fair-thing came of this expedition. feared than hurt, the following year renewed their Incursions into Thoringia, which be. put Dagobert upon new Countels, finding that thole former, relating to the Saxons, sue ide, input Dagobert upon new Countels, finding that thole former, relating to the Saxons, sue ide, input and not fucceeded. By the Advice of his Counfellours, he fet over the Austrassian relationship. Signer his Son his Son Signer, in Name as King, but in Effect Governour, by direction and ma-baser is again and make Governour of Agreement, in Name as King, but in Effect Governour, by direction and ma-baser is again and make mount of Agreement of his two Tutours, or Guardians, Chimibert, the Prelate of Campania, foremental to the control of the co fia, by which or Rheims, and Adalgifus, the Major of the Palace. He affigned them a sufficient Et quature, con means the Incurrence and Managers, all which he caused to be inscribed into his Testa-cost instance confusion of the Revenue, and other things, all which he caused to be inscribed into his Testa-cost instance confusion in Solari are rement, and sealed. Thenceforth, so long as Sigebert lived, by the Prudence and failth instance. Industry of the Austrasians, all Irruptions of the Winidi were restrained.

115. In the twelfth Year of Dagobert his Reign, he had another Son born by Nau-lind. tilde, his beloved Wife, called Clodonæus, or Hludonicus, betwixt whom and Sigebert, his elder Son, by advice of his Nobles, he defigned an equal Division of his Dominions. Sigebert he left, as now he found him, King of Austria, and therefore to Clodonaus the younger, he affigned Neustria and Burgundy, together with the Dukedom of Deutelenus, which hitherto had been unjustly, as was accounted, possessed by the Austrasians, who, though forely against their Wills, yet for sear of Dagobert, confirmed the perpetual annexion of it unto Neuftria. In the Year that The Valent for followed, News was brought that the Valcons rebelled, who having been found ted to beg guilty of the fame Crime by his Brother declaration of it unto Neuliria. In the Year that had, after his death, despised Dagobert's Orders, and insested all the Countries adjoyning, with Murthers and Rapine, till Sadragefilus being made Governour of Aquitain, restrained their Incursions, and caused them to keep at home. But he (whether by the knowledge of Dagobert, we know not, who formerly bore him Malice) was privily murthered, and his Sons being idle, or worfe, and not profecuting with Arms those that were guilty, were in a publick Assembly of the Franks, as Aimoinus tells us, according to the Roman Laws, deprived of all his Estate, which the King then conferred on the Church of St. Denis. He being made

away, the Vascons thought they might renew their former Trade of Life, but Da- Sect. 3. gobert, as loosely as he had lately lived, would not suffer the Affront to pass uncontrolled, but gathered a great Army out of Burgundy, which he committed to the conduct of no fewer than twelve several Captains. They ingage in Battel with the Vascons, put them to flight, which done, they wasted their Countrey, and having driven them up for shelter into the Mountainous places, returned with Honour untouched, but for one Accident. Arembertus one of the Captains as he Robold Accident. ingaged indifcreetly, or staid too long in the Valley called Robola, was cut off with fed alits Substa the greatest part of the Nobility, and the old Souldiers that followed him: But que hadie Sala. Audoenus (or Audonius) the chief of the twelve who was eminent for many Battels, Chadrinus. fought in the time of Theodorick, and was now held by all in chiefest Rank of Vide Otherarum Subjects, so demeaned himself, that the Vascons were forced to beg Peace, and in Natita Vas-

Promife obedience for the time to come; whereupon he drew off his Army. 116. Dagobert a little elevated with his Success against the bold Vascons, began to consider who there were, that by the like Fault committed, had merited a furta-

ble Punishment, which he thought himself able now to inslict by means of his lately Victorious Army. The Britains of Aremorica or Armorica, had often made Incursions into his Dominions, and as well since his coming to the Government, as before, had contrary to feveral Leagues and Agreements, made great Wastes and Depredations in the adjoyning Countries. Dagobert fends to Judicahil their Prince (or King, as our Historian calls him) Eligius a Person of great Prudence and Integrity, by whom he demands Satisfaction might be made for former Injuries, or he must expect the whole force, which was coming from Vasconia, would be fent

to fetch it. Eligius fo wrought upon Judicahil, that he not onely prevailed with him to conform himself to the Pleasure of the King of the Franks, but to come with him to the Court of Dagobert, who then lay at the Village Clippiacum, where he not onely Promifed an Amendment of what was past, but subjected himself and his People, to the obedience of the King, and made a perpetual Peace with him. Dagobert being now at his ease, and having brought to his beck all the Nations round about him, was, as is reported, bettered by his Prosperity, and, contrary to the common Inclination of Mankind, his good fortune kindled in him a Zeal after Piety and true Religion. In a place called Bigargium, on the one and twen-

tieth of April he fummoned a General meeting of all the Nobility and Prelates of France; to whom, and to his two Sons he fignified his Intentions, to leave fomething to most of the Churches within his Dominions, for his Souls health, ordering that of his Testament, one Copy should be kept at Paris, a second at Lyons, a third at Metz, and a fourth in his own Treasury; and charging his Sons to see his Will performed, as they should expect the same Office of Duty from their Posterity. Whether he had a Prospect of death which put him into so good a Mood, or

ments, he died the Year following, of a Flux in a Village called Spitrogillum up- Tillio Spinsum, on the River Seine, not far from Paris after he had Reigned fourteen Years. Perceiving his last hour to approach, he sent for Ega his Councillour, and the Major of the Palace, and to his Care and Government recommended his Son Clodonaus with Nautildis his Mother, desiring all the Nobility and Prelates also of Neustria and Burgundy to be affifting to them. He died on the nineteenth of January, and

was with much Solemnity buried in the Church of St. Dionyfius, or Denis near Paris, which he himself with very much Charge had built and endowed, about the the fifth Year of the Emperour Constant, the fifth also of Theodorus Bishop of Rome.

117. Hitherto the Franks had been Governed by their Kings, who though they had Ministers under them, by whom they acted; yet had the Administration still in their own hands. But from this time, the Majors of the Palace reigned in Effect, those Kings (of this Race) which followed, enjoying nothing but the Title, which may partly be attributed to this folemn Act of Dagobert, whereby as it were he instated Ega in the Government, and left a President to suture times; but especially, it is to be ascribed to the Sloth, and voluptuous Life of some of the Princes themselves, who being on purpose by these their Governours, indulged in their sensual Course of Life had little Mind, and much less Ability for publick Employments. Dagobert being dead, Sigebert continued in the Pollession of Australia, this succeeded and Clodonaus succeeded to Neustria and Burgundy, being called Ludwicus the first, which is succeeded to Neustria and Burgundy, being called Ludwicus the first,

by Sigebert and though Clodonaus and Ludovicus be the fame Name, and the first Christian King of Chimau his this Nation, is Consequently to be called the first; but to shun Consusion, we must

by a true Sense of things he was brought into a due estimate of earthly Enjoy-

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Armrica fub-

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Sect. 3. the King of Spain died, and was succeeded by Sentila, who by his cruelty and other vices, quickly alienated the minds of his Subjects from him. Amongst them Silenendus a Nobleman, more unwilling to bear his Infolency than the rest, came to Dagobert, and defired his Affistence for expelling Sentila out of Spain. He was willing enough to doe mischief to whomsoever, and appointed the whole Force of Burgundy to attend him, which being noised abroad in Spain, all forsook Sentila, being already offended at his Carriage, and assoon as Sifenendus arrived made choice of him for their King. Abundantius then and Venerandus, the Leaders of the Franks, having brought him as far as Cafar-Augusta, where he received the Homage of the Nobility, returned home with good rewards. But Dagobert was not therewith fatisfied, for Sisenendus had promited, in case the Design took, to give him a great vessel of Gold of five hundred pound weight, adorned with Gems and pretious Stones, which formerly had been presented to Torismund, King of the Goths, by Ætius, the Patritian of the Romans. Dagobert therefore fends back Venerandus, with Amalgarius, to demand a performance of the condition. Sifenendus very willingly delivered the Vessel into their hands, but in the way, the Goths having had notice of it, took it from them by force, not enduring that their Nation should be deprived of such a Monument. Therefore did Sifenendus, in satisfaction of the loss, pay afterward to Dagobert two hundred thousand Solidi in Silver, which he bestowed in building and beautifying the Church of St. Denis, a work which put him to very great Expence.

114. Hitherto, with the Affront received from the Sclavi, Dagobert flept supinely; but at length awaking, and coming to himself, it rose upon his Stomach, pinely; but at length awaring, and coming to interest of his Reign he rai. Caligit Million and he could not possibly diget the Injury. In the tenth Year of his Reign he rai. Caligit Million and he could not possibly diget the Injury.

[For in the country of the through Arduema, the Forest, as far as Moguntia, or Mentz, and being now ready gummanuman through Arduema, the Forest, as far as Moguntia, or Mentz, and being now ready gummanuman through Arduema, though Tributaries, and in perfect Peace with him, plant polymen. to pais the Rhine, the Saxons, though Tributaries, and in perfect Peace with him, polar polar yet fearing the Approach of fo great a force, came and offered their fervice for the Amains, the chastisement of the malapert Sclavi, professing themselves ever to be at his Devo-Scara Tentrological tion, and without an expectation of Reward, onely they defired that he would re- tear paint into the yearly Tribute they paid, of five hundred Cowes, called Vacca Inferenda must find a more five hundred Cowes, called Vacca Inferenda must find a more five hundred Cowes, called Vacca Inferenda must find a more five hundred Cowes, called Vacca Inferenda must find the first les, which Petition he granted, by advice of his Counfellours, on this condition, Fauchette in Cathat they should, for the time to come, faithfully protect these Borders of his Do- rolo magno: il minions. Oath hereof was made (as they were wont to swear) upon their Arms, plus habilles Scibut was never confirmed by any Act, though they got free of the Tribute, and no-res Franciscus. thing came of this expedition. The Sclavi therefore finding they had been more clare by drive. feared than hurt, the following year renewed their Incurfions into Thoringia, which be to taking, but Dagabert upon new Counfels, finding that those former, relating to the Saxons, the same than the former of the saxons that the saxons that the saxons the saxons that the saxons the saxons the saxons that the saxons the saxons that the saxons the sa his Son Sigebert, in Name as King, but in Effect Governour, by direction and ma-bantur: 65 quid made Gover nis Son Sigebert, in Ivalic as failig, but in Energy Government, by direction and the figures and in figures and fine figures and figures and fine figures and figures and fine figures and figures and fine figures and figures and fine figures and fine figures and fine figures and fine figures and figures fia, by which means the Inor Rheims, and Adalgifus, the Major of the Palace. He affigned them a sufficient Et quaeum commens the Inmeans the Inmeans the Incurfons of the Revenue, and other things, all which he caused to be inscribed into his Tellacustomer of the
Revenue, and other things, all which he caused to be inscribed into his Tellacustomer of the Revenue, and other things, all which he caused to be inscribed into his Tellafiguration of the Auditory of the Auditory all Irruptions of the Winidi were restrained. Industry of the Austrasians, all Irruptions of the Winidi were restrained.

115. In the twelfth Year of Dagobert his Reign, he had another Son born by Nau- 116d. tilde, his beloved Wife, called Clodonæus, or Hludonicus, betwixt whom and Sigebert, his elder Son, by advice of his Nobles, he defigned an equal Division of his Dominions. Sigebert he left, as now he found him, King of Austria, and therefore to Clodonaus the younger, he affigned Neuftria and Burgundy, together with the Dukedom of Deutelenus, which hitherto had been unjustly, as was accounted, possessed by the Austrasians, who, though forely against their Wills, yet for sear of Dagobert, confirmed the perpetual annexion of it unto Neuftria. In the Year that followed, News was brought that the Vascons rebelled, who having been found guilty of the same Crime by his Brother Aribert, and forced to submit to the yoke, had, after his death, despised Dagobert's Orders, and infested all the Countries adjoyning, with Murthers and Rapine, till Sadragefilus being made Governour of Aquitain, restrained their Incursions, and caused them to keep at home. But he (whether by the knowledge of Dagobert, we know not, who formerly bore him Malice) was privily murthered, and his Sons being idle, or worfe, and not profecuting with Arms those that were guilty, were in a publick Assembly of the Franks, as Aimoinus tells us, according to the Roman Laws, deprived of all his Estate, which the King then conferred on the Church of St. Denis. He being made

ced to beg

away, the Vascons thought they might renew their former Trade of Life, but Da- Sect. 3. gobert, as loosely as he had lately lived, would not suffer the Affront to pass uncontrolled, but gathered a great Army out of Burgundy, which he committed to the conduct of no fewer than twelve feveral Captains. They ingage in Battel with the Vascons, put them to flight, which done, they wasted their Countrey, and having driven them up for shelter into the Mountainous places, returned with Honour untouched, but for one Accident. Arembertus one of the Captains as he Robola Airmins Hollour unroughest, but for one restance in a specific property of the Valley called Robols, was cut off with fed dire solds the greatest part of the Nobility, and the old Souldiers that followed him: But greatestic greatest part of the Nobility, and the old Souldiers that followed him: But greatestic solds and the greatest part of the Nobility, and the old Souldiers that followed him: But greatestic solds are sold as the greatest part of the Nobility, and the old Souldiers that followed him: But greatestic solds are sold as the greatest part of the Nobility, and the old Souldiers that followed him: But greatestic solds are sold as the greatest part of the Nobility, and the old Souldiers that followed him: But greatestic solds are sold as the greatest part of the Nobility, and the old Souldiers that followed him: But greatestic solds are sold as the greatest part of the Nobility, and the old Souldiers that followed him: But greatestic solds are sold as the greatest part of the Nobility, and the old Souldiers that followed him: But greatestic solds are sold as the greatest part of the Nobility and the old Souldiers that followed him: But greatestic solds are sold as the greatest part of the Nobility and the old Souldiers that followed him: But greatestic sold are sold as the greatest part of the Nobility and the old Souldiers that followed him: But greatest part of the Nobility and the old Souldiers that followed him: But greatest part of the Nobility and the old Souldiers that followed him: But greatest part of the Nobility and the old Souldiers that followed him: But greatest part of the Nobility and the old Souldiers that followed him: But greatest part of the Nobility and th Audensus (or Audonius) the chief of the twelve who was eminent for many Battels, Chiefun, fought in the time of Theodorick, and was now held by all in chiefest Rank of Vise Ordensus Subjects, so demeaned himself, that the Vascons were forced to beg Peace, and min, Milita Vascons, 18, 5, 6.

Promise obedience for the time to come; whereupon he drew off his Army. 116. Dagobert a little elevated with his Success against the bold Vascons, began to confider who there were, that by the like Fault committed, had merited a furta-

ble Punishment, which he thought himself able now to inslict by means of his

lately Victorious Army. The Britains of Aremorica or Armorica, had often made Incursions into his Dominions, and as well fince his coming to the Government, as before, had contrary to feveral Leagues and Agreements, made great Wastes and Depredations in the adjoyning Countries. Dagobert fends to Judicahil their Prince (or King, as our Historian calls him) Eligius a Person of great Prudence and Integrity, by whom he demands Satisfaction might be made for former Injuries, or he must expect the whole force, which was coming from Vasconia, would be fent to fetch it. Eligius fo wrought upon Judicahil, that he not onely prevailed with him to conform himself to the Pleasure of the King of the Franks, but to come with him to the Court of Dagobert, who then lay at the Village Clippiacum, where he not onely Promifed an Amendment of what was past, but subjected himself and his People, to the obedience of the King, and made a perpetual Peace with him. Dagobert being now at his ease, and having brought to his beck all the Nations round about him, was, as is reported, bettered by his Prosperity, and, contrary to the common Inclination of Mankind, his good fortune kindled in him a Zeal after Piety and true Religion. In a place called Bigargium, on the one and twentieth of April he summoned a General meeting of all the Nobility and Prelates of France; to whom, and to his two Sons he fignified his Intentions, to leave fomething to most of the Churches within his Dominions, for his Souls health, ordering that of his Testament, one Copy should be kept at Paris, a second at Lyons, a third at Metz, and a fourth in his own Treasury; and charging his Sons to see his Will performed, as they should expect the same Office of Duty from their Posterity. Whether he had a Prospect of death which put him into so good a Mood, or by a true Sense of things he was brought into a due estimate of earthly Enjoy-

ments, he died the Year following, of a Flux in a Village called Spitrogillum up-Tillio Spinsum. on the River Seine, not far from Paris after he had Reigned fourteen Years. Perceiving his last hour to approach, he fent for Ega his Councillour, and the Major of the Palace, and to his Care and Government recommended his Son Clodonæus with Nautildis his Mother, defiring all the Nobility and Prelates also of Neustria and Burgundy to be affifting to them. He died on the nineteenth of January, and was with much Solemnity buried in the Church of St. Dionysius, or Denis near Paris, which he himself with very much Charge had built and endowed, about the the fifth Year of the Emperour Constant, the fifth also of Theodorus Bishop of Rome.

117. Hitherto the Franks had been Governed by their Kings, who though they had Ministers under them, by whom they acted; yet had the Administration still in their own hands. But from this time, the Majors of the Palace reigned in Effect, those Kings (of this Race) which followed, enjoying nothing but the Title, which may partly be attributed to this folemn Act of Dagobert, whereby as it were he instated Ega in the Government, and lest a President to suture times; but especially, it is to be afcribed to the Sloth, and voluptuous Life of some of the Princes themselves, who being on purpose by these their Governours, indulged in their fenfual Course of Life had little Mind, and much less Ability for publick Employments. Dagobert being dead, Sigebert continued in the Possession of Australia, He is succeeded and Clodonaus succeeded to Neustria and Burgundy, being called Ludovicus the first, by Statem and though Clodonæus and Ludovicus be the fame Name, and the first Christian King of Chilagashia thin Name, is Conferently to be called the first; but to shun Confusion, we must this Nation, is Confequently to be called the first; but to shun Consusion, we must

Sect. 3. with Tily fubriit to, and follow the vulgar Errour, though fome Learned men do call him Clodonaus the second. So were his Dominions parted, but his Treasure was all still in the hands of Ludovicus, or his Governours. By advice therefore of Pipin, who after his Father's death had betaken himself to him, and in Conjunction with Chumbert the Bishop, Governed all about him; Sigebert sent and demanded an equal Partition to be made of it, which Lodovick and his followers not able to refule, all the Wealth was brought forth, and by Ega at Compendium was weighed, and an equal division made betwixt the two Brothers, onely a third part of what Dagebert had got fince their Marriage, was conferred on Nautild. This is to be ascribed to the Justice, and Integrity of Ega, who indeed was a very worthy Perfon, and however he was accused of Covetousness, by such as are never suffered with any in Authority, demeaned himself with all uprightness, and procured such things as had been by violence, and without any right taken away by Dagobert,

to be restored to the right Owners. 118. But to the great loss of the King, in the third Year of his Reign, Ega dies of a Fever, and Erchinoaldus the Kiniman of Dagobert, by his Mother is advanced to his place of the Major of the Palace; a Man given to Peace, of a modelt Temper, and exceedingly beloved; things under his Circumspect eye went very well, till by the means of Nautilde, who rightly thought it the Interest of her Son and the Nation, not to have too much Power invested in one Man, troubles began unfortunately to arise. Going with him to Orleance the Metropolis of Burgundy, where he received the Acknowledgments and Homage of the Nobility and Clergy, the procured one Flancatus a Frank by Birth, to be made Major of the Palace for that Ringdom, giving him in Marriage Ragnoberta her Niece. Erchinoaldus and he joyned together, and kept all France in very good Order, administring Justice with all Impartiality, till one Willebald a Patritian of the parts beyond the Mountain Jura, a Man of great Nobility, and as great Wealth began to stomach, and take it in great fcorn to be subject to him, and obey his Orders. He gave sufficient Demonstrations of his disdain, but Flancatus took no notice of it, and went with Clodonæus to the General meeting held at Cabillonum, whither Willebald followed with so great a Train as seemed to threaten a War, or some great design he had formed in his Head. Yet would not he enter the Palace, knowing what advantage his Enemy might there have against him, which Flancatus perceiving, went toward him with intension to kill him where he was, but he was diverted by the advice and Intreaties of Amalbert his Brother, though onely refolved to defer the Revenge, and wait fome more convenient occasion. This was given him within a Namilde the Mo-little time: Nautilde the Queen dying this Year, whom they buried in the Church

of St. Denis by the King her Husband. 119. She being buried, he carries the King from Paris to Autun, accompanied with Erchinoaldus and several other Noblemen, where a Summons is fent for Willebald speedily to appear: He suspects the matter, and not daring to disobey the King's Commands puts himself upon the way, but with a strong band of Men, and a Messenger meets him, to persuade him to hasten to his Prince his Presence, and to Promise him all security, both in coming and returning, He holds then on his Course; but to make all as secure as he could, he sends before one Agilulfe a Bilhop, and Wisco a Count, to discover how matters stood, and to give him speedy Intelligence. But Flancatus causes them to be secured as soon as they had entred the City, and then with a strong party hastens out against Willebald, who encounters him, and makes flout opposition, but is slain manfully fighting at the Head of his Troop, and his followers killed or put to flight. Flancatus having plundered the Camp, returned to the Court, but the next day left Autun, and went to Cabillonum, where he had not staid two days, but the Town hapned to be on Fire, which it feems kindled fuch a Fever in his Veins, that being carried by Boat down Aratis to Dijon there he died, and so had but small time as well as any real cause to rejoyce in the Revenge he had taken upon his Adversary; so went matters in Neustria and Burgundy, through the Minority of the King, and the too great Power and Interest of a particular Subject. In Austrasia things were not in a much better posture, occasioned by the Death of Pipin the Major of the Palace, who · left a great miss of him to the People. He had a Son called Grimoaldus, a Person of great Courage and very active, who for his Father's fake was in high Favour, both with Prince and Subjects, and he worthily feemed to appear as a Candidate for his place. But there was in the Court one Otho, who by his Familiarity with Sigebert (whose Attendant and Play-fellow he had been in his Infancy) thought to obtain the Office, and having ever before emulated and hated Grimoaldus; now he Sect. 2. shewed it openly, and made all opposition he could against him. But the Fame and Reputation of old Pipin prevailed, and though he could not now expell him the Court, yet Grimoaldus procured him afterward to be flain, and fucceeded his dead Father in his Employment.

120. Grimoaldus being fetled in his place, Sigebert the King ingaged himself in War upon this occasion. Redulphus the Prince of Thuringia, having been formerly The Total and Tributary to this Kingdom of Austrasia, now despised Sigebert, and contracting a strict League and Alliance with the Sclavi, denied obedience. Sigebert taking this in great disdain, levied a strong and numerous Army, and therewith having passed the Rhine gave Battel to Faro the Captain of the Thuringians and quite defeated him. Rodulphus upon this retires to a strong Fort on the top of the Mountains, and Sigebert follows and closely belieges him, with intensions to take him, and put an end to the War. But a Council being called to deliberate what Course should be taken, some, and those the better fort were for storming the Castle; others, amongst whom were Grimoaldus and Adelgisilus, were for delaying the thing, and drawing out the matter into a tedious Siege, and accordingly while the other party was ready to fet upon the Fort, they withdrew to their Camp, and there fortified themselves, having the King with them. Rodulphus all this while was not asleep, nor wanted Intelligence: By some Fugitives understanding what difference there was rifen amongst the Besiegers, he took his best advantage, and fell upon them with fuch Execution and Success, that he put them all to flight that furvived the great flaughter which he made, and forced the Australians remaining with their King, to accept of his Service and Obedience as it had formerly ftood, which indeed fignified as good as nothing; he being in Name a Tributary, but in reality an absolute Lord and Independent of any other. After this, Sigebert spent the rest of his days in Peace, but wanting Children lay open to the Arts and Projects of his Major of the Palace, who perfuaded him to adopt his Son Ildebert by Name, to which he was drawn, partly by Inconfiderateness, and partly by that Respect, if not awe or sear which he bore to the Name of Grimoaldus. But after his Adoption was over, the King had a Son born, whom after his Grandfather he named Dagobert, and died not long after he had Reigned ten years. Sigebert being dead, Grimoald shaved the young Child for a Monk, and delivering him to Dido, the Bishop of Poictiers, who was travelling into Scotland, proclaim-

ed and maintained his Son Ildebert for King. 121. This was for a little time, but then the Nobility of the Franks taking it

in high diffain to be fubject to one of his Condition, role up in Arms, and feizing on Grimoaldus brought him before Clodoneus the King at Paris, by whom he was Sentenced to death as a Traitour, and Execution accordingly was done upon him in a fevere manner. Clodonaus, or Ludovicus, from a Prince of good hopes fell into the great displeasure of the People, giving up himself to all Excess of Gluttony, Wine and Women, for which nothing can be pleaded in his excuse, but that toward his latter end he was crazed in his Brain, onely our Authours were Church-men or Religious Persons, and upon that Account they bore him no Good Will for some Chaineus dies. Reasons, we shall discover in their proper place. He Reigned sixteen Years, and by Baltilde his Wife a Saxon by Birth, both a beautifull and Vertuous Person; he had three Sons, Clotair, Childerick, and Theodorick, whereof the Estates proclaimed Clotair the eldest King in his stead, and made his Mother Regent, or rather joyned her in the Adminification with Erchenoald the Major of the Palace. Matters seemed now to be in a settled Condition, when to the mischief of France, Erchenoald dies, and after a great Contest; his place is conferred on one Ebroinus, a Man of neither Conscience nor Honesty, who for a while covered his Inclinations and Defigns by Diffimulation, fearing the Queen, and not altogether fecure of the young King's Favour. But the King dies, when he had fearcely Reigned four Years, and by his Death gave occasion to the Major of the Palace, to bring about what he had designed. The Nobility and People were for Childerick, the second

Who dies.

firafia, under the Tuition and Conduct of Vulfoaldus a Duke. But the Nobility could not swallow this Indignity. They rise in Arms, and laying hold on Theodorick cut off his Hair, and depose him; and as for his Minister Ebroinus, they shave him too, and put him into a Monastery. Then send they for Childerick out of Australia, and with universal Applause they make him King. But they did

Brother to succeed, but he wand the youngest most for his purpose, and in de-

fpight of them preferred him to the Title: Childerick being fent as King into Au-

Thesdorick being

Childerick is

Sect. 3. not their Work for all this: They had not made fure enough of Ebroinus. And as for their new King, he fell into all forts of Debauchery, and fo Proudly and Tyrannically demeaned himself, as gave them cause rather to repent of what they had done, that they had made such a choice, as did not in the least answer

their Expectations. 122. For some time yet things were kept from extremity by Leodegarius the Bilhop of Autun, whose Wisedom and Sanctity struck some Reverence into the King, so as he ran not to such Excess of Riot, as else he would have done; and gave such force to his Words, as made them prevalent to keep the Nobles in their Duty and Alliance. But he being quite tired out, withdrew from Court to his own See, and then, as if the Bank or Fence had been removed, a Deluge of mischiess broke in, and bore down all before them. The Debauchery, Pride, and Tyranny of Childerick increased, and with them the disdain and Impatience of his Subjects. One of the Nobility Bodilo by Name, he caused to be tyed to a Stake, and beaten like a Slave for fome frivolous matter, which put them into fuch a Rage that they conspired against him; but Bodilo prevented all other Designs, by meetting him in a Wood, as he was diverting himself with a very small Train, and there killing him; which done, he cruelly Murthered Bilitilde his Queen, though great with Child. Childerick being thus made away, they pull Theodorick out of his Childerick is with Child. Childerick being thus made away, they had head they fain, and 7000 Cell, and reftore him to his former Estate. Leudefus the Son of Erchinoald they device from any make Mafter of the Palace, by the advice of Leudegarius the Bishop, and Gerinus make Master of the Palace, by the advice of Leodegarius the Bishop, and Gerinus his Brother, and this they doe in haste to prevent the recalling and Restitution of Ebroinus, towards whom they had ground to believe that the King's favour still conti-

nued. But Ebrainus resolved to render this Policy insuccessfull, and though there was not means left to out-wit them, yet to doe that by force, which Cunning and Art could not effect. He casts off his Cowl, abjures the Monastical Life, and gathering together a multitude of his Friends fets upon the Court, overtakes the flying King at Carifiacum, after he feized his Treasures, and taking upon him his former Employment, kills Leudesius, tortures to death Leodegarius the Bishop, with Gerinus his Brother, and having put to Death many others, banishes the rest, and Confiscates their Estates. This done, he permits Theodorick to enjoy his Life with the Title, but usurps the whole Power and Authority over the Kingdom.

123. In the mean while Austrasia was governed by Vulfoaldus, who after the Death of Childerick had fled thither, and he dying foon after, by Martin and Pipin the Sons of Anfegifilus a Noble man. They had not been long in Power, but they began to consider the Greatness, and demeanour of Ebroinus, and as well for prevention of mischief intended toward themselves, as to yield to the Importunity of the Franks, who groaned under his Tyranny, levied an Army with resolution to bring him to Condign punishment. They marched toward him, and he being aware of their Defign had made good provision for a Battel, wherein he defeated them after a great slaughter on both sides, and they fled for their Lives; Pipin into Austrasia, and Martin to Laudanum, where he fortified himself, which Ebroinus hearing fent and invited him to Court, promising him not onely his Life, but other matters of great Consequence, but could not overcome him without the Strategem, he was wont to use in all other Cases. He caused Oath to be made for his Security, upon the Relicks of some Saints, as was imagined, but there were in Truth no Relicks there, onely empty Coffers; and therefore accounting this no Oath, he Circumvented Martin, and caused him to be Murthered with all his followers. Being now as he thought pretty fecure, he had leifure to meditate what farther Course he should take, for gratifying his Ambition and his Cruelty. There was one Ermenfrid a Frank, who was a great Eye-fore to him, and he resolved to remove him out of the way, which being made known to him, Ermenfrid resolved to begin with him, and preserve his own Life by the Death of his Enemy; at the worst, he could but perish. He was so prosperous in his Enterprize, that rushing upon him when he least thought it, he easily killed him, and not well assured of impunity for the Fact, fled to Pipin into Austrasia.

124. He being Dead, the Franks with the King Consent, made choice of one Warato to succeed him, who for securing his Employment made a strict Alliance with Pipin, from whom he received Hostages for his Faith and Sincerity. Thus was he secure as to matters abroad, but in his domestick Affairs was very unhappy. He had a Son called Giflemar, a young Man of a furious Spirit, impatient of quiet, and as undutifull as could be imagined. He takes the Reins out of his Father's hands, and will needs manage the Kingdom. He breaks the Alliance made with Pipin, makes

makes War upon him, brings the Kingdom into great troubles and inconveniences, Sect. 2. but for his undutifulness, and other Sins, as our Authours observe, was smitten by God Almighty, and called to give an account in another World. He being removed, his Father reassumed the Government, and managing matters very calmly and prosperously, died after some time, leaving behind him Auseflidis his Wife, a Woman very Nobly descended, and of very great Parts. She procures Bertarius her Son-in-Law to fucceed him, one that was as mean in his Intellectuals as he was in his Person and Stature, to which, though the Franks at first consented being it feems furprifed, yet afterwards confidering how bad a choice they had made, they fell into a Mutiny, of which Pipin takes advantage, and invades the Kingdom with a great Army and fuch fuccess, that he defeated Bertarius in Battel, and forced both Theodorick the King and him to run for their Lives. Yet did he use this Victory moderately, for no harm do we hear that was done, but Bertarius not long after was flain by his greatest Flatterers, and that through the instigation of Ausestidis, who was ashamed she had preferred a man so despicable. He being gone, Pipin was fent for out of Austrasia, and made Major of the Palace, the whole Government of the Franks being now in his Hands. But he judged it most for his interest to reside in Austrasia, and therefore lest one Nordebert as his Deputy with the King, and returning, of the two Sons he had by his Wife Plettrudis, viz. Drocus and Grimoaldus he made the former being the Eldest, Duke of Campania.

125. Theodorick at length Dies, after he had Reigned fome fay nineteen years, Sepulantel Acces fome almost three and twenty, and others no fewer than twenty eight. He left bails in all by Clodoilde his Wife two Sons, whereof the Eldest though a Child Clodoneus by Vedili soi can be vedicated the control of the Eldest though a Child Clodoneus by Vedicate at incip in chiancus first, by contained his wife two soils, whereof the Educat though a child cloameus by radi at incifs in and then chil name was King in his stead, but died after four years, and Childebert his Brother antiquum lagider laceceded in his Title being very hopefull. Shortly after Nordebert also leaves the description of the Palace fully Dalams World, and then Grimoaldus the younger Son of Pipin is made Major of the Palace fully Dalams. Pipin having thus the whole power of the Franks in his hands, and secure at home, mine, fic enim resolved by his Victorious Arms to make himself terrible to his Neighbours. He Rex Theodoricus first set upon the Frisi an ancient people of Germany, situate upon the Ocean be disans us verus yond the Rhine, the Prince of whom Radbodus a Pagan he overthrew in Battel, Amicus which done, he fubdued the Suevi and other forts of People, of which our Au- da, just hie cum thours have not left us fo much as the names, fo negligent were they in Writing, white their Ancestours were fo industrious in performing. But the joy and triumph Papiron Majiof Pipin for these publick felicities were within some time interrupted by Domestick num, p. 83. forrow. Drocus his Eldest Son departing this World without Issue, and he himself falling fick not long after, his other Son Grimoaldus coming to visit him was Murthered by Langarius a Pagan and attendant on Radbod. Grimoaldus Married the Aimoinus of An-Daughter of this Radbod the Prince of the Frislans, but by her had no Children, nater ab Ann. onely one Son by a Concubine named Theudoaldus, whom his Grandfather procu-Ann 32, ab Ann. red to succeed in the Office of Major of the Palace. In the mean time Childeberr in the tenth of the Palace in the mean time Childeberr in the tenth of the Palace in the mean time Childeberr in the tenth of the Palace in the mean time Childeberr in the palace in the p twenty years, a Prince both of good Morals and Intellectuals, however rusted o the calif and ver by idleness, and clouded by the extravagant Authority of the Majors of the Pa-le fluxual delace. He left a young Child called Dagobert, who succeeded to the naked and diunt. Sed est-dem titulo Annaempty title of King.

wit Margnardus Freherus cum aliquot Annorum Accessione. Austor vixit Meguntia Lothario imperante Rabani Mauri 2000.

126. At length Pipin having been King in effect, or King of those Kings for the Aimsinus raffim space of seven and twenty years and an half, as Aimoinus computeth, breathes out appellat. his Soul in the heats of a very acute, and brisk Fever. He being dead, Pledrude his Wife had the courage to feize upon the Government, making use of the names of King Dagobert and Theudoald her Nephew the Major of the Palace. The Franks either furprized or to trie conclusions, for some time were silent, not distaining to be commanded by a Woman, and she so ordered her matters as by one means or other to keep them in obedience. Having as she imagined settled her self in the Government, the began (as well the might, being very old) to think of Death, and how to establish her power in the hands of her own Relations. Her Husband by another Wife, (rather by a Concubine,) had a Son called Charles, a Man excellently De es fix Aimoiqualified for the greatest business, the more therefore she had him suspected, and gas prefame prin-

um ex alia sexore nomine Carolum Virum elegantem, egregium aqua nilim. Pletique tanca cum fincium agent dicust cis musto fist. di-puis conceinia que Pipim Herfilits speciri estam Childebrandam parrem Nebelungi: qui Nebelungus frijifi chrancor rendum ripit Ed-tum at Queretanus in fisu Hill. Bagundia f. 1. c. 1. radii. Adpair vest demum pantero, pripit in Galle Bactennia Assasferium firezii, in cique ut credebatur veteris vita delilia eluti, Gr Hungardienfe Cananicarum Collegium inchavait, Miraeu in Clerm. Belg.

lium Fuldensium

Daniel or Chilperick,

Sect. 3. this jealousie added to the usual passions of a Stepmother, so far transported her as to lay hands on him, and commit him to close Custody. But thence rose her Troubles, whence she promised her self the greatest security. As well as she thought she had ordered her matters with the people, and secured their sidelity, such as either had been disobliged by her Husband, or were now tempted by their own ambition began to repine first, and afterward openly to declame against the present poslure of Affairs, and in conclusion, raised such tumults as procured a War wherein her party was born down, Theodoald hardly escaping with his Life from a Battel, fought in the Wood called Cocia. Hereupon the Victours despising his Title, chuse for their Major of the Palace one Reganfredus, and entring into an offensive and defensive League with Ratbode the Frisan, they invade Austrasia with a great Army, wasting all things as far as the Meufe, while Plettrude keeps her felf close in Coloine.

127. Not long after dies Dagobert, after he had Reigned some five years, leaving A.D. 722. Who dying Ds- a Child behind him who was Nursed in a Monastery. The Franks waved him because of his Age, and gave the Title of King to one Daniel, a shaven Clerk, whose Annal. Pith. name for greater grace they changed into Chilperick, Reganfredus still thought it Aimsinus. his interest to weaken, and if possible, to destroy the remainders of Pipin, his interest and power in Austrasia, and for that purpose levied another Army. But he presently found he had not to deal with a Woman onely. There was a Youth fprung from the Loins of Pipin, who had so much courage as to bid him defiance and strenuously to maintain his Father's cause against all opposers, even Charles whom we lately mentioned, who proved the Achilles of the Franks, and the Mars, or rather if you will the Marteau or Hammer of all their Enemies. He had escaped out of Prison, and wound himself out of the hands and devices of Plettrude his Father's Wife, which having done, he could not be idle nor fuffer the Enemies of his House to doe their pleasure without resistence. He raised an Army, and made Head against them, but it was his fortune to be bred a perfect Souldier, and therefore he must lay the Foundations of his Military excellencies in adversity, being in the first ingagement defeated, and forced to run and shift for his Life. The Enemy incouraged by this fucceis, and imiling at the attempts of this young Adventurer, renewed their Hostilities, and the fecond time carried their Victorious Enfigns as far as the Rhine and Coloine, destroying all things in their passage, and forcing Pleatrude to redeem the liberty of that City, and her own Life with a vast Sum of money. Yet did Charles lie in ambush, and setting upon them as they returned, loofely and without all care of Order or apprehention of Danger, made great flaughter of them in their retreat, at a place called Amblana. This they looked upon onely as a misfortune, altogether accidental, and far from the product either of Valour or good Conduct, and therefore to chastise him who durst offer such an indignity to the King of the Neustrians, they make new levies and oblige Charles to trie his fortune, and shew his prowess the second time. He offered them good terms, and defired to compose the difference betwixt the Kingdoms, but they were bent upon a Battel, as not doubting to put an end to his Life, his boldness and the War altogether. But in the Battel (which was fought at a place Vinciaumin Fé boldnets and the war attogether. But in the Batter, they were defeated, and Victorious so Cametant called Vinciacum the Lord's day before Easter, they were defeated, and Victorious so Cametant Charles after he had pursued the flying Enemy as far as Paru, remembring he had will be a feet an Enemy at his Back, returned and besieged Plettrude his Stepmother, as some call vino, at this most it is a small besieged. her, in the City of Coloine.

12.8. He had no passion in him, which tempted him to destroy or deface the fine prints, sha Town, and therefore fet upon it with arguments and good Language, whereby he stop cripicals fo won upon the Inhabitants, that notwithstanding all the opposition she could make, he had it delivered up to him, and therewith his Father's Treasures which were great at his Death, but were now much increased by her parlimony and scraping. Having difmiffed her with expostulations onely and rebukes, for the humour she bore of a true Stepmother, he began to consider how to establish himself, and finding his interest too weak, either to assure the Title and Government of a King both together, or the Power and Authority without fuch a Title in some Person, he complied with the humour of the times, and as in Neuftria they had fuch an

Image they worshipped, so in Austrasia he set up the like Idol, giving the name of King in Anglies King to one Clotair descended of the bloud Royal, but how, and in what degree we find not expressed. The Neustrians now perceived they had no Fool to deal with, but forafmuch as his Authority was but green and fresh, they concluded it was to be suppressed, before it should axise to maturity, and knowing he was not CHAP. I. Contemporary with the Conft. Roman Empire.

to be despifed, they strengthned themselves with the accession of Eudo the Gover- Sect. 2. nour or Duke of Aquitain, who not onely commanded the Vascons that had broke into this Countrey, but having governed the bordering Regions of the Volcae both inferiour and superiour, for the King of Spain, when the interest of that Crown went to wreck, had repressed the insolence of the victorious Saracens, and now held them in his own Right. He was willing enough to engage in the Controverfie, though it had been for no other reason than to divert the Franks from the incroaching Valcons, and to cause them to spend their fury one upon another, joyning therefore with Erganfredus they began their march, Charles was aware of their coming, and would not fo far gratifie either their Ambition, or discourage his own men, as to fuffer them to pierce into the Bowels of Austrasia, and make that the Seat of the defigned War, but met them and gave them Battel with fuch industry and Conduct, that he routed their Army, and forced them to flie to Paris, whence Eudo carried the King Chilperick and his Treasures with him as far as Orleance, and thence by degrees returned into his own Countrey with great difficulty. Charles still pressing him at the very heels.

129. He being got fafe home, Charles thought it not prudence by an Invasion, too much to provoke those Warlike Nations which he ruled, especially at this time,

when he understood that Clotair whom he had advanced to the title of King was clusio of Austria lately Deceased. That he might not want another mock King, to keep the People in good humour, (which could not be without the diversion of such a Pageant,) and to be a Rival to the like mock Prince, Daniel or Chilperick, he indeed thought it best to retreat, but yet in his passage thought fit to set upon Audeganum, whither Erganfredus had betaken himself after the Battel. He took the City, and therein his Enemy, whom all men expected he would dispatch out of the way, not onely out of defire of Glory as his Æmulatour, but out of a principle of felf preservation. and from the immediate Dictates of natural Policy. But his Heroical Disposition, and his innate Generofity and Courage, being inconfiftent with all dark Clouds of jealousie and fear, he not onely gave him his Life, but the Government of that Town wherein he took him. Shortly after this he made Peace with Eudo, receiving from him Chilperick the King, though not all his Treasures. Chilperick died not long after, in the fixth year of his Titular Royalty, which caused Charles, for

that the temper of the times so required, to fetch the Son of Dagobert out of the Monastery of Cala, where we said he was bred, and to give him the Honour of Hadie Chelles in Theoderick Cale, King, which he bore by the name of Theoderick Cale, this addition for Deftinction are Farifieri, and king of King, which he bore by the name of the Education. He either through the are A. D. 723. fake being given him from the place of his Education. He either through the arts of Charles, usual to all the Majors of the Palace, or his own dull and flow disposition, gave himself up to sloth and idleness, not regarding any thing tending to Government. Therefore Charles having now in his hands the whole power of the Franks, and being fecure at home, cast in his mind how he might obtain glory and

renown by foreign Conquests.

130. His first adventure was against the Saxons, whom e'er they could perfect The Saxons re- a deligned Revolt, he surprised and forced to return to their former obedience. A duced to obedi-year had icarcely passed after this Victory when he was called into Germany, where work was made for him by Plettrude his Stepmother, whom with Sinichilde her Niece, he had difmissed after the Siege of Coloine. Carrying with her her old novercal hatred, (which an act of so great generosity as he had shewed toward her could not diminish,) into the inner parts of that Countrey; she stirred up the several Nations against him as a Bastard, who had banished his Father's true and legitimate Wife in her old Age, to beg her Bread in a strange Land. She so moved the hearts of the unwary Multitude, that Charles perceived there was a Storm impending, and to drive it off from his own dore, resolved to pass the Rhine, and suppress them e'er they could be quite prepared. Without much labour he effected De Pletirude ni-

The Country of the Alemans and Survi, and passing as far as the Danson up the Country, bit aloun in the Alemans and Survi, and passing as far as the Danson up the Country, bit aloun in the Alemans and Survi, and passing as far as the Danson up the Country, bit aloun in the Alemans and Survi, and passing as far as the Danson up the Country, bit aloun in the Alemans and Survi, and passing as far as the Danson up the Country, bit aloun in the Alemans and Survi, and passing as far as the Danson up the Country, bit aloun in the Alemans and Survi, and passing as far as the Danson up the Country, bit aloun in the Alemans and Survi, and passing as far as the Danson up the Country, bit aloun in the Alemans and Survi, and passing as far as the Danson up the Country, bit aloun in the Alemans and Survi, and passing as far as the Danson up the Country, bit aloun in the Alemans and Survi, and passing as far as the Danson up the Country, bit aloun in the Alemans and Survi, and passing as far as the Danson up the Country, bit aloun in the Alemans and Survi, and passing as far as the Danson up the Country, bit aloun in the Alemans and Survi, and passing as far as the Danson up the Country, bit aloun in the Alemans and Survi, and passing as far as the Danson up the Country, bit aloun in the Alemans and Survi, and passing as far as the Danson up the Country, bit aloun in the Danson up the Country, which being man fan in the Alemans and Survi, and passing as far as the Danson up the Country, bit aloun in the Danson up the Country, which being man fan as far as the Danson up the Country, which being man fan as far as the Danson up the Country, and survive as far as the Danson up the Country, and survive as far as the Danson up the Country, which being man fan as far as the Danson up the Country, and survive as far as the Danson up the Country, which being man far as the Danson up the Country, which being man far as the Danson up the Country, which being man far as the Danson up the Country as far as the Danson up the Country, which dence of his own strength, and the assistance he could procure out of Spain, utter-vision for infering ly renounced it, which as foon as he perceived, judging expedition the greatest ad-Legali thalams Vantage in all performances, he thought it requisite to begin first, and passing the Pletrads undid Loire speedily invaded Aquitain. Eudo either surprised, or to let the heat of his genuit, magnin fury abate, retired into the most fortified place he had, and fuffered him to harafs que ducem Gri-

Sect. 3. the Country at his pleasure, which daving done, with much booty he returned

131. Charles thus trained up, and prepared for great Atchievements, a most confiderable Subject shortly after presented it self, whereon he must make a trial of his Valour and Conduct, and this was a War he was forced to undertake with the victorious and terrible Saracens, who having subdued a vast part of Asia and all Africk, had transported their victorious Arms over into Europe, and made themselves Masters of the Gothick Kingdom in Spain. The Reader must know, that most Authours the ancient especially write, that Eudo to be revenged upon Charles, and to put a stop to the Carriere of his good Fortune, invited them first into Gall. An Invation of Others affirm, that from Spain they invaded the Vascons, Aquitain, and the Province of Narbon, and having defeated Eudo himself, next invaded the Territories of the Franks, having passed Garumna or the Garonne. Considering the sierceness of the People, the fuccess they had had in Spain, the hopes which their good fortune, together with their numbers, (whereby they bore down all before them,) had raifed in them, and the Rapacity of the Nation, we cannot but incline to their opinion, who think that they needed no invitation, but having overrun all as far as the Garonne, were by their own defires induced to make a trial upon the Franks, the rich Territories of whom they had some kind of reason to promise to themfelves. However it was, that having once passed that River they took Burdeaux, and having burnt all Churches, as well as other things they could not carry with them, that thence they marched to Poictiers is agreed on all hands, where having dealt in the same fort with the Church of St. Hilary, they held on their course to handle in the same manner that of St. Martin at Tours. But here Charles put a diminist Annal. flop to the progress of their Confidence, having raised as confiderable an Army as all Austrasia, Neustria, Burgundy, and other parts could afford, the flour of the Nobility, as well as the strength of the Commons flocking to him; forasmuch as the Controversie now in hand, was not on their part for Glory or Dominion, but their very Lives and Fortunes, and what was dearer to them their Religion, for those Infidels having thus far proceeded, and destroyed Christian Worship, France is now the Wall and Rampart to stop their Current, else all Christendom must speedily be overwhelmed.

132. To what number of men his Levies amounted is utterly uncertain, those Writers who have taken upon them to be Publishers of his worth, having transmitted but a mere scantling of his Actions, and an unperful account of his great performances to Posterity. As for the Saracens, we are told they were no fewer fighting men than four hundred thousand, besides Women and Children, for in France they intended to plant themselves. Now some will have it that Charles and Eudo, by common danger were induced to an hearty accommodation of their Differences, and with joynt force to attacque this stupendous Multitude. Near to Tours they met them, where Charles so formed his Battalia, as to place his Horse, wherein his greatest hope remained, in two Wings to protect his Infantry, which else might foon have been overrun and troden down by the numbers of the Enemy. The method that was used in fighting, we cannot describe, neither the particular passages in the Battel, because we resolve not to write Romances, nor to imitate the Modern French writers, who devise Harangues of Generals to their Souldiers, and feign such stories as possibly might agree with the nature of the Enterprises whereof they write, but have no Foundation in any Monuments of the Ancients. 'Tis certain Charles had the better which way foever. There are that tell us, that while he strugled Charles the Ma- with the confused Multitude, Eudo set upon their Camp, and plundring the Baggage, and killing some of the weaker Sex and Age which there they had left, the Women made such an hideous lamentation, that their Husbands hearing it, were

put into fuch a diforder, as gave sufficient opportunity to Charles to doe effectual Pallus of pullo Execution upon them, and then Eudo coming in and falling upon the Rere, the figure flower of present before was fully completed. Abderaman the King of the Saracens millia configuration. victory in prospect before was fully completed. About amon the thing of the Sur atens amon fill-side or Moors, (for so also the Reader must take notice they are called in Authours from literia at 6185-Mauritania whence they came,) was flain and with him three hundred and feven- rism fecunism ty five thousand of his followers as some compute, who to take off from the wonder tell you, that the Battel was fought on both fides with that Animofity, that indian organistic fifteen hundred Franks also perished, amongst whom many of the choicest of the treates spine and the state of the Nobility. Time has been ingratefull in burying in Oblivion the gallant demeanour military. Time has been ingratefull in burying in Oblivion the gallant demeanour military of particular Persons, but doubtless many deserved exceeding well, and Charles butters, and objections, and objections, and objections, and objections, and objections objections. most certainly who obtained the Sirname of Martell or Hammer, from this Victo-Hammer.

ry which indeed deserves to be eternized, (and he by it) as having prevented Sect. 3 infinite mischiefs wherewith the Christian World might else have been over-

133. Yet though he had got fuch a Reputation by this and his other Victories. and had the whole management in his hands, did he not take the title of King, but left it to Theodorick, contenting himself with that of Prince, which our Authours give to him, as to his Father Pipin. Having now secured France as to matters abroad, like a good Prince, he resolved to free it from all intestine Distempers, and for that purpose made a progress into Burgundy first, as having most need of his helping hand, where he delivered the Borders into the hands of Leudes or Feudataries for hand, where he delivered the borders and the hand to the fafe keeping of the City of his better fecurity, and made especial provision for the fafe keeping of the City of Almining, like the face of the like provision of the city of Almining, like the face of the like provision of the city of Almining, like the face of the city of Lyons, the Key of the Countrey. While he busied himself in those and the like mat- 6.53. 66. ters; it happened that Eudo the Duke of Aquitain died, whereupon he burnt with a vehement defire of adjoyning that Region to the Dominions of the Franks, and the thing being approved by the Nobility , he raised an Army , passed the Loire, and thence marching to the Garonne, made himself Master of Burdeaux, and a Fort called Blanium (now Bloye,) and so in order of all the Countrey, notwithstanding the refistence of the three Sons of Eudo, one whereof, Aznar by name, went to feek his Fortunes in Spain, where having overthrown the Saracens, and subdued many Towns, he laid the Foundations of the Kingdom of Aragon, which for many Ages continued subject to his Posterity. Charles was scarcely returned from this Expedition, when news was brought him that the Frifians rebelled, whereupon he rigged up a strong Fleet, and having seized on Amistrachia and Au-Whereupoin he rigged up a niong rect, and having paled up the River Burdo into the Burdo into the Burdo into the middle of their Territories, where in fight he overthrew their Captain Radbode, dmile flaving (fome fay Popo, for that Radbode was dead,) and then deftroying their Pagan Tem. ples with other Monuments of Idolatry, with great foolis and as much fame fettur- Friesum en ed into France, which now stood in great need of his Presence. A great multitude of People out of the Western parts had poured themselves into Gall. Aimoi- tabletara. Inde nus makes onely mention of the Vandals, who he faith destroyed Churches, sub-Belia Rabbant verted Monasteries, took Cities, pull'd down Houses, demolished Castles, and destinated the Netherland State of the Netherland Stat made flaughter of an innumerable multitude of men. 134. Others make this Invalion the product of the Revenge, and machinations

of Eudo's other two Sons Hunnold and Gaifer, who while Charles was employed abroad, invited the Moors and Spaniards, especially those of the Province Batica to make an Inrode, propounding the Plunder of rich Provinces, as a reward of their Travel, and wished success, not in the least to be doubted over a most contemptible People if compared with themselves. Whatever gave the occasion to the Invasion, like a furious Tempest it bore all down before it, sparing as to Persons neither Sex. Age, nor Condition, nor as to places, and things either Sacred or prophane, They proceeded as far as Lyons, wasting all the Countrey far and wide, yet Vienna or Vienne by wonderfull providence escaped their fury, to which at length a stop was put by the Senones, the Bishop of whom Ebbo by name fortified himself in his City, and so cheared up the hearts of his People, that in all Assaults they still had the better, and when the Besiegers had lost many men, and were all quite tired with their frequent Attacques, he caused such a fally to be made, as after very great flaughter obliged them to quit their Posts, to raise their Siege, and to be gone. Charles had hereby the work half done to his hands, for fetting upon them when they had lost many of their men, and even all their Courage, he easily expelled them out of all the Coasts of Burgundy and recovered Lyons, which done, and the Countrey fetled, so as might best secure it against all future Inrodes . he returned into France, for so they call Austrasia and Neustria, as contradistinct to the other Dominions of the Franks. Here he could not rest, but conceiving himself af-The Rebellious fronted by the Refractary Saxons, who refused to perform the accord formerly an accuracy made with them, with great expedition he passed the Rhine, and speedily reduced more challifed, them to obedience.

135. Thus prospered Charles, and flourished in Martial Glory, carrying Victory along with him whitherfoever he had occasion to move. But in the late action with the Saracens, his hands more than his Head (although they not very much neither) feem to have been employed. For the mischief arising from the Sons of Eudo, he was concerned in policy to have passed into Septimania, and to have cut off the fource and Original of it by suppressing them and their Interest, but either his great Inclinations to the War with the Saxons carried him away, else some reason

Sect. 3. we are not able to discover, or he committed this Errour through Inadvertency, of which the wifest of Men are not always guiltless. Whereever the fault lay the Causes remaining the same, speedily produced the same effect, for Eudo's Sons, irritated with the late defeat, now drew into Confederacy Mauricius the Count of Marfeilles, one who envied Charles his Glory and Authority, and all of them in The Saracens a- Conjunction together, invite Ancupa the new Moorish Governour of Spain, (who was gain invade the as ambitious to propagate his Mahometan Superfitition, as to inlarge the bounds country of after Supergraph Power 1 to make a new Invasion, promising him great matters of the Saracenian Power,) to make a new Invalion, promiting him great matters in case he were Master of the City of Avinion, which they affirmed would secure the parts of Septimania, and the whole Province of Narbon unto himself. He being with them in a manner as foon as called, had by the means of Mauricius Avinion betrayed into his hands, and as the Rampart and Bulwark of these Countries used his utmost endeavour to fortifie it. Charles having notice, hastned his Levies as much as he could, but resolving not to be too hasty, staid till he could form together a sufficient Army, and in the mean time to be doing and divert the Enemy, tent away Childebrand (his Brother or Kinsman) with considerable Forces. 136. He was not long behind them, but coming up with all speed sate down

before the City. Here after some Consultation he resolved to try it by a way of Storm, as more convenient for his Defigns, and fuitable to his Disposition, than a tedious and lazy Siege. And his provisions of Ladders and Engins were fo good, his Courage fo great, and his Dexterity fo fuccessfull, that notwithstanding the Defendants made very front opposition, yet he carried the place, having promised the Plunder of it to his Souldiers, as a great means to animate them. Having here But are beaten. fetled matters as he faw convenient, he purfued the flying Saracens, and passing the Rhone invaded the late Territories of the Goths, wherein he besieged Narbon their Metropolis, and therein Athima the Moorish Captain, for all this tract or the Inferior Occitania the Saracens had lately subdued. Here he found he had not to doe with Avinion, a City fituate in an Hilly Countrey, and very convenient to affault and batter. Narbon was seated in a moorish Ground incompassed when the Inhabitants pleased with water, besides fortified with a very strong Wall, and by a most select Garrison of Saracens, who fought not as they had doneat Avinion, for Booty, Conquest and Reputation; but for their Lives and Liberties, for all that was nearest and dearest to them. Charles therefore perceiving he must starve them out, accommodated himself accordingly, drawing a Line round the Town, to stop up all the Avenues, and in the River placing Engins like Rams upon Stakes driven down into the bottom to hinder all passage of Vessels, and whatsoever might convey Relief to the belieged. The news of this Leaguer flew fast into Spain, where the Saracens were deeply concerned for their Friends and Relations in fo great danger, and as much for the lois that was threatned of fo confiderable a Province. They bestir themselves and raise new Forces, which they commit to the Conduct of Amonus another Captain, who animated his men by words, presuming that the Franks were already tired out with the Siege, and would not abide the first On-

137. But so far were the Franks from declining the Combat, and refusing to receive their first Onset, that they hasted to set on them, and were very greedy to give them Battel; For Charles hearing of their coming, thought it better to meet them, and by a sudden and unexpected Charge to try his Fortune, than suffer them to come up to the Leaguer, and while he strove to defend his Camp against them, to have the besieged issue out upon his back. The main thing was secrecy, that those within the Town should not know of his Departure, and he must leave a fufficient number still to make a shew of a Siege. In these points it seems he failed not, but imitating therein the glorious Adventure of the Roman Nero, (who befieging Annibal, went and defeated Afdrubal his Brother, and that with fuch privacy and expedition, that Annibal knew nothing of the Adventure, till he perceived the fuccess by the Head of his slain Brother, cast over into his Trenches,) went as far as the River Birfa, and the Valley Corbaria to find them out. Here they joyned Batown Country tel, which was fought on both fides with Courage enoughand Animofity, but Charles receive a great fill in Fortune as well as Valour was Superiour and got the Day, the Saracens being overlifton. utterly discouraged after the Death of Amonus their Captain. Many of them fell in the Fight, but many more in their Flight, for being to pass by Boat or swim over the River, they perished both ways, being swallowed up by the Waves, either through their unskilfulness, the violence of the Water, or the overcharging of the Vessels; the Enemy loosing no time all the while, but pressing still upon them, and conspiring for their destruction with that watry Element. Charles with great Sect. booty, and a multitude of Prisoners, triumphantly returned to the Siege of Narbon, which revenging with all violence imaginable, after Athinus had, upon report of the defeat of the fuccours, fled away by Sea, be eafily took it with other eminent Cities of those Parts, as Nemaufam, Biterra and Agala, as Aimoinus calls them, Sunt oppida Volwhich, as infected with the venome of Mahometism, he burnt to ashes, and then carum Arecomico returned with his victorious Army into France.

CHAP. I. Contemporary with the Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

Blitera (F Bli-tera. Besiers ad Obrim sluvium (F ad mare. Agathe Rhoe, hodie Age in ora (F peninsula inter Araurarim (F Ledum sluvios issum; mare. Aimoinus, lib. 4. c. 57.

138. It might have been imagined that this Nation of the Saracens, by so many Rebukes would have been deterred from any farther Attempts upon France, but Another Invali- having multitudes of People to spare, and allured by the Riches and pleasantness of the Countrey, they make another Inrode first into Gallia Narbonensis, their own late Possession, then take Arles, and in conjunction with Mauricius, the Count of Marfeilles, invade Provence, and pierce as far as the River Varus. Charles finding himself perpetually intangled with this troublesome People, thought fit to call to his Affiftence fome foreign Prince, and having none at prefent more in his Eye than Luitprand, King of the Lombards in Italy, to him he fent an honourable Embassiv with Fipin his Son, who was now grown up to years of Puberty, that according to the cultome of Christians in those Ages, he might first cut his hair, and by such a Christiansum, Religious Ceremony, become his spiritual Father. Luitprand took this as a great ejus capitlum prihonour, and fending the youth back with rich Presents, in return to the Embassy mus attendaries, he undertook an Expedition into Gall. Charles, e'er his Arrival, had sent his Bro-insals existent. ther Childebrand before him to Avinion, and afterward in Conjunction with the Aminion, lib. 4. Lombards, marched himself; but his Fame and Reputation got thither first, and a pally blacoust. lone effected what was the delignment of fo great preparations; For the Saraceus hearing of his Approach forfook the Countrey and shifted away. Mauricius being left to himself, who, conscious of so great Treachery as he was guilty of, both toward the Franks, and the Christian Religion, quitted Marfeilles, and hid himself in the rocky and mountainous places, near the Sea. Charles, with ease enough cleared all the Countrey and forced the Sarasens once more to contain themselves within the Pyrenæans, which done, and all Christendom freed from the impending slavery, both temporal and spiritual, he once more returned home.

139. Shortly after this Luitprand being returned, took or found occasion to quarrel with Gregory the third, the Roman Bishop, for protecting Trasimund, the Duke of Spoletum, who being his Tributary, renounced his Obedience, and fled to Rome for fuccour. Betwixt the King and the Prelate enfued an heavy War, and Gregory was so much put to it, that he implored the affishence of Charles, and conjured him by all things facred, not to hold dearer the Friendship of the Lombard, than the Good of the Church, but hasten with all speed to its Relief. But whether that Charles distinguished betwixt the Cause of the Church, and the Mistakes and Passions of Gregory, or was so unmoveable in point of Honour and Generosity. as to be deaf to all incitements against his Friend and Allie, who had so well deferved of him, he was not at all moved by Gregory his Arguments to fet one foot towards Italy, whatever he might doe by his Pen and Ambassadours, to recover a good Understanding betwixt the Parties. But neither had he much time to doe any thing this way; for shortly after his return from the Expedition against the Saracens, he fell fick of a Fever, at a place called Verberia, situate upon the River Verberie sur la Isaca, which cast him into a Consumption, whereof, after he had removed to Ca-qui donne le nom

Charles Martell rifiacum, at length he died, on the twentieth of October, in the fifty fifth Year of a Pontoife. his Age, and the twenty fifth of his Rule or Domination, for his Reign we must not call it, though in effect, it was really fuch, yet doth not onely Aimoinus; but our Beda also, give him the Title of Rex, or King, and in the Church of St. De- In Epitome. nis, where he lies interred, his Tomb is to be seen thus inscribed, Carolus Martellus Rex, so that Pope Gregory may seem not to have been altogether well advised in his Letters of Address, whereby he desired assistence against the Lombard, to give him the diminutive Title, and pitifull Complement of Subregulus. But elsewhere the same Gregory, with Paul the Deacon, and the Continuatour of the History of Gregory of Tours, call him Prince of the Franks, as also doth Ludovicus Pius, the fingin. Emperour, his Great Grand-Son. Though his Title was but Prince, or Major of

the Palace, (which he himself seems to have used,) yet such was his Government, and the raiace, (which is altimetrized in the remains to have used,) yet near was an soverthind, and highwas damin for renowned his Actions, which concerned War, that Posterity gratefully looks upon in fall mus-him as worthy of any Appellation that words (which ought to express things as em-less actions). phatically as may be) can confer upon him.

Episcoporum Ultrajedinorum habet has subscriptiones : signum Illustris Vici Caroli Majoris Domus. S. Carlomanni silii ejut, &

140. He left several Children, both legitimate and illegitimate, behind him. By Suanichilde, the Niece (or Daughter) of Odilo, Duke of Baioaria, he had Carlo-Aliis Sunahilde. man, Pipin and Gripho; by others, we know not whom, Bernard, St. Remedius, Aliu Agidius (Archbishop of Roan,) Hierome, Hildrude, (or Altrude,) the Wife of Odilo, Duke & Remigian. of Baioaria,) and Landrada, married to Sigiramnus, or Sigramnus, a Potent Man in Hasbania. Before his death he disposed of the Dominions of the Franks (by consent of the Nobility) to some of them, in this manner. To Carloman, his Eldest Son, he assigned Austrasia, with Thuringia, or the Nations inhabiting beyond the Rhine, sturdy and active People to a stout and resolute Person; and to Pipin Pipin in Burgun- Burgundy, Neustria, Provence, or the other parts of France, Nations more foft and dy and Neuftria, gentle to a fuitable Nature. His other Sons he passed by, whether as spurious, or for other Reasons, we know not, but the indignity would not down with Gri-

pho, whose Mother (Sunahilde, some say, the Mother onely of him and Ægidius,) was as impatient as himself, and seeing he was not admitted as a sharer, persuaded him to push for the whole Inheritance. They were both more forward than wise. and he fo fool hardy, as without any confiderable preparations, to local as the Landauron (bink). Rebellion, and to feize on the City Landauron, which he flightly fortified, as the Landauron (bink) who fabdue all flortness of the time and opportunity would permit him. For the two Brothers, did Landauron (bink) who fabdue all flortness of the time and opportunity would permit him. For the two Brothers, did Landauron (bink) which was a confiderable Army, wherewith Wirmandouron (bink) and the confiderable Army, wherewith Wirmandouron (bink) and the confiderable Army, wherewith Wirmandouron (bink) and the confiderable Army, wherewith Wirmandouron (bink) are the confiderable Army, where we will be confiderable Army, which are the confiderable Army where we will be confiderable army with the confiderable Army will be confiderable army with the confiderable army will be confiderable army will be confiderable are the confiderable army will be confi and he fo fool hardy, as without any confiderable preparations, to break out into

their revolting upon notice given of his Revolt, speedily raised a considerable Army, wherewith Veruman they laid Siege to the Town, and within a while obliged him to furrender and yield himself to Mercy, without any terms or conditions whatsoever. This danger was thus happily over, but the Brothers had their handfulls elsewhere; for those People that, living upon the Borders, had by the victorious Arms of Charles been fubdued, and forced to fubmit to the yoke, upon his death resolved to withdraw their Necks, and, as they judged, with fecurity enough, concluding, that though he had left his Power and Dominion to his Children, yet scarcely his Fortune, at

least, not his Courage and Dexterity in War.

141. Amongst the rest Hanoldus, the Son of Eudo, bore himself very high, having, while Charles was yet living, began to practife a Revolt, and held Lanfred, the Abbat of St. Germans, who was fent to persuade him to desist, as an Enemy, and a Spie, many months in Prison. The Brothers resolved to reduce him betimes. e'er he rendred himself too considerable; and when they were ready to march. to prevent mischief in their absence, by advice of Carloman, they committed their Brother Gripho close Prisoner to a strong Castle, near the Forest Arduenna. They invade Aquitain, and having taken a certain Castle, called Lucas, presently obliged Luches. their Adversary to come in, and submit to Terms, which were, that with the Title of Duke he should hold Aquitain as a Tributary to the Franks. This danger being also over from without, to prevent all Jealousies and Misunderstandings betwixt themselves, e'er they quitted this Province, at a place called Vetus Putavis Leviel Pallinn they parted the Territories of the Franks, according to the Prescript left them by their Father. Each then departing to his own Post, Carloman invaded the Alemans, who had lately revolted, and wasting their Countrey with Fire and Sword, reduced them to obedience, which done, they jointly fet upon Odilo, the Duke of Baigaria, who renouncing obedience, had usurped the Title of King, and taken their Sifter Hiltrude to Wife without their confent. They so managed the War, that they made him ask pardon and leave to retain his Wife with Baioaria, not as an absolute King, but as a Tributary Duke. This done, Carloman invaded the Saxons, who, upon his Father's Death, had also renounced obedience, and having taken the strong Castle, called Hoscoburg, forced Theodorick, their Captain, to crave Peace. This, upon reasonable terms, was granted; but no sooner was Carloman withdrawn, but he defied the Franks as formerly, which obliged the Brothers once more to unite their Forces, and jointly to fet upon him, which they did to fuch purpose, that they speedily wrested from him another Recantation. Yet did he this second time obtain pardon, it being hard to say whether the Love and Union, or the mercifull Disposition of these two Brothers was most remarkable.

142. Thus flourished these two Sons of Martell, as Successours to his Conduct Sect. 2. and Fortune, as well as his Arms, when in the middle of their Glory a thing happened fo strange, as struck the whole World with admiration. This was, that a Man, a young Man, in the flower of his Age, a Major of the Palace, or rather a Prince, a King, amongst his Pleasures, Conquests and Triumphs, when he had no reason to be melancholy, but to be contrarily affected with his Condition, that fuch an one should exchange his Robe of Estate for the Cowle of a Monk, and the Wealth and Glory of a Kingdom for the Poverty and contemptible Estate of a Religious Beggar. But fo did Carloman, and having given up all into the hands of his Brother, no otherwise than as about to die, (as all doe to the World, that take up-Pipin sole Goon them Religion, in which respect, before their entrance, they make their Testaments,) he went into Italy, and there took upon him the Monastical Habit, which, with extraordinary felf denial and hardship, (though considered otherwise than as the Son of Charles,) he is faid to have retained to his dying day. Such was the temper of Carloman, but Gripho, though his Brother, was nothing at all of his Opinion; for being by the favour of his Brothers fet at liberty, and living in very good Equipage with Pipin, he could not therewith be fatisfied, nothing on this fide Sovereignty could content him. He made his escape, and went to the Saxons, whom he knew fo inclinable to Troubles and Rebellion, that he could eafily perfuade them to make a War. And for a War they made preparation, putting an Army into his Hands, who incamped himself upon the River Onacra, expecting his onacra vel Ova-Brother. Pipin did not much deceive his Expectations, but haftened with formi
a guidan tended the forming the state of t of the young Man, as well as those that affisted him, that Pardon being gran- vio. ted for what was past, they laid down their Arms, and Gripho was as kindly received, and liberally entertained by his Brother as formerly. But here his Ambition could no more terminate it felf than heretofore. Odilo his Brother-in-law was dead in Baioaria, having left a young Son, Taffilo by name, to the Tuition of his Wife Hiltrude. Thither he goes, and being by his Sifter kindly received, in way of requital, turns her and her Son out of all, and usurps the Government. Pipin having notice hereof, was more enraged at this base Act, than at any thing formerly he had committed, and with a very great Army invades the Countrey, deposes Gripho, and returns the Government into the Hands of his Sifter, for the be-

CHAP. I. Contemporary with the Const. Roman Empire. Childerick III.

nefit and behoof of her young Son the Duke; yet deals he no more feverely with his unruly Brother than formerly, but coming back into France, strives to win Grifmen more him with kindness, making him a Duke, and according to the cuftome, giving him Dicam dustein the Government of twelve Counties. But neither did this fignific any thing to him. nonlinear Administration of the Counties. He fled once more, and betook himself to Wacfarius, the Duke of Aquitain, whose 44.661.

Journey into Italy, after he was banished Acquitain, to provoke the Lombards a- Annal, Pith. gainst France, he was killed, as he travelled over the Alpes, by some of his Bro-

ther's Followers.

143. All this while here's such a noise of the Masters or Majors of the Palace, that scarcely is there any muttering of the poor Kings of France, for such there were who to this very time wore the Habit and bore the Title. Theodoricus Cala died before Charles Martell, though how long, amongst several Opinions, it's uncertain. Some say he died seven years before Charles, who governed till his death. without fuch an Image of Authority, fo that for fo long a time there was a ridiculous Interregnum. Then did the Sons of Charles, they not as yet daring to assume the Name, set up another Idol or representation of Royalty, one called Childerick childride the the Third, whether the Son or Kinsman of the late Theodorick it's uncertain, nothing more being upon record concerning him, than that he was fet up for a time, and then pulled down again, according to the Occasions and Interests of those that promoted him. Such was the condition and state of this Royalty, that no man of Parts or Spirit could possibly endure it. The Name of King, the long Hair, the Robe and Idleness were the things peculiar to it, onely once a year like a Pageant he must be drawn into the City, to be gazed on, in a princely Chariot, according to the custome of these times, and afterward returned to the Village or Farm from whence he came, there to be shut up from the Eyes of the People, and the Noise of all business, while the Major of the Palace carried it like a King indeed, disposing of all things concerning Peace and War, Life and Death, and all other Rights of

beautifull Wife, when he tempted to lie with her, had the Modesty to refuse him,

with the Discretion to acquaint her Husband, who yet had no patience to endure

the affront, but took his Life for reparation, though some reported, that making a

PART III.

CHAP. I.

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Sect. 3. Majefty, as he himself pleased, without controll. The onely thing that prolonged the continuance of this Mock Royalty, was the wonderfull Zeal and Devotion the Franks had to the Name and Lineage of Clodonaus, accounting it the foulest Crime in Nature, to be guilty of the least Act of Disloyalty toward it. But the Name of Clodenæus now began to decay with time, and that of Martell was fo fresh and slourishing, as had drawn all Mens Eyes and Expectations upon it. Pipin his Son had the whole Power in his Hands, was in the flower of his Age, was bleffed with an hopefull Issue, and by his own Atchievements had got such Reputation, as this, added to his Father's Name, seemed sufficient to merit the Title of what in effect he was already possessed. Besides the whole Nobility, both Churchmen and others,

were, by reason of their Preferments, obnoxious to his Family.

144. These Considerations joined with the Natural temper and Inclination of Mankind to Honours, put him upon the resolution of assuming the Title, and dispoing some other way with him that at the present bore it, who, that he might be punished, must needs beforehand be made guilty. He inveighs against his sloth, and the meanness of his Capacity, insists upon the grand disproportion there was betwixt the great Name he bore, and the Abilities he had to discharge the Duty, and presses it as a thing which mightily resected upon the Nation of the Franks, to be thought to have such a Ruler as was not in any tolerable capacity to govern himfelf. The truth is, these Kings did not govern, neither possibly had abilities to doe it; but who was in the fault, whether themselves, or their Grand Ministers, the Majors of the Palace, (the Interest of whom it was to have them idle and enervated in their minds,) there needs not much fcrutiny to determine. But it's easie to trample upon such as are already down. Pipin infinuates these things into those Noblemen, of whom he could be most consident, and they into the People, and at length it is generally affirmed, that it is most convenient for the fafety and grandeur of the Nation, that his should be the Title to whom already belonged, by Custome and Usage, the whole Power and Jurisdiction. This fomething fatisfied their Consciences, as to the Allegiance they ought to the House of Meroneus, that little more damage could hereby accrue to Childerick, who would be despoiled of nothing but a vain and empty Title; and it was beaten into their Ears, that Pipin himself was descended of the same House, by Biltilde, the Daughter of Clotarius the Great, married to a certain Duke, Aribert, or Arbert. But to gain complete fatisfaction and countenance to the thing, Ambassadours are sent to Zachary Bishop of Rome, to lay open these matters before him. He, without hearing the other Party, adjudgeth Pipin's pretensions to be very good, and fends order to Boniface, the Bishop of Mentz, to anoint But is soon after him King accordingly, which was done at Soissons, and he was carried out upon a haven by Pipin, shield, as the ancient custome was, unto his Throne; Childerick being shaven, and his thrust into a Monastery. So here the Line of the Meroningi, or of those that defthrust into a Monastery. So here the Line of the Meroningi, or of those that des- Fuir antemetilcended from Meroneus, receiveth its period, in the tenth Year of Constantinus Co-dericus derivation in Monaflerium pronymus, and the tenth of Zachary the Roman Bishop. A. D. 751.

Marchianensi (g. Bertinensi Chronicis legitur.

SECT. IV.

From the Ruine of the Royal Family of the Meroningi, and the Rise of that of the Carlovingi, to the supreme Height of its Grandeur.

From the Promotion of Pipin, the Son of Charles, to the Title of King, to the Advancement of Charles, the Son of Pipin, to that of Emperour, by the same means.

The space of fifty Years.

His second Family which from the famous Atchievements of Charles Sect. 4. Martell is known by the addition of his Name, was yet joined, as we faid, in Affinity with that of Meroneus. For Clotair the vide Joan. Tilias we law, in Animaly with that of interconcess. To Continue the found of the Great, the Father of Dagobert the First, married his Daughter um in comment.

Bilitide, or Bilitide, to Duke Aribert, to whom she bore a Son deRobs Odliton, but Rege and the Called Arnold.

This Arnold was Father to St. Arnold, or Arnulf, the Archbishop pipe of Maincaued Arnota. Aims Arnota was faunce to St. Arnota, or Arnota, the Archolinop pipin of Main of Metz, who, before he entred into Orders, begat four Sons, Fendulf, or Ferdulf, its infact via Anligifus, or Anchifus, Arnolf, or Clodulf, Bithop of Metz, (who lies buried pipin Registration Lay, a Village of Lorrain, but one mile diffant from Nancy) and Galifus (or Abburum Million Lay, or Walchito, or Wandregifil, or Walgifus, for all these names we meet man in Chomic Buriet, and the Company of the Main of the Company of the Main of the Company of the Main of the Company of the Main St. Wandregifil the Abbat. Fen hashi ex Grant who was build by Phaning the Main of the Internal Reson as dulf begot Martin Duke of Austria, who was killed by Ebroinus, the Major of the logia Region ac Palace of Neufria, and Pipin, firnamed Crassus, or the Gross, who by Joane his 1261 injust. Wise had St. Gertrude, the Abbess of Nivel, founded by her Mother, besides seven quantitus of the Abbess of Nivel, founded by her Mother, besides seven quantitus of the neather neather to Ansegistus, by some called Beggua, and by others mass P. Pibins. Begginns, or Nuns, not unknown to any that have visited the Spanish Netberland's Each Belgins. and lies buried at Audenna, in the Countrey of Namur, in the Church of the Mo- c. 3. 20,6726. nastery which she her self had built. Grimoaldus, the Son of Pipin the Gross, called also Laudensis, being Major of the Palace of Austria, in the Reign of Sigebert the Second, endeavouring to dispossels Dagobert his Son of his Inheritance, that he might prefer his own Son Ildebert to the Kingdom, was justly put to death, and Ildebert was flain in the Reign of Ludovicus, or Clodonæus the First. Therefore did Anjegijus fucceed to Pipin his Father-in-law, after he was flain by Godanus, or his ut weam filing little Son, as they called him, to whom he was Godfather, and whom he had pre- he of a is for the great of the great to the great of the gre ferred to the greatest Honours.

Sed pro Godan certe legendum Godson, sive Godsson, ita enim appellatur Teutonibus quibusdam ille qui oblatus est sacro baptismati.

2. Ansegisus on Begga begot Pipin the Second, (from the place of his Birth it's probable, viz. Haristall, or Herstall, near Leige, where was a stately Palace in the time of Charles the Great,) firnamed Heristallius. This Pipin, by Plettrude had two Sons, Drogo, or Druides, who by Ausonde, the Daughter of Warento, the Prefect of the Palace of Neufiria, had Hugo, who in his Father's Lifetime was Major of the Palace of Neufiria, and died in the Mock Reign of Childebert the Third, through his Wife's jealousie, and the carelessness of Tierdaldes his Son, who succeeded his Grandfather Pipin in the Government, but was hindred by Ermanfredus. Pipin's fecond Son by Plettrude was Grimoaldus, and by Alpais, or Elpida, his Concubine, he had a Son called Charles, and firnamed Martell, besides another named Childebrand, begotten, as Tily thinketh, of another Concubine, though Aimoinus calls him his Germanus, or full Brother. Charles Martell had four Sons and a Daughter by Sigibert, called Lauladra, and by Aimoinus Hiltrude, who being

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S.Ct. 4. Itoln by Odilo or Bacillo bore him two Sons Taffilo, who fucceed him in the Title and Office of Duke, by the favour of his Uncle Pipin, and afterward ingratefully rebelled against him, and his Son Charles the Great, and Grodogand Bishop of Metz, who founded the Abby of Gorza in Loraine. The four Sons of Charles were Carloman, Pipin the little, and by some Sirnamed Pius, Ægidus or Remigius the Arch-Bishop of Rouen, and Grypho begot on his Concubine Nachilde the Niece of Odilo Duke of Bavaria. Tilly thinks it probable, that the Arch-Bishop and Grypho were Batlards, because in the Partition of France, they were left out by their Father, so great incertainty is there both of Names and other Circumstances in these Genealogies. To be fure Pipin after the Recess of Carloman became Master of the Kingdom of the Franks, and at length dared to take the Title as well as the thing, being thereto incouraged by his good Friend the Bishop of Rome: And so much of the Pedegree of the Kings of that second Line, from John Tily, which how far it agrees with the former History the Reader is to consider, though for the main he

He invades

3. Pipin having thus assumed the Title of King, and rejected that of Major of the Palace, after he had held it about ten Years from the Death of his Father, with a great Army invaded Saxony, either to take Mens minds and Tongues off from the late Revolution, or to let them see that he very well deserved the Title; and the expedition succeeded according to his Wishes, the Saxons being beaten at the River Vesera notwithstanding they made stout opposition. By the late Incouragement and Affistence which Pope Zachary had afforded him, in obtaining the Crown he had contracted fuch a Debt to that See, as very difficultly could ever be discharged: for though Zachary died foon after, yet the Bishop of Rome being alive again under the Name of Stephen, exacted it as his proper Creditour. It happened that a Quarrel arose, betwixt Aistulphus the Lombard and him (upon what account in the History of that Kingdom, we shall more nearly enquire) which came to that height, that the King having taken Ravenna, and banished the Exarch out of Italy, seized on Narnia, and brought his Army before Rome it self. Stephen was at his Wits end, not knowing what Course to take, but remembring how his Predeceffour had obliged Pipin, he fends to him, defiring he would, as the phrase was Undertake the Protection of the Prince of the Apostles, and by some means or other make way for his speedy coming to his Presence. Pipin sends his Ambassadours and gets the Bishop out of Rome, Aistulph being persuaded for the present to forbear Hostility, and to Pipin he comes, who as he was obliged receives him with very great Reverence, intending to make farther use of him, for strengthening that lately received Title, which by the means of Zachary he had first pro-

4. That the matter might proceed with the greater Shew of Religion, he is lodged in the Monastery of St. Denis near to Paris, where he falls dangerously fick; but by the Procurement of St. Peter, St. Paul, and that Saint is restored again to Health, for some notable end, some great Work doubtless to be performed. He was fo much in the favour of those Saints as to obtain his Life and Health, and in so much esteem farther with them, as by Revelation to understand that it was by their means, and special Procurement; what Credit therefore ought not to be given to fuch a Person, who in any thing of the greatest Consequence could not be supposed, but to be indued with an infallible Spirit. After his recovery, he sends for Pipin, his Wife, and two Sons, Carloman and Charles to be present at the Confecration of a new Altar, which he had erected as a Monument of his Gratitude Is anointed King to these Saints, and this must not be in private, but a great Concourse of People must be admitted. There, and then takes he occasion solemnly to anoint and inaugurate afresh Pipin for King, together with his two Sons, and Bertrude his Wife for Queen; openly pronouncing him a true and Legitimate King, his Sons Heirs of his Kingdom, and that it was utterly unlawfull for the time to come for the Franks to chuse any but of his Lineage. Pipin we are told endured this, good Man, with Patience, having been formerly anointed by Boniface, and submitted to it out of Prudence, knowing that the Opinion of the great Sanctity of the Man, and the mighty Reverence that was born to his high place and Dignity, would be as a Religious Curb upon the People to restrain them from any Attempt, which might be Inconfistent with his Royal Interest.

5. But being paid his Wages before-hand, he could not be fo unjust as not to doe his Work, and therefore an Assembly of the Franks is held, to deliberate upon the War to be made against the Lombards. Here the matter found great opposition;

A Confederation for many of the Nobility confidering what danger might arife from fuch a Quarrel, Sect. 4. about the War declared that Charles Martell his Father out of his great Wifedom, and forecast had refused to undertake the Expedition against Luisprand, and they plainly declared, Eginbarran that in Case he was resolved to make a War he should go alone for them, for they would inflantly depart to their Houses. But there was a greater rub than this in the way, which had not been thought of, and with much greater difficulty could be removed. Carloman the Monk, and Brother of Pipin lived at this time in the Monastery of Casinum within the Dominions of Aistulph the Lombard King, Chronism Casiwho bethinking himfelf what Service he might doe him in this Cafe, fent to the hope and him to fend his Monk into France to his Brother, to diffwade him from assisting Stephen, vowing else to fire the Monastery over his Head, and utterly to destroy the Nest and Harbour of so many Traitours. Carloman by Virtue of his Holy obedience is bound to comply with the Abbat, and into France he comes, where he is no doubt lovingly received by his Brother. He lays the Law forely to him, and both to him and the Affembly affirms it, to be a point of the greatest Wickedness for the sake of Stephen to have War made upon so samous a Seminary, and that brought to Destruction, which had been the Nursery of so many Saints. And Stephen himfelf feemed to be wonderfully afflicted with the thought of War, like a pious Bishop, considering that he was the Father of all, as well the Prodigal as the obedient Children, and therefore with the greatest Refentment imaginable, the good Man abhorred the Effusion of Christian Bloud.

6. But Pipin having already tasted of Royalty, his Appetite was thereby inflamed with a greater defire of Honour and Dominion, and having had hitherto very good Success in France, by dealing with the Bishop of Rome, should his Arms prove Successfull against the Lombards, he knew not what great use he might make of his Friendship in Italy, for laying the Foundations at least of more Empire and Glory, to his Posterity in the time to come. He resolves to undertake the War at any Rate: The good old Man he perfuades at length to admit of Confolation, fee-ing this Expedition would tend to the Ettablilhment of the Right of the Prince of the Apostles, and the Advancement of the Church. His Brother Carloman he permits not to return into Italy, but when he would needs retire from Court, perfuades him to live in the Monastery at Vienne, where the Religious Prince died not long after, and so put an end to all difficulties, which had arisen on his part. There wanted nothing now, but to make the Nobility fwallow the Pill, which at length was effected by the guild of Religion, an Holy and meritorious War, being of fo great moment with the King, that he vows he will go in Person, though it were. with no more than one or two Attendants. He affirms, he was not biaffed by private Respects, but was ingaged for the good of the Church, to which he promifed to deliver the Exarchate and Pentapolis, as soon as he had recovered them by Arms, which he confirmed by a publick Instrument, Signed and Sealed by him and his Sons, and folemnly fworn to. And to give clear and full Satisfaction, as well to the Bishop as others, he sent once or twice to Aistulph, offering him Peace upon such Terms as he might well assure himself he would not accept.

7. Now nothing but the found of Trumpets, and the Neighing of Horses, and the ratling of Armour is to be heard: The Nobility are ashamed to desert so meritorious a Cause, and the Bishop is at last persuaded to accept of St. Peter's Patrimony, though redeemed by the price of Christian Bloud. Pipin marches toward the Alpes, and Aiftulph being deaf to fuch Propositions as come out of France, prepares as effectually as he can for Refiftence. But Anastrasius the Popes Library Keeper, here makes him a Fool as well as a Knave; to be guilty of so great an Overfight, as to leave open the passages of these Mountains, which he might easily have seized, and so barred to the Franks all Access into the Countrey. He adds that perceiving too late his Errour, he fent multitudes of armed Men against them, but they eafily mastered them, and broke into Italy with that violence, that Aistulphus himself who beheld the sight, concluded they were not to be resisted, and putting Spurs to his Horse, never slopt till he came to Pavia the Metropolis of his Kingdom. But Aimoinus writes, that the Straits of the Alpes were before-hand feized, and guarded by the Lombards, and he (or some other, for it's evident, that the Book that goes under his Name, was composed by several Authours) is so faithfull to his Countreymen, as to give them the full Honour of the Enterprize, which the more difficult it was the greater must needs be the Conduct of the General, and the Courage of his Souldiers. He tells us, they were constrained to fight in a place most difficult of Access to them, and most advantageous for

And forces the Lombards to agree to his Terms.

Pipin makes three expediti-

their Enemies, whom yet they beat off from their Posts, made them run away, and with great Glory, and some prey became Masters of their Camp. This Victory thus obtained, Pipin resolved to follow it on, and marching to Pavia there belieged Aistulphus, who bethinking himself what advantage the Franks had against him, the Alpes now lying open to all the Inrodes they would please to make, resolved to grant such terms as they should be obliged to accept, and cut off all their Pretences. These were to doe Justice to the See of Rome, in order to which he swore to give up the Exarchate and Fentapolis to Stephen, and in Confirmation of the Agreement, delivered up into the hands of Pipin, forty Hostages.

8. Pipin hereupon returned home, after whose departure the Quarrel betwixt the King and the Bishop revived, and returned to that height, that Aistulph rewinten oring, fused to give up the places formerly mentioned, and in Conclusion went and laid Siege to Rome it felf, as unjustly also detained from him. Stephen closely belieged, and not knowing of any help nearer at hand, writes and fends once more into France, giving to the King thereof, his Sons and Nobility mighty good Words, and personating St. Peter and the Blessed Virgin with melting Arguments inviting them, to take upon them the defence of the Church, promiting them in recompence not onely Happinels here, but also in that World which is to come. Pipin was not deaf to this Charmer, but raising an Army with speed, returned into Italy, but in his way was encountred by an Ambassadour sent from Constantinus Copronymus the Emperour, who expostulated with him for endeavouring to deliver the Exarchate, and Pentapolis into the hands of the Roman Bishop, to whom they did not at all belong, but were the Inheritances of the Empire, and had been Governed by Deputies or Exarchs, for the space of no less than two hundred Years. He put off the Ambassadour with Words, professing a deep Sense of Religion, and a Zeal for the Church, and he followed on his Journey; which understood by Aistulph he broke up his Siege, and got him again to Pavia, where being befieged as formerly, he perceived there was no way to cut off the Pretence of the Invasion of Italy, and He makes ano-the Ruine of his Kingdom from the Franks, but by delivering up the places in Conther Journey which he really did, and so sufficient Order being taken therein, and Pi-with his Army, tention; which he really did, and so sufficient Order being taken therein, and Pi-with his Army, tention; and fees it done pin's work being done at prefent nothing farther remained, but to return home.

9. After his return, he held an Assembly of the Estates at Compendium, from which some idlely Divine the Original of the French Parliaments. Thither came Taffilo his Nephew the Duke of Bavaria, with the chief of his Nobility, and did Homage to the King according to the French Custome, as Aimoinus Words it, inmanus Regin which what it was, we shall Discourse in another place more proper to a Disqui-Vassishe size feature and Vassas. Pipin much satisfied with this site feature done him by his Nephew, marched against the Saxons, who being Idola davi: states. Honour done him by his Nepnew, marched against the Statons, who begins the statement and the Yoke, continually re- temper temps ters, and bearing minds truely German, or impatient of the Yoke, continually re- temper temps their Country, and though they opposed him to the against the statement of the rest belled. He pierced far into their Countrey, and though they opposed him to the qui utmost, constrained them once more to beg Peace, which they were to purchase by constrained them once more to beg Peace, which they were to purchase by common jurious a yearly Tribute of three hundred Horses to be sent to the Annual Assembly of the dispraction. Estates, a means both to furnish the Franks with War, and to weaken them by a facili Dissipa constant Diminution of the numbers of so fit a Creature for that Service. Thus From 10, &c. 64. fucceeded his Projects which way foever he turned him, when new Work was

He gives ano-ther defeat to

made for him in Aquitain through the differences that were rifen betwixt Gaiffar Stirs in Aquitain. his Vassal the Duke of that Countrey, and the Church-men, who complained that he dealt violently and injuriously with them, not suffering them to enjoy those Possessions, which the Bounty and Piety of good Christians had conferred on their Predecessours. He answered to these Criminations, that Aquitain having been lately held by the Saracens, and before that by the Visiogoths, that were Arians, the bounds of the Inheritances and Possessions, as well of the Ecclesiasticks as private Persons, were consused and uncertain, that it was a difficult matter to dispossess those who had long been seized of Contentious Titles, which they affirmed to be very good, and that it was better to let things rest as they were, than out of Countenance to some extreme Pretensions to imbroil the State with such a multitude of Suits as must needs follow, if a Door should ever be opened to this violent and conceited fort of People.

10. Pipin not fatisfied with this Answer, thought that a Convenient opportunity was offered, for abating the height of Gaiffar and his Adherents, and raising a very confiderable Army invaded Aquitain, Gaiffar was furprized, as not having imagined the King would either have brought fuch a Force, or used such Expedition, and found himself obliged to try all means possible to send him back; therefore he

promised to restore the Church-Lands to those, to whom of Right they belonged, Sect. 4. and for that purpose gave up into the hands of Pipin, two Hollages of the prime Nobility of the Countrey. The Satisfaction being adequate to the complaint, Pipin could not but feem satisfied, and receiving the Hostages returned back to Carifia-Quelonpage effection, where he wintred and kept his Christmass and the Easter following. In Summer, he held the Assembly of the Estates in a Village called Duria, whither News was brought him, that Gaiffar notwithstanding his Oath, and the delivery of the Hostages, to be revenged for the former Invalion of his Territories, had made an Excursion into Burgundy as far as Chalon, which troubled him the less, because the Estates being now met together, he could have the better, and more speedy Assistence for another Expedition. And another expedition he made, wherein some places he took by Force, as Borbonum, Cantilla and Clarus Mons, and others yielded Bourbon furnon themselves, especially such as belonged to the Arverni. All that he found unfor-Chanteles, Clertified he burnt in his passage as far as Lemonices, and then returning home kept his mont d' Au Christmass and Easter in the same place, where he had celebrated these Festivals vergne Linniges. the Year preceding. But all the while his mind ran upon the Infolence of Gaiffar, which he thought he had not yet sufficiently chastisfed, and therefore the Summer Baurges to le following he made a third Voyage into Aquitain, where he took the City Bituri-that teau de

CHAP. I. Contemporary with the Conft. Roman Empire.

cum with the Castle Toarcum. 11. Gaiffar perceiving he was not able to keep so many places, either for that

they wanted due Fortifications, or he Men to Garrison them, or because he durst not trust the Inhabitants, difmantled several of them, thinking to render them useless to the Enemy, not perceiving that hereby he gave him a notable Advantage. For those that were most tenable, Pipin caused to be repaired and Garrisoned by his own Men, and chafing all that belonged to the Duke out of the Countrey, lying betwixt the Loire as far as Limoges, he returned to Crecy, where having passed Christmass and Easter, in the Spring following he was fit for another Voyage. He appointed the Rendezvous to be at Nivernæ, and by that way entred Aquitain de-Nevers. stroying all with Fire and Sword he met with as far as Cadurcia; which done, he cators. returned to Limoges, where he gave feveral Lands to the Churches, and to that of St. Martial the Bannum Aureum, he had taken from Gaiffar. In this last Expedition Te croy la ban-Taffilo, who as his Vassal had all this while served under his Uncle, pretended In-niere der. disposition of Body, and getting him home afterward, denied to pay that Service, which was due to him. That put Pipin to a stand, not knowing what Resolution to take, for should he go about to chastise the Temerity of his Nephew. Gaiffar might recover all again in Aquitain, and render useless the Travel of so many Years; and should he march to perfect his Work in this Countrey, he feared an Invalion from the Bavarian Duke, who had newly married the Daughter of Defiderius King of the Lombards, and he knew not what farther Alliance with the Saxons, and others of his Neighbours he had contracted.

12. He was so distracted in his thoughts, that after an Assembly of the Estates held at Wormes, he refolved neither to march one way nor other, but keep himself at home, as appears from Aimoinus he did the Year also following, wherein he held the usual Assembly at the Village Astiniacum, and wintred at Aquisgranum. But Palais d' Asigny Sigebert writes that this Year he made another Expedition into Aquitain, and Con-Aix la Chappete Ad A. D. 765, quered Agennum, Petrogorica and Engolisma with almost all the Countrey; and Fan-Agen response chet the President it seems had a Copy which hinted sarther, that he made one & Angualismos Apto his Arch-Chaplain Bishop of Engolisma, which promotion of his, he thinks might possibly give occasion to the Privilege, challenged still by the Bishops of that place, that as foon as the Kings fet Foot in Aquitain they are chief Chaplains, which yet Lewi the younger would not grant to Lambert, the Bishop of the same * Argenton.
See, who when the King was in Germany laid claim to it. To be sure the Year sol - * Salmontlacom* lowing, Pipin being inflamed with a defire of ending this War, commanded his fanchet conde Forces to meet at Orleance whence he marched again into his Enemies Countrey, geomon chas lean and in his way caused the Castle of *Argentomagna, which Gaiffar had demolished, prechain by a to be built up again, and having both therein, and in the City of Bourges procured que de Langres. Garrisons of his Franks to be placed to hold these parts of Aquitain in Subjection, Gentiliaum to the returned and celebrated the Nativity of our Lord at † Salmontiacum, and at Gen. geoighte levillatiliacum kept his Easter, where he caused a Synod to meet, to debate some Que-ris paramete stions risen about the Blessed Trinity, and the Worshipping of Images.

13. Sigebert tells us, that in this late Expedition Remistanius the Brother of Eudo, and Uncle of Gaiffar was taken Prisoner, and for his often turning, sometimes to his Nephew and sometimes to the King, was hanged by his Command upon a

Gibbet. Now also the report of his Success was so strong amongst the Saracens, that Amyrmonon their King in Spain fent an Honourable Embassy with great Pre- Nos Auciens, die that Amyrmoon their thing in Spain cit. a Tollowing over, he once again re-leading the feets, defining a Peace and Alliance with him. Winter being over, he once again re-leading newed the War, and refolved to make one Expedition more into Aquitain by the new, Morman, Mo way of Narbon, which he took with Tolouse and Arles and many other places, quille faile de with the place of the same of the place of the same of the and then returned to Vienne to refresh his Army; which having done for sometime, re Emir Many not willing to loofe the latter end of the Summer, he again marched to Bourges, person and there held an Assembly of the Estates, as some Authours say, in the Field ac-Analysis and there held an Assembly of the Estates, as some Authours say, in the Field ac-Analysis and the same say. cording to the ancient Custome of the Franks. Thence marched he as far as the strong the Franks. cording to the ancient Cuttome or the Francis And Retirements, where the Enemy Alte gas in had fortified himself, he returned back to Bourges and there wintred. Asson as & Protection had fortified himself, he returned back to Bourges and there wintred. had fortified himself, the returned pack to Downges and the Scason of the Year would permit, he hasted to perfect his Conquest and came je in Songwelt to the City * Sandtonica, where the Mother and Sister with a Niece of Gaiffar were raise on the Civil we returned to the best of the state of the Civil were raise on Civil we treated, he returned to the presented to him, whom Commanding to be Civilly treated, he returned to the not ancient Garonne, and coming to a place called Montes, there Eronnicus came in to him with Francis. another Sifter of Gaiffar supposed to be his Wife. Having done form few more Exploits he returned, and in a place called Fels kept his Easter, which Festival be. * Xaindist.

ing finished he marched back to Sanctonica, and there leaving his Wife and Family; Gaiffar Duke of resolved before his return to find out Gaiffar, who had put him to so much trouble nishes the War. which he did in the Territories of Petragoricum, and having slain him in Battel, or otherwise it's not very certain how, his Work being done, he returned thither from whence he had fet forth.

14. Such is the general Account of this War, which is given us by very good Ad Ann. 767.

Hillorians. But as to the particular Nations or People, that were ingaged, Fre-Pradition degarins by Name mentions the Vascons or Wascons, who, when Pipin marcht the last Gamman. time to the Garonne, inhabiting beyond this River came to his Presence, and gave both offin, iti Waster their Oaths and Hostages, that for the time to come, they would ever be Subject and Obe- roman comm. The Valcons lub dient to him, his two Sons Charles and Carloman, and their Posterity. He adds, that ranua, ad the feveral others who had followed Waifar or Gaiffar did the like, and that King Pipin refenitum verkindly accepted of them. Now by these Words, Vascones qui ultra Garonnam Com-Garunna minkindly accepted of them. Now by the Garonne, is hinted, that this fort of his Aquinnies morantur. The Vascons who dwell beyond the Garonne, is hinted, that this fort of his Aquinnies was expression. People had at this time Conquered and seized on that part of Aquitain called No- wither, sil. As vempopulania, which is bounded by the River of Garonne. This is confirmed by refutur. Tollan. Testimony of an ancient Authour, of the Life of Ludovicus Pius, who reckoning Inde Aginous finde Agi up the memorable things performed by Charles the Great; and making mention Bardigalam no occasionally of the Garonne lets fall this Expression, that, It bounded those of this manage of the day of the Advance lets fall this Expression, that, It bounded those of this object and the Vascons. That they now inhabited that Countrey, we do little the same of the countrey of the countrey of the countres of the c doubt, but at what time they should make this Invasion and Conquest is the great flussius or man-Question. An ancient Parchment of the great Church of Auses, written by a tiens in Aquita Priest thereof, near fix hundred Years since, relates that the Vascons in the days ricums of Clodonæus the First, left the Mountains, and invading Aquitain, having slain those

Counts and Viscounts which that King there had placed, put others in their Room. Elias Vinetus would have this to have happened about the Year 590; but his, and the Conjecture of the Priest are both built upon weak Foundations, for in the Reign of Dagobert that they inhabited yet about the Pyrenæans, and were not descended into the Plain, is evident from several ancient Authours, particularly from the Chronicon of Fredegarius, the Life of St. Amaidus written about the same C.78. time, and Isidorus Hispalensis who lived in the days of that faid King. Some there His (Vacceti was

are who Fansie that they were invited by Budo the Duke of Aquitain, and placed com Vascathar by him in that Region now called Gascoigne, but without any Ground at all, upon missing promising promi frivolous Suggestions. The Authour of the Life of St. Julian the Bishop of Bearne, plam months refers this bold Attempt of the Vascons to the time of Ebroinus the Major of the babitant siling dinem, it does not be dinemaled. Palace, when, as he faith, they and other Neighbouring Nations made choice of fallow, name one Lupus for their Prince, who did much mischief to the Kingdom of the Franks. Vaccuus Cis. S. This probably is that Lupus who about the Year 670, affilted Paul against Wamber b_a the King of the Goths, as St. Julian the Archbishop of Tolouje, hath left recor Vide Nilson William the Archbishop of Tolouje, hath left record Vide Nilson William the Archbishop of Tolouje, which will be the Archbishop of Tolouje, hath left record Vide Nilson William the Archbishop of Tolouje, which will be the Archbishop of Tolouje wi

ded in the History which he writ concerning the faid Wamba.

15. Some there are, who will have this Lupus Father to Eudo the Duke: Others will have him not the Son of this, or any other Lupus, but of Bertrand the Duke of Aquitain. All these are mere Conjectures founded upon no material Arguments, and therefore no otherwise than as such are to be regarded. We may conclude fafely yet, that in the latter time of the first Race of the Kings, when the

Valour of Clodonaus his Posterity was degenerated, when the Majors of the Pa-Sect. 4. laces contended amongst themselves, and seeking to establish their Power at home, little regarded what was done upon the Borders, that then the numerous and Courageous Vascons took the Advantage, and pouring in themselves into Novempopulania, there fixed; the Officers of these parts being not able to resist them, or content to let them alone, on Condition, that in these Turbulent times they might have their Governments secured to them. This we are apt to believe from the Case of Budo * Petra Chiand his Successors, Hunald, and Waifar or Gaiffar, who itt these great Wars they nixes in Promanaged against Charles Martell, Pipin, and Charles the Great, seldom made the strategy of any other Souldiers than the Vascows, to the chief of which Nation they comlighted vector mitted their principal Towns and Castles, as appears infficiently from the Appenlighted vector with the Castles of the Governments secured to them. This we are apt to believe from the Case of Eudo * Petrus Chiwas called * Galcoigne or Galcony, O being changed into G (as is ordinary in other partiem.

Words) is confedled by † Elias Vinetus Sancto lately mentioned, as also by the Common Re-Natives of that Countrey, as || Belleforest, * Scipio, Dupleix, and † Foseph Scaliger rum Gallic. 1.4. himself, although he feems to have erred in this point, that he thought them placed not invite Cloth in this Countrey partly by *Pipin* after his Conquest of them, and afterward by triin.4. Ludovicus Pius.

16. But these People seated themselves in Novempopulania, a part of Aquitain; we are therefore obliged to tell the Reader first, what is meant by Aquitain, and then by Novempopulania. The Name of Aquitain Originally, and properly was given to that Track of Ground lying about that City, which the French at this United affects day call Acs, the Gascon Dacs, by Ptolemy named Aque Auguste, by Vibius Seque this batte spire.

Seque films August.

Seque films Augus guage. It took this Name from the hot Waters issuing out of the Earth, which darum dills. were famous in the times of the Romans, as appears from those stately Marble Seats, yet to be feen on the Brink of the Fountain, as Vinetus relateth. The frequent Concourse out of Italy to these Waters, after the Romans had subdued the Countrey, in probability gave occasion to the building of it, for that it was the Work of the Romans, we are perfuaded not onely from the Latine Name, but the Aqueduct and several others of such like Monuments yet remaining. That this Countrey was in the Possession, and Power of that People long before the coming * De bello Gall. of Cafar into Gall, is both evident from *himself, and from another † Testimony; 1 13. c. 20. mean that which is terminated by the River Garonne, the Ocean and the Pyrenæan 93. Mountains, that part especially lying upon the Sea and the Hills, and probable it | Vide Plin. 1. 4. is, that then this received the Name of Aquitain, which by degrees was 17. 6 19. Communicated to all those Parts that lye beyond the Garonne, as appears from * Lib. 7. de belle || Pliny; who farther informs us, that before this Region had this Name of Aquitain, Gallio.e. 14.65 it was called Arecomica, or Aremorica rather, as others reade it with better Reason, 1.8. a. s. because from * Casar it appears, that all the Cities of Gall which lay upon the Sea, + Armer enim ad were of Custome, called Armoricae the Word it self † expressing their situation. mare fitum fig-

Posteriores aviti Idiomatis memores Lemonicum quod est Aquitania prima oppidum, essi in interiori ejus parte, in Armyricana Region sium dixere. Ut bene innuit Alteserra Rer. Aquitanic, lib. 1. c. 1.

17. To Water therefore it hath been still beholding for its Name. As from the Sea it was first in the Gallick Language called Armor or Armorica, so afterwards Aquitania from the Medicinal Waters found therein, which flowed out of the Earth in several other places besides Acs, for we reade of Aquæ Bigertonum, Thermæ Onefiæ, Aquæ Convenarum, Aquæ Calidæ in Armoricorum finibus, besides others of which it is not here proper for us to infift. And if the Conjectures of some be true, the last name of Guienne given to that part of it which remains in the jurisdiction of the Senate of Bourdeaux, at fuch time as a Contest arose about the Countrey, betwixt the English and the French Nations, owneth no other Original; some affirming it corrupted from the word Aquitain, and others deriving it from Aigne, which in the Language of the very place fignifieth Water. They tell you the first syllable is cut off according to the Custome of the French with Vowels when they are to meet with Le and La. To be fure others more improbably derive it from the Guilielmi or Williams, the Dukes thereof, as if it were Guielmia, (this being the ordinary Name of those Princes, as those of Pharaoh and Ptolemy for the Kings of Ægypt.) For in their days there was no fuch Name as Guienne, nor to be fure till that of the Williams was quite forgotten. We shall dismis Aquitain with this farther

Sect. 4. hint to the Reader, that till Augustus his time, it was terminated with the Garonne Garanna Calori hint to the Reader, that till Augustus his time, it was terminated when the verification and the Pyreneans; But he inlarged it as far as the Loire, and then was it divided, nie terminu, had and afterwards otherwise altered, that which retains the Name at this day, cone of additional and afterwards otherwise altered, that which retains the Name at this day, cone of additional and afterwards otherwise altered what was so called by the Emperour.

egeun, et i...

Geundam éy tertiam que Novempopulania dilla est, tandémque Vasconia, tertia Aquitania seu Vasconia terminus suit Garumna: tous in tin Ludovici l'iti, Garumna suvius Vasconiamo de Aquitanou conterminus dictiur. A Garumna suvio Cesari Garumni dilli sposi bosses su minis Accila, vosto le pays de Riviere. Alteserva Resum Aquitan. lib. 1. 6. 21.

18. But that part of Aquitain (or Aputain more properly so called) lying betwixt the Garonne, the Pyrenæans and the Ocean, which our Vascons seized, was also called Novempopulania, sometimes reckoned a Province of it self, and Aquitain taken as contradiffinct to it, being divided onely into two, the first and second, and otherwhile called Aquitania Tertia, or reckoned as the third part of this Divifion. Whence it should be called Novempopulania, from what Nine several People is not agreed; for in the Notice of the Provinces, twelve several People are attributed to it; some therefore think the true Name of the Province to be Duodecimpopulania. Others would have it's name Undecimpopulania, from the eleven Dioceses of Auses the Seat of the Metropolitan, as if the Limits of Provinces and Nations which were fet long before there were any fuch things as Diocefes should be regulated and bounded by them, than the Rules and bounds of which nothing can be more uncertain. For Dioceses by no certain Law are measured, but sometimes like Wedges, otherwhiles obliquely are inferted into Neighbouring Provinces, nay fometimes run far into foreign Nations, as it's certain some Gallick Dioceses bordering upon Spain, Italy and Germany, penetrate into those very Countries, as theirs again do into Gall it felf. Now it would be excellent Logick, thence to infer that France is in Germany, Spain or Italy, or part of them are in France, so filly is the course of determining of Provinces and People by the limits of Dioceses, which yet is practifed by most of the French Writers. The way to assign the Names of People is not to express the several Towns of the Dioceses, as the Authour of the Quain re tilan Book of the Roman Provinces practifed, but the Names of the Nations themselves Belli Gallici liwhich in Novempopulania (so called after that Adrian the Emperour had reduced brottitis, ibi e. which in Novempopulatia (so called after that Adrian the Emperon into the form of a Province) were these: the Meduli, the Vibisci, Boii, Tar nim genter my them into the form of a Province) were these: the Meduli, the Vibisci, Boii, Tar nim genter my them into the form of a Province) were these: the Meduli, the Vibisci, Boii, Tar nim genter my them into the form of a Province) were these: the Meduli, the Vibisci, Boii, Tar nim genter my them into the form of a Province) were these: the Meduli, the Vibisci, Boii, Tar nim genter my them into the form of a Province) were these: the Meduli, the Vibisci, Boii, Tar nim genter my them into the form of a Province) were these: the Meduli, the Vibisci, Boii, Tar nim genter my them into the form of a Province) were these: the Meduli, the Vibisci, Boii, Tar nim genter my them into the form of a Province) were these: the Meduli, the Vibisci, Boii, Tar nim genter my them into the form of a Province) were these: the Meduli, the Vibisci, Boii, Tar nim genter my them into the form of a Province) were these: the Meduli, the Vibisci, Boii, Tar nim genter my them into the form of a Province my them into the Province my them into the form of a Province my them into the province my them into the form of a Province my them into the province my them into the Province my them into belli, Vafalii, Bigerri, Tabali, Aufcii, Convenæ, and Datii.

oppidanos of paganos novem hoc probat Monetus J. suita in Geographia Aquitanica, p. 102.

19. Since we have brought the Vascons into Novempopulania, and have discovered the Names, Situation, and nature of this their new Seat; we must not be forgetfull of those they left behind them, for that the Elder sort of People staid behind, and that those are their Posterity which still live about the Pyrenæan Mountains. and are called Vasci or Basques, cannot be doubted by any that have been the least conversant amongst ancient Historians. Betwixt the Names of Vascones and Vasco there is no difference, but that of Declenfion, as might be made evident by feveral particulars, but this may fuffice, that those People that live at the bottom of the Pyrenæans, and at this day are both by French and Spaniards called Vafci, were Verus Andia viknown in old time by that of Vascones. Both the Gascons and Basques or Biscainers and stands also in some Authours pass under the Name of Vascoi, corruptly framed from Vascoi and the Name of Vascoi, corruptly framed from Vascoi and the Name of Vascoi, corruptly framed from Vascoi and the Name of Vascoi, corruptly framed from Vascoi and the Name of Vascoi, corruptly framed from Vascoi and the Name of Vascoi, corruptly framed from Vascoi and the Name of Vascoi, corruptly framed from Vascoi and the Name of Vascoi, corruptly framed from Vascoi and the Name of Vascoi and t or Vasci, although in later times it be appropriated unto the Vasci, who are also some user also diminuitively called Vasculi, and by way of Contraction Vascli and Bascli. Their remoits Santi Countrey by some called Vascitania, although lately annexed to Sascoigne, and simulation reckoned to be in Aquitain, yet anciently was a Territory distinct, and now the same approximation of the same Inhabitants differ both in manners, Customes and Language from the Gascoigns and dice Fredegail, their Neighbours. It's Situate in the utmost part, and as it were an Angle or Cor- ad Ann. 760. ner of Gall, there where it borders upon Spain to the North-west; On the West it is bounded by the Ocean, on the South by the River Bidassus, and the Pyrenæan Hills, on the East by the Principality of Beame, and on the North partly by the faid Principality the River Aturns and otherwise. In length it contains about fifty Miles, in breadth four and twenty. It's divided into three parts, whereof the first is that of Lapurdus or Baion, the other that of the lower Navarre, and the third that of . Sola. Baion and Sola are governed by the King's Governour of all Aquitain, and the lower Navarre by his Lieutenant of Beame. Baion and Navarre, for Justice have recourse to the Parliament of Bourdeaux, and Sola to the Parliament of Pale.

and like another Philip, made way and gathered materials for that Grandeur, at as to relate their Names. Of his two Sons, Carloman had those Provinces which ratte in Italia had formerly belonged to Carloman his Uncle, and Charles succeeded to the remain-maine office.

22. They were both Crowned on the same day, Carloman at Soissons, and Charles tisse at Noviedunum, or as fome fay at Wormes, the one over Austrasia, and the other o- Noviedum hodie ver Neustria and the Territories thereto belonging. Charles whose Tyrocinium, or Noyon. first Foundation of matters of Arms had been laid in the War of Aquitain, or that against Gaiffar, was immediately upon his Promotion presented with a new Subject, whereon to employ his skill and valour from that very Countrey. For the Sons of Eudo being all Extinct, one Hunoldus as he called himself, its uncertain who he was, or of what Family, but the Name he thought would be a great means to bear him out, affected the Sovereignty of that Province, and eafily perswaded the People to accept of him for their Duke. Charles to whom Aquitain fell at the Division of the Provinces, thought himself concerned as well in Honour as in Interest . to follow the Example of his Predecessours, in not suffering any such Usurpers and unruly Neighbours there to rest, and resolving to march, and endeavour to reduce him, fent to his Brother to joyn with him in the Attempt wherein though not fo much, and so nearly, yet by way of Consequence, he must also be concerned. But Carloman made no haste to joyn with him, his Courtiers having done ill Offices betwist them, and raising still jealousies in his Head, of his Brother's restless and ambitious Spirit. Charles was no whit pleased to find him of such an humour, and to remove all milunderstandings, defired an Interview and a Conference which was granted, and given at a place called Duasdines, but without any good Effect, for De ifto loco sic Carloman returned back, but Charles pursued his Voyage and came to Angoulesme, Fancheius ex Aiwhere he drew up his Forces and then went in quest of Hunoldus.

tou, enon lieu nomine Duadines, que il n'ay pew remarque. 23. Hunold

Charles and

the Language and by the Spaniards Vafquenze, Jefeph Scaliger in Latine calls Cantabrifmus, and of the Vafau. reckons it among the Mother Tonguage of the Entratine calls Cantabrifmus, and 20. The Language of these People by the French called Basque and Biscaine, Sect. 4 reckons it among the Mother Tongues of the Europeans. He adds that the speech in traditate de Europeans linof it begins not far from Baion, and reaches fix or feven days Journey within the guis & distribution Mountainous parts of Spain, that the French call those that use it Basci and Basc de bosiernis culi, and the Spaniards the Countrey wherein it is spoken by the General Name of guin. Bascuensa, that it hath nothing of Barbarism wharling or pussing in it, but is most mild and fweet, and without doubt the most ancient, and in those parts in use before the times of the Romans. In short, those that speak it are, on the Spanish fide of the Pyrenæan Hills, the Inhabitants of the greatest part of Navarre, all Ipufena, Alava and Bifcay, and on the French fide those three Divisions of Baion, the lower Navarre and Sola lately mentioned. Some give this General account of Marin Sical lib. it, that most of its words in the singular Number end in A, and in the Plural in Ac, 4.c. ult. Rerum but others tell them they are miltaken, for when they so end, A. and Ac. added to alii.

but others tell them they are mittaken, for when they forth, 2n and 2n and 2n and 2n them, they fight the places of fyllables onely, as in the word Guiçon a Man, Guiçon at Amalian other fignifieth the Man, and Guiçonac the Men. Their Posterity that seated themselves its arrivage vostin Novempopulania, or Gascoigne by degrees forgat this Language, and learnt the conis. Romance or corrupt Latine, though much differing now from that of the French. But enough of the Vascons, the Motions and Conquests of whom we could not o-

mit, without a great gap and overfight committed in Hiltory.

21. To our business. Pipin having subdued the Vascons, with the other People adjoyning to the Garonne, and killed Gaiffar his Enemy, returned home; From Sanctonæ he came fick to Tours, where having done his Devotions he removed to Paris, and having in the Church of St. Denis fitted himself for another World, on Riog Print dies, the twenty fourth of September he died of a Dropsie, in the fifty fourth year of his Age, and in the eighteenth of his Reign. A great Man, though but four Foot and an half in length; for he laid the Foundations of great Power and Sovereignty,

> which his Son afterwards arrived. He was Buried in the Church of St. Denis, and had this Inscription made upon his Tomb, Pipinus Rex Pater Caroli Magni, but this was sometime after, for that his Son had the Sirname of the Great, presently after his Death cannot be imagined. By Birtha his Wife, (called Birtha with the Obiit Ann. 983 great Foot, because one of her Feet was bigger than the other;) he had three Sons, nicon Ultrajetti Charles, Carloman and Pipin, who died before his Father, being scarcely three num. years old, besides Ægidia a Nun, to which some add Rotende and Altende, Buried Alii dicum filium

> in the Church of St. Arnald at Metz; as for the second Wife which Lazius men-"thin fully zetions, and the several Children he had by her, we think them not of that Credit come in moures.

der of the Dominions of the Franks.

23. Hunold was not so wise, as to be ready and well prepared before he broke out into Rebellion, and therefore durft not fland his ground, but fied from place to place; Charles still dogging him at the Heels, till he forsook the Countrey, and fied to Lupus the Duke of the Vascons, those which at this day are called Bascli. Charles thither also pursued him by a Message, Commanding Lupus to deliver him Fauchenshis dis up, or to expect him speedily to fetch him with a great Army. He was so sen-The fibe of his disability to grapple with the King, that he not onely delivered him up of Line, mile, with his Wife and Children, but promifed all farther obedience to his Commands; Gefentating with his Wife and Children, but promifed all farther obedience to his Commands; Gefentating with his Wife and Children, but promifed all farther obedience to his Commands; Gefentating with his Wife and Children, but promifed all farther obedience to his Commands; Gefentating with his Wife and Children, but promifed all farther obedience to his Commands. Contres in the mean time, which the control of a Caffle upon the River Domonia, called as Aimoinus tells us Frontiacum, or as rain, aspects

Eginhart will have it Franciacum from * the Franks that Built it, which Original findings and the control of the control is more probable than that of Gillius, who would have at 10 namea, occause it is not was formerly known by that of Fons Saracenorum. Having received Hunold, he Stipling the Content, policy is cuttered with him into France, where he kept him in free Cultody, that he might spinionish does no farther mifchief, without any other Punishment inflicted. This year he keep this is the spinion of the content of the co is more probable than that of Gillius, who would have it fo named, because it familia reprise kept his Christmas at Dury, and his Easter at St. Lambert near Liege, passages which meaning. kept his Christmas at Dury, and his Easter at St. Lamoers were stated to the Sed man we should not relate, but that from thence we may hint these two things to the Sed man in the state of the powers of the Diminus & Ste. Reader. The first is, that about these times when Authours take such notice of the la, quia ma kgi places where Pipin and his Son Charles celebrated these Festivals, Kings began in an in Francisco Places where Pipin and his Son Charles celebrated these Festivals, Kings began in an in Francisco Places When the first Francisco Places extraordinary manner, with great Pomp, Magnificence and Bounty to perform this set Frontiarm Duty, this Chaples afterward known by the addition of the Great, being wont to Addi Gallers. fit in his Robes with his Crown on his Head, upon these occasions. The other is, till be known of that from his keeping his Easter at this place of St. Lambert, it appears as Fauchet cum assente observes, that the two Brothers had not yet made any certain and determinate Diwilliam entitles of william entitles of the two Brothers had not yet made any certain and determinate Diwilliam entitles. vision of the Provinces. For Liege and consequently that Village or Palace lies be-velips Palacelies vond the River of Meuse, and so belonged to the Kingdom of Austrasia, this River w Marinizar, being ever accounted the limit and Border betwixt Neuftria and it.

fi MartiniVilla, Lucani cilla, Frantini Villa. Ubi inventur Acus prior pars nominis denstat nunen proprium bominis ut in lingua Tou-nica Martins dorph, Hanfdorp, & in lingua Anglofaxonica Normanton, Normanby, Ketelhoope, & centum alia.

24. The Brothers were divided in their affection, and fo still continued, however the limits of their Jurisdictions were Indistinct. This grieved their Mother Bertha not a little, who to bring them to a good understanding, omitted nothing becoming a Parent's care, travelling from the Court of one to that of the other A marriage pro- for this very purpole. They both were Batchellours, and none but the Daughters Kings, with the of Kings feemed fit for their Royal Beds. No King was there in view, who was in Daughters of a Capacity to fuit them, but Desiderius King of the Lombards in Italy; his Defiditeus King Daughters would fit them as to their Dignity, and having one for each, their Mother thought this double Marriage would be the greatest means imaginable to reflore them to a good and perfect understanding betwixt themselves. To the Court therefore of Defiderius the haltes, and eafily obtains what the came for. But there happened to be a Rub in the way, which might eafily have been foreseen by any one that understood the Affairs of Italy. The Bishop of Rome was wonderfully concerned at this new Alliance, dreading nothing more than that the House of Pipin which had done such Services for his See against the Lombards, should be drawn off to their Party, it being his onely Refuge, and danger now threatning him from the same hand every moment. He takes his Pen and writes a most passionate Letter, which cannot but affect him that reads it, though perhaps in a very far diffe- Extat apul Barerent manner. From top to bottom it's full fraught with Religious pretences and nam ad Ann. D.

Types (Green Lix. The Pope's Let. Expressions. "He begins with a serious admonition, that they were of the snares

ter upon that " and deceits of the Devil, who entifed first, and deceived Man by the means and " Infinuations of a Woman; then after this Preface coming nearer to the Matter,

"affirms, that if what he heard were true, viz. That one of them was perfected by Defiderius, to take his Daughter to Wife, it was properly a Diobolical Im-daughted for

"mission or Institution, and seemed no Matrimonial Conjunction, but a Fellow matrimonial Conjunction, but a Fellow matrimination." ship of a most wicked Invention.

25. "His Arguments to prove it are these. From Scripture it appears, that " fuch grievously sinned as mixed in Wedlock with strange Nations, and with a "Nation strange indeed should they mix, the most generous and Noble bloud of "the Franks, the glory of whom excelled the Beauty and Lustre of all other Peo-" ple, must be polluted, which God forbid, by the perfidious and most stinking -- profit (and " Nation of the Lombards, a Nation not reckoned in the number of Nations, and Sect. 4 and of factor " from which Nation it's certain, faith he, that a fort of Leprous Persons do issue; " from gate ph" " he adds, that none in his right Wits can imagine, that Kings of so great a Name, " should be involved in so detestable and abbominable a Contagion; for what fel-" lowship is there betwixt Light and Darkness, and what Communion betwixt a " faithfull Person and an Infidel? The next Argument he uses is of more weight, "though it make less Noise, (and little Noise indeed it may well make, for not the " least whisper of the thing is to be perceived in any other good Authour,) and "that is, that they were already joyned in Marriage by their rather's procurement, " with two beautifull Ladies of their own Nation. Having been formerly anoin-"ted with Holy Qil, by the hands of the Vicar of St. Peter, and being fanctified " with Heavenly Benediction, he bids them beware how they involved themselves " in so great guilt. Then comes the Argument indeed, to which the other Reasons " are but subservient. They must remember they had ingaged themselves to St. Pe-"ter, and Pope Stephen his Vicar and his Successiours, that they would be Friends " to their Friends, and Enemies to their Enemies; he demands then how they can " now act against their Souls, and make such a Conjunction as they were about to "do, with the pernicious Nation of the Lombards, who were manifestly their E-" nemies, in that they had fet upon the Church, and had invaded their Roman Pro-" vince. This he inforces with instances of their Father, who when Constantine " the Emperour would have had their Sister Ghysila for his Son, answered, that it " was not lawfull for you to be joyned with a strange Nation, neither durst act a-" ny thing against the Will and Pleasure of the Bishops of the Apostolick See. He "asks them then how it comes to pass, that they should indeavour to act contrary " to the Will of the Vicar of the Prince of the Apostles, which thing their Father

" never attempted, and whether they were not sensible that it was not him, unhap-

" py man, but bleffed St. Peter, whose Vicegerent he was, though unworthy

" whom they despised, forasmuch as it is written: He that receiveth you receiveth

" me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me. 26. " After this as the whole Letter abounds with Tautologies, he again incul-"cates their promifes of Obedience made to St. Peter and his Predeceffours, and "himself both by Letters and Messengers. He puts them in mind how Stephen " had written to them a little before his death, and by terrible adjurations, had ad-" monished them firmly to abide in their love towards God's Holy Church, and " the Apostolick See, and that they performed to a Tittle what they had ingaged to "God's Apostle. And is this now your promise, saith he? O what Labour did "that most blessed and best Stephen undergo! what a dangerous Journey did he " undertake when he was in so weak a Condition! and except the Lord be ready " at Hand, his pains shall be now frustrated, and that Journey which that our Pre-" decessiour took into France will prove mischievous to us, our Enemies being now " more Elevated than formerly they were, in the height of their Pride and Arro-" gance. Behold, that which we teared is come to pass, our Joy is turned into La-" mentation, the last mischief is greater than the former, and whence we expected " Light to arife, thence Darkness hath broke out upon us. Now comes he to the "butiness. Wherefore, he adds, bleffed Peter the Prince of the Apostles, to whom "the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven are delivered by the Lord God, as also " Power is given to bind and loofe in Heaven and in Earth, by our Infelicity ear-"nestly admonisheth your Excellency, and we also together with all Bishops, Pres-"byters and other Priests, and all the Nobility and Clergy of our Holy Church, " as also the Abbats and all Religious Persons, those of chiefest Rank or Judges, " and our whole People of this Province of the Romans, by denouncing of Divine "Judgment, conjure you through the living and true God, who is the Judge of "Quick and Dead, and by the ineffable Power of his Divine Majesty, and by the "tremendous day of the Judgment to come, when we shall have all Princes and " Powers, and all Mankind to stand by trembling, as also by all Divine Mysteries, "and by the most Sacred Body of blessed Peter, that neither of you in any-wise presume to take in Marriage the Daughter of the said Desiderius King of the "Lombards, nor give your Sister Ghyfila to his Son, nor dare to put away your "own.Wifes. Then follows, that, remembring what they had promifed to St. Pe-" ter, they should resist the Lombards his Enemies, and force them to restore what " belonged to the Holy Church, to the Commonwealth of Rome. For all their " promises they have broken, saith he, and they incessantly afflict and oppress us, " are nothing inclined to reftore any thing to us, and now as is notoriously known

" invade our Borders, in presence of your Ambassadours, making a shew of Justice, but nothing is brought to Effect, neither can we receive any thing of our Right. " Having admonished them to give eard to his Messengers, at length he concludes " with an Anathema, to any that should act contrary to this his Admonition, who is " hereby cut off from the Kingdom of God, and appointed with the Devil and his " most detestable Pomps, and all other wicked Persons to everlasting Burnings. On "the contrary, who observes and keeps to his Exhortation, shall by our Lord God " be made remarkable with Heavenly Bleffings, and be found worthy to be parta-" ker of the reward of Eternal Joys, with all the Saints and Elect of God.

The Kingdom of the Franks in Gall,

27. Thus far the Zeal of Pope Stephen, as to the Reason of which its source and Original we shall say nothing, but leave the Reader to his Meditations on the Affairs of Italy, how they stood at this Conjuncture. For his Arguments; the Examples he produces out of Scripture, where Marriage with Foreigners was always forbidden and cursed, how they are pleadable in this point is above my Capacity, and perhaps even the Reach of some who are moderately versed in Theological Speculations. The opprobrious Language he gives to the Lombards, not to those onely that had offended him, but the Nation it felf, and so to many Innocents, as to the matter in hand, how Civil or Christian it is, I had rather his Friends should Judge than I; but one thing we may hence learn by the way, that the Jews are not the onely People that have stunk, but the Lombards were involved in the same Punishment, because guilty of the same Crime, for as they were, and are Rebellious against Christ, so these Lambards were against his Vicar. Our late Authour of the Heroick Poem called Gondibert, had certainly little Judgment, to leap over the most Noble Nation of the Franks, and omit so many other fit Subjects of wit, and pitch upon such a vile and stinking Nation as this, whereon to Paint out and Imbellish those rare and excellent Qualities, which make Princes Glorious both for Peace and War; we shall hear by the next Ragguagli, that he hath smarted soundly for it in Parnassus. But the greatest wonder is, the News he tells us of Charles and Carloman, being e'er this Married to two beautifull Virgins of their own Countrey, a thing which no Historian, or other Authour doth in the least hint at. though the Life of Charles hath been written by some that lived in his own time. and some later Writers have used all diligence imaginable, to give wan account of his Wives and Issue. Indeed there are that tell, that, while he was Presect of the ham the Palace, he had several Concubines, whose Names are unknown, by some of which he constitutes the constitute of the co he had a Daughter called Botede, and Pipin the Bastard, who Conspired against Carolo Magn. his Father's Life. If the good old Man took these for Wives, (it being possible that true Stories might tire through the length and tediousness of the way, e'er they could get over the Alpes, and Lies flie to Rome before them,) to put them away,

he certainly neither stood in need of his Connivence or Dispensation.

28. Notwithstanding such an Impediment, and what was more this thundring Letter, the two Brothers not dreading that which hath caused Nations, if not De-Barnius Inivis to tremble, Married their Wives; yet we are told by the Importunity of their 9-Edition Print Mother, more than out of their own Inclinations, for this Reason, that they were qui deman inalready Married to others. That this may appear, they instance in the matter of timem alter and Charles, (for as for Carloman his Marriage as to the Person is very obscure,) that his Rerum Genand Wife Birtha by name he put away not long after, as they would make us believe careli Mazei à out of remorfe of Confcience, forafmuch as they fay, no cause at all is alledged of the same time their parting. But the thing that was alledged was Womanish Impotence, as at again the same time. last it appeared, (though something else might be in the Bottom,) and now Charles faille, quia signification, of all the clinica, of all was to take his lawfull Wife again, and had fo done doubtlefs, if he had not been programmer was to take his lawfull wife again, and had fo done doubtlefs, if he had not been programmer man in the lawfulnefs of this laft Conjunction, except perhaps the poor Wo-programmer man in the mean time died Heartbroken with forrow. Had he had a Wife before, Vite Ban. at fo great offence would not have been taken at the leaving of this, which was indeed git can Berning of the control of the co fo great offence would not have been taken at the leaving of this, which was indeed on earn action never his Wife, and St. Adelradus his Kinfman would never have left the Court forther training for being scandalized with so great a Crime, as we are told he did by thôse that the state of the have written his Life. Neither can it be faid that *Hildegardis* whom he afterward by foremen is Married could be his true Wife, which he reassumed, for all Writers with one Caroli Conjugan confent affirm, he Married her after the putting away of Birtha, and her Epitaph semili diam produced by * Baronius, if it was hers indeed, thews that the was his Wife but twelve fails themse years, and therefore she dying in the year of our Lord 786; she could not be Mar- * Alter ab underied to him till he had Conquered Italy, and had both that Countrey and the City cition rassumer. of Rome in his Power, as is by the Cardinal confessed. The Roman Bishop there- or extension fore feems to have wanted good Intelligence, and at this time not to have been in Baronius of fallible Ann. 1823. 1.1.

fallible in matters of Fact, which one fort of People now begin to afcribe to him. He was not onely mistaken in this particular, but in that also of the number of Defiderius his Daughters, for he heard but of one, that was to be Married to one of the Brothers, whereas the ancient Annals make it manifest that the two Brothers Married two Sifters. How would he have formed at this double Alliance! But as much as he stormed at the Conjunction, he was calm enough at the separation. and what Noise soever other Godly men made, the interest of God's Church (which he foresaw now might be advanced, goodman,) stopt his mouth and perswaded him

29. The true reason of his Divorce we may guess at hereafter, noting this at pre-

fent, that what Reputation with good men he lost thereby, was scarcely repaired

Charles Ceizes

in the opinion of Loyal and fober Persons, by another Revolution which shortly

after happened. Carloman his Brother not long after died, and left at least one Son behind him. Aimoinus writes he had Children, one he might have by his late Carlomannus Marriage, and his Wife might by this time be great with another. But Charles Rex decession 11. aspires after the Inheritance, and either finds or makes such a Party in his Brother's Nona Decemb.

Court, as closeth with him out of pretence that the dangers are great, which significantly such as such as the property of the property o threaten a Nation in the Infancy of its King, and that it was better for the Franks Romin. Its Amuniverfally to be Governed by a Monarch. He being advanced, the Widow of Am. 711. Carloman flies with her rejected Children, and fuch of the Nobility as detefted the Treason into Italy to her Father, who by these Forerunners might easily guess what in a short time would follow after. The thoughts of Charles were not bounded by the limits of France, these were too strait and narrow for his ambitious Soul, yet had his Brother lived, little out of fear of him, could he abroad have attempted, and to what purpose should he seek out Foreign Countries to Conquer, when he was but Joynt Tenant at home, and in his own? This therefore was especial Service the Nobility of Australia did him, and now that Fortune had so luckily put him in a way, he was resolved not to disoblige her by neglect, but to pursue his opportunities to the utmost. The first was presented by the Saxons, whom the Neighbourhood of their Countrey made obnoxious rather than any fault, that at this time they had committed. Having called an Assembly at Wormes, he invaded their Countrey, and destroying all things in his way with Fire and Sword, took the Castle Eresburg, and destroyed a famous Idol named Irminsul. Here as it's faid was his Army miraculously delivered from Imminent Ruine. The feason and the place wherein they incamped, both Conspired to kill them with Thirst, when in the heat of the Day, as according to the Custome they took their rest, a great Torrent of Water poured it self down from the Mountain whereon the Idol stood. into the Valley where they lay, which abundantly fatisfied their parched Bodies. Then the Idol being destroyed, he marched to the River Wifara, where he received twelve Hostages from the Saxons, and so returned into France.

The Lombards

And invades

30. By this time, the Quarrels betwixt the Lombards and the Bishop of Rome were come to an height, and the two Daughters of Desiderius being returned home, the one as a forlorn and rejected Creature, the other like a poor Widow with her Children at her back spoiled of their Patrimony, and turned out of House and Harbour, had raifed, as well they might, florms of Anger and Revenge in their Father's Breaft. Yet having digefted his Anger, he refolved to go Calmly to work, and try if by fair means he could compais what else Nature obliged him by force to attempt, and that was the Restitution of his Nephews. He applies himself to Adrian the Successour of Stephen, who he hoped might entertain more milder Councils, and prove more Neighbourly than the former Pope, and knowing in what Repute his See was abroad, especially in France with the Kings and Princes, of which his Predeceffours had done wonders, he defires him to acknowledge their Title, and doe his indeavour for their Restitution, as a means whereunto he desired they might be anointed by his Hands. Adrian was not so ill instructed, nor unacquainted with what was past, as to be ignorant in how fair a way he was for gaining a farther interest in Italy, and by what means his Predecessours had got what he now enjoyed. He refused to disoblige Charles, and by his answer Desiderius perceived that he had rouzed a fleeping Lion, who in expectation of affiltence from France, would not flick at doing him all mischeif imaginable. He thought it his interest to begin first, knowing in case he could bring the Bishop and his Adherents to a compliance, his work with France would be the easier. He therefore attacques and takes several places belonging to the Exarchate, making as if he would beliege Ravenna, and upon some farther disgust Rome it self. Hereupon to procure delay,

Sect. 4. Adrian sent him some srivolous Message, but an effectual one into France to Charles, to hasten away relief with all speed imaginable.

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31. Peter his Messenger or Legate à Latere, if you please, found the King at Thionville, where he exposed to him the danger wherein the Holy Church at present The Pope fends stood, and the Example of his Predecessours upon such occasions, backed with this strong Motive, that this present Attempt was made upon him for his sake, for refusing to anoint his Nephews. Desiderius fearing what might come of Peter's Negotiation, thought fit to fend Ambassadours of his own to recriminate the Bishop and excuse the late Hostility. Charles gave Audience to the one Party, as well as the other, but knowing how nearly he was concerned to abate the Power and Interest of the Lombard, and that if his Neighbours house was burnt, his own might speedily be on Fire, resolved to prevent it with a speedy Invasion. Yet to use the fame Arts Desiderius had done, he sent Messages to him, requiring such things as the King thought himself obliged not to grant, and vailing his own Designs and Interest, with the great Zeal he had for the Church. "Desiderius receives the Am-" bassadours kindly, professes his Actions warrantable before all equal Judges, both "in reference to the Recovery of his Rights in Italy, and the Restitution of his "Grandchildren; and he defires his Brother Charles would not give heed to the Bishops "of Rome interested Persons, and his professed Enemies, but seriously weigh what " Justice he had on his fide, and that he would be Chancellour betwixt himself and "his two young Nephews (for Uncle he was unto them both) whether their "Fathers Inheritance could justly be detained from them. This faid, he fent his Ambassadours to Rome, to try if he could bring the Bishop off to his Party. But this not fucceeding, he himself resolved to go thither in Person, as to perform his Devotions with his Wife and Children, and an ordinary Train; which Adrian underflanding, commanded the Gates and Walls to be manned against him, and because the Churches of St. Peter and St. Paul stood without the Walls, he ordered they should be fast locked up. And to stop his proceeding he sent certain Churchmen to meet him on the way, and denounce the Ecclesiastick censures against him, in Case he would not desist. He obeyed, and after the Ambassadours had gone betwixt them feveral times to no purpose, they returned into France to him that feat

32. Charles to make the World believe how unconcern'd he was to any Interest of his own, and that the Protection of the Church was the onely thing he studied. fent once more to him, offering him fuch a fum of Money in exchange for the Towns he had taken, as would have been much to his loss to have received. Upon his refusal, he thought he had made Provision enough for his Reputation, and resolving upon an expedition before-hand, affembled his Estates together to Consult. The Franks were not all of the same mind; for many declared against the War, and some perhaps addicted to the party of the Sons of Carloman, flatly refused therein to serve him. This notwithstanding, he was so bent upon his Journey, as he resolved by no advice or other rubs to be hindred, and for this purpose made such Levies, and got together fuch a Company of Men as evidently shewed (which Sigonius observes) that the desire he had to Conquer Lombardy rather was the Motive that spurred him on to this Enterprize, than any Zeal he had for the defence and fecurity of the Church. The Rendezvous was at Geneva, and there he also held the Affembly of the Estates, though in Aimoinus, as now we reade it, it be faid that he held a Confultation at Germana, a City of Burgundy upon the Rhosne, and that there also he divided his Forces. But this City has had the misfortune to lye under mistakes, as to its Name, as well as of late Years, in reference to its Government and Laws in force, before the last Revolution. It's most probable, that as well the little Province, as Territories about it were in fucceeding Ages sometimes under the same Lord; yet it is clear from History, that six hundred Years agoe or more, they were under feveral Princes or Potentates, yet neither in this space of time, nor that which went before, nor that which followed (to use the words of a learned * Jesuite) was the Town of Geneva ever under * Neque tamen the Power and Jurisdiction of any of her Bishops.

aut illo, aut priv-re aut posteriore tempore Genevam

oppidum in ullius suorum Episcoporum fuisse potestate. Monetus in Geograph. Gallia Celtica, p. 312-

The figuration of River Rhesse 33. This C ty is scated at the Western Head of the Lake Lemanus, where the River Rhesse is flueth out of it, at the Confines of five several People (as they were reckoned of old) there meeting with the Angles of their Territories, viz. the Antuates, Focunates, Genevenses on the left fide of Rhosne, and the Brannovii and La- Sect. 4. tobrigi on the right. Its Name hath been variously changed and corrupted by unskilfull Historians and Geographers. As besides this of Aimoinus, in Authours of a thousand Years standing or thereabout, for Geneva you shall ordinarily find, Genava and Jenoba; but those that have scribled within these three hundred Years, as unskilfully, as commonly call it in Latine Gebenna, and its Citizens with the Inhabitants of the places adjoyning Gebennenses, most corrupt Words forged in the ignorant Heads of some Pedants, who had read a most gross and filly Interpretation of that passage in Lucan: Qua Montibus ardua summis, Gens habitat cava pendentes rupe Gebennas: This taught them that Gebenna was a Mountain, which separated the Arverni from the Helvetii, and had a City upon it called by the same Name. By this fond Comment the Youth was generally cheated throughout Europe. which drunk in the Notion as proceeding from an Oracle, and in ordinary writing used the word Gebenna, rejecting the old and true one of Geneva. This filthy Errour was especially propagated amongst the Ecclesiasticks, such as commonly wrote, their Books lying open to the Cheat above all Men. But to undeceive the Rea- * Gebenna Mons der; these Mountains * Gebennæ or Cebennæ (in French les Ceneines) in no respect Cesais, Cebenna appertained to the City of Geneva, nor yet to the Helvetii, from which they are not Straboni, A diffant above fifty Leagues; but lye amongst the Helvii (not Helvetii) the Ar-quitaniam i Gallia Narbanensi diviverni, Volci, Ruteni and Cadurci, of which People † Lucan speaks, and not of Geneva, dit, ut definitut

CHAP. I. Contemporary with the Conft. Roman Empire: Charles.

the Inhabitants whereof with others adjoyning he had mentioned before-Averna de Meini difiellar in felin infe Cafer.

Laude celebris, ex eo Tarais flevius Oritus.

Defenere cavo tentria fira Lemans,

Celtrique, que Vegel cavarum fluera erdua rupem.

Lutan, lib. 1,

34. Charles at Geneva divided his powerfull Army into two Parties, whereof one he committed to the Conduct of his Uncle Bernard, to march before by the way of Mons Jovis, or Jupiter his Mount (by Fauchet called Mont jou, by others, faid to be that which now is known by the Name of Genebra, the Top of the Alpes Cottie) to feize upon the Straits. The other he purposed to lead himself by the Road which lay toward the Hill Canifius. Desiderius upon Notice of their Intensions, had fent some Companies to secure the narrow Passages, he himself with his Army marching after and expecting what should be the event: The Franks coming Vide Anastasiam. to make their passage, found such opposition as discouraged them; and here, if you please to believe those that favoured one of the Parties, a great Miracle was wrought; and doubtless it was in his behalf. For the Franks not knowing what Course to take, as utterly unable to break through, stood gazing with their Fingers in their Mouths, when all on a fudden to their no little wonder, they faw their Enemies run away in a Panick fear without any at their Heels, without as much as one Man got through the passage to look at them, or any Accident at all arrived to affright them. Seeing fo great a Miracle was wrought, they must not be wanting to it, and themselves, but through they pass, and Manfully hew down all before them. Possibly some might discover a new Path, and climbing over the Mountains come upon the Backs of those that possessed the Straits, a thing as the Reader may remember practifed in other places of this Nature, and they being either killed or running away the Army might take a false Alarm, and run for Company, as hath been usual. Desiderius was now in an ill Case, as Aistulph his Predecessour had often been upon the like occasion, and no wonder he and his Countreymen might smell unfavourly, being put into fuch and fo many frights by Procurement of those, who first cryed foh and ftopr their Nofes.

35. Desiderius with Aldegisus his Son, and the Captains of his Army ran towards Pavia as fast as their Horses could carry them, whom when the fit of Won. Alii in Godefiiderment was over, the Franks followed, and there closely befieged him. The King dus de Viterby thinking it not prudence to venture all in one bottom, fent his Son, a young Man Paulus Amiliof fingular hopes, together with the Widow and Children of Carloman to Verona, we aimst maghe himself staid in Pavia which was very well fortified, and to inable it the better funty prattum prattum from finished commisto endure a Siege he had fent out into the Countrey all the Weak, and unprofita- fum ble multitude. Charles perceived the Town would endure a shock, and thinking it no millia cecidegood Husbandry to have all his Men idle here, when fewer would ferve the turn, and there was Work eliewhere, left his Uncle before Pavia, and led part of the Army against Verona. Adalgifus, the Son of Desiderius, finding this City in no Case to hold out, made his Escape, and got him to Constantinople, hoping to reserve

And fubdues all

Lombardy, ex-cept Pavia.

Sect. 4. himself to better times, which the Inhabitants perceiving, thought it not amiss to provide for themselves also in the contrary way, and upon good Terms yielded to him, who they had good reason to believe would prove the Conquerour. The Wife and Children of Carloman became his prey, whom having got into his hands he sent away speedily into France, and as the French Annals will make you believe there they were entertained very Honourably, though how, and in what manner, they either cannot or will not, or rather dare not tell you; to be fure they paid well for their Entertainment be it as good as could be, for we do not hear that they were ever restored to their Inheritance. Verona being thus delivered up, all the rest of the Cities of Lombardy followed their Example, onely Pavia still held out, being every way furnished for a Siege of long Continuance. Charles perceiving this, and resolved to tire them out, having now spent six Months in the Siege, and Easter drawing nigh, refolved to satisfie his Curiosity in seeing Rome, as well as pay his

Devotions at the Sepulchres of the Apostles.

36. How he was there entertained, and what farther passed betwixt him and the Pope, will be more proper for us to enquire in the History of that Countrey; here destroy the Nation. As a means to accomplish this, he Summons the Estates to meet and lay their Heads together at Duren, or Duria.

The Saxons in-

fently takes a Fort called Sigeburg by storm, wherein was a Garrison of the Saxons. "70. Eresburg another Castle which they had demolished, he caused to be rebuilt and Garrison'd with a Party of his own Men. Then passed he on to the River Wisara, where he found a great Company met together at a place called Brunesberg, with intension to put a stop to his March; but in vain, for at the first rencounter they were worsted, put to slight, and many slain. The place where Charles incamped, Krantzius tells us, in his time was still to be seen distinguished into the Quarters or Divisions. Passing then the River after this Obstacle was removed. he came to another called Onacer or Onacra, where he was met by Heffi one of the Princes of the Countrey, who together with the Offfali, or those that lived toward the East surrendred themselves into his hands, and gave such Hostages as he demanded. Hereupon he retreated, and coming to a place called Buki, the Angarii presented themselves, and followed the Example of the Offali, in swearing Obedience, and delivering Hostages. But part of his Army he had sent to the River Wisara, and that met not with so good Fortune, by reason of their Carelesness and Negligence. For at a place they called Hadbeki incamping themselves, and fending out their Foragers the Saxons, who spake the same Teutonick Language with them, and it feems had clothed themselves on purpose after their Fashion, joyned

themselves and mixed with them, which done, without any discovery they retur-

ned with them into their Camp, and expecting an opportunity when the Franks were affeep, fell upon them and killed a great number, yet by the Valour of such

as escaped the danger, were beaten again out of the Camp. Charles having notice

of the Strategeme marched with all speed toward the Camp, and cut off a great multitude of those that fled, which having done, and wasted so the Countrey, that

he forced also the Westfali to beg Peace, and give up their Hostages, he thought it

convenient to return and take up his Winter Quarters in France.

But are forced to beg Peace.

we shall onely say, that eight days after his coming to Rome, he returned to the Siege of Pavia. Here within a while his Work was done to his hands; those whom his Arms could not Conquer, were constrained to yield to Death, that Con-Which is fur quers all Men, many of the ftout Defendants perishing by a Plague, and as it were rendered to him, attending the Expiration of the Kingdom of the Lombards. Defiderius seeing it with their King. was to no purpose to stand out, and that the longer he did it, his Terms might be the worse, yielded himself with his Wife and Children unto Charles, who sent them to Liege in Gallia Belgica, where they wore out their days in Honourable restraint, and then as some say, in order to the Settlement of this his new Kingdom, made another Journey to Rome to confult with the Pope, which done, and all things ordered as seemed most convenient, he returned back into France. Here more work was cut out for his itching hands, for the Saxons irritated with what he had done to them, and prefuming upon his absence had invaded their Neighbours, and made great waste and saughter where e'er they came. To restrain them he sent three Parties so many several ways into their Countrey, which did them very much mischief by burning and plundering their Houses, and killing and taking Prisoners as many as they could meet with. But this did not fatisfie the King, he refolves either wholly to Conquer them, and bring them to Christianity, or to root out and quite

37. The meeting diffolv'd, and an Army prepar'd, he passes the Rhine, and pre-Aiminus, lib. 4.

38. He

38. He was scarcely arrived at his Palace, when News was brought him out of Sect. Italy, that Rotgand, a Duke of the Lombards, whom after the defeat of Deliderius. he had preferred to the Government of Forumjulii, had rebelled and drawn back macharles chaffiles ny of the Cities of Lombardy, under pretence of returning to the government of their own Kings; for Adalgifus at Constantinople had watched all opportunities, and hovered over Italy for a convenient feafon to re-enter. After a little confideration he caused his most active and resolute men to make ready, and with little noise, but great expedition, hasted into Italy, where he presented himself, and gave Battel to Rotgand, when they thought he had been ingaged in the fame manner in Saxony, He eafily overpowered him, and receiving the Towns which had revolted, upon their fubmission, re-settled all things, and returned as speedily and unexpectedly into France, as he had thence departed. He knew he had good reason so to doe, Another Invali. for he expected fully to hear that the Saxons had once more rebelled, and so he did. affoon as he had paffed the Alpes; for they had taken the Castle of Eresbourg, and had laid Siege to the other of Sigisbourg where they found greater opposition. The Garrison made very gallant Sallies, and did great Execution upon their Enemies, who were more affrighted by a Vision, two fiery Helmets appearing, it's faid, on the Top of the Church: which struck them with such amazement, and so powerfully convinced them that God Almighty fought against them, that in a Panick fear they quitted the Siege, and fled as for their Lives, which yet many of them loft; for the Franks issuing out of the Fort, pursued them as far as the River Lip-

39. Charles summoned the Estates to meet at Wormes, where it was resolved a sudden Invasion should be made into Saxony. And so sudden it was, that he surprifed them, and prevented all their preparations for refiftence, so as they were forced to use the Skin of the Fox, not being now able to compass that of the Lion, and meeting him at the Head or Spring of Lippia, in a most suppliant posture begwho are torown up to be perce, ged pardon for what was past, and many of them hypocritically offered themselves and give up Ho to be baptized. Upon this submission he readily forgave them, and causing such to be baptized as prefented themselves, received their Hostages. Then comman-

ded he the Castle of Eresbourg to be repaired, and another Fort to be erected upon the River Lippia, wherein he placed a strong Garrison, as a Curb upon the Countrey, which done, he marched back into France. But this was with a purpose of returning the Year following. For affoon as Easter was over, he again invaded Saxony with a great Army, and to fettle the People in his Obedience, which he ftill very much distrusted, appointed a general Assembly of them to be held at Paderborn, a City of Westphatia. Here all the Nobility, as well as the People, met, except one Widichind, who conscious to himself how much he had disobliged and incensed the King, durst not adventure to be present, but fled to Sigifrid, the King of the Danes. All the reft that were present submitted themselves fully to his Commands, and defired Pardon on this condition, that if ever after they rebelled, they should forfeit both their Lands and Liberty. Many of them now again, but Le Latin des

onely upon design to please him, renounced Paganism, and were baptized. He Annales de S. caused to be seized Angrye, the principal Town belonging to Widichind, and for Marital dit In Instruction of such as had been baptized in the Christian Faith, founded an Epif-Alodem guerpiccopal See at Ofnaburg.

pr., qui signife afchir: Gr celles de langage ruftic: Ingenuitatem Gr Aladem manibus dulgtum fecerunt, qui signifie le Mesme. Carie it ay nusicy ses mots que pour margne de l'antiquité, Gr representer nostre langue. Fauches, en Charle maigne.

40. But while he was making an end with the Saxons, an Address was made to him by one Ibnalorabi, a Petty Saracen Prince in Spain, who, with feveral others of his Countreymen, was come to complain of his Neighbour, to defire his aid, and give up himself and his Dependents wholly to his Power, on condition he would go and make War against the Aggressour. He considered seriously of the matter. The Saxons now feemed to be quieted, Italy was also in repose, and in as good a condition as he could wish, and in France it self was no appearance of Time ex persuality any trouble, he could not be idle, his military Men would rust and grow unser-one praduit sa viceable, if they had nothing to doe, and above all things Dominion was agreeable retail for each of the control of the contro to get some footing in Spain, he resolved upon the Enterprise. His resolution being hand finistra confixt he made all possible haste to be there, and would not defer his Journey till dimin. 1.4.6.72.

Sect. 4. Easter was over, but resolved to celebrate that Festival in Aquitain. This done he passed on to the Pyrenæans, through the Territories of the Basques, or Biscainers, and in his way took in the Cities, and subdued the Countrey, as far as the River Iberus, which arising in Navarre, pours it self by the City Dertofa into the Mediterranean Sea. Then passing the River, he took Casar-augusta, the principal City of these parts, over which he made Ibnalarabi King, and so having settled matters as to him feemed convenient, and received Hostages, he returned to Pampelo, the Walls of which he demolished, to hinder a Revolt, and then put himself on the way toward the Pyrenæans in order to his return home. Coming to the straits and precipitous places, the Army was constrained to march, not in the order it was wont, but drawn Eginhartus in out in length as the nature of the ways required. In these difficult places, which were also full of Wood, did the Vascons (those of Iberia, or of Navarre,) lie in wait, and falling on a sudden on the Rere, made great slaughter of the Waggon drivers, and fuch as followed the Camp, and plundered the Baggage. Then did they advance farther, and in a Valley called Roncavalls, fet upon the Party it felf, and notwith-

standing all the Officers could doe, put it all to the Sword. Though in Numbers

they were inferiour to the Franks, and very flightly armed, yet had they the Ad-

vantage by their knowledge of the place, their being accustomed to climbing, and

the lightness of their Weapons. In the fight fell most of the great men the King

had about him, of whom the most remarkable were Eghart, the Overseer of his

Table, Anshelme, a Count of the Palace, and Rotland, or * Roland, Governour of

the Borders of Britain, of whom many Romantick Stories have been † written.

But the worst was these Vascons could not be punished, nor Vengeance taken on

them for so foul an Affront, for having done the feat they secured themselves in the Woods and Mountains, and not a Man of them was to be feen. This much trou- * Romland bled Charles, and gave a notable check to his triumphant fortune. But feeing here or Row-land. he could not make up the business, nor obliterate the disgrace, he returned home, The rest of the Land or

Countrey. In

French Roland, in the Netherlands Roeland, and Orlando for Rolando in Italian. † Come Orlando Furisso Mid. Ludovico Arissa.

incia: Le donne i Cavallier, l'arme i amori Le donne i Cavallier, l'arme i amori Le Cortesse, l'audaci impresse io canto Che suro altempo, che pellaro i Mori D'Africa il mane ein Francia necquer tanto Segnando l'ire'eil giuvenit surori D Agramante lor Re; che si die vanto

expecting some good opportunity to doe it elsewhere.

Di vendicar la morte di Trojano Sopra Re Carlo Imperator Romano. Diro d'Orlando in un medesmo tratto Cosa non ditta inprosa mai ne in rima Che per amor venne in furore e matto D' buem, che si saggio crastimato prima, Gc.

41. At his return his Melancholy was fomewhat mitigated by the fight of a young Son; for Hildegardis his Queen was newly brought to bed of Twins, whereof one died; this other that furvived he named Ludovicus, or Lodowick. But the News of the Defeat he had received by the Vascons had reached the Ears of the inflable and rebellious Saxons, who rejoiced exceedingly at it, and thought they had now a convenient opportunity offered for revenging upon his Friends and Subjects the many Injuries they had received from him and his Predeceffours. They invaded their Territories, and destroyed all the parts of Germany with Fire and Sword. as far as the River Rhine. No place or Person, sacred or prophane, did they spare, but managed their work with fo much Rage and Cruelty, as plainly demonstrated, Another Invasi- in the opinion of Aimoinus, that they came not for plunder, but were drawn on by on of the Sax- the more pleafing allurement of Revenge. The News was brought to Charles as he lay at Antiffiodorum, who with speed commanded some Companies of Franks and Alemans to march, and, if possible, to intercept them with their booty. But they knew the fault they had committed, and unwilling to be called to an account, made what haste they could to get home; so that the Forces of Charles, with much adoe, overtook them in a Village of the Hassi, standing upon the River Aterna; but there overtaking them, as they were passing the River, made of them such flaughter, that scarcely any remained to carry home the News. But the King thought neither this a full chastisement, nor a fatisfaction to his Honour. Having But with the kindly wellcomed Hildebrand, the Duke of Spoletum, who came to wait on him out loss of the whole of Italy, with great Prefents, he buckled himself to another expedition into Saxo-Amy. ny. The usual Assembly of the Estates he held at Duren, and so with his Army passed over the Rhine, which he had scarcely done, when the bold Saxons opposed his March at a place called Buocholt. But here also they were miserably beaten,

and put to flight, and the King entring the Countrey of the Westfalians, they all

yielded themselves to him. Thence he moved toward the River Wisera, and inthe West and camping in a place called Nudufulli, there rested himself and his Army for some Edifations days, and thither the Angarii and Eastfalians thought it best to come to give up their Hostages, and swear Obedience, which being past, the King returned over the

Rhine to Wormes, and there he wintred. 42. But he thought not his work to be yet completed, and inwardly fretting that this stubborn Nation should perpetually create him trouble, he was restless in

his Mind, till he could bring them once into a fettled course of Fidelity and Allegiance, and therefore affoon as the feafon of the Year would permit, once again he led a strong Army into Saxony. The Eastern Saxons he commanded to give him a meeting at the River Onacer, which Summons they obeyed, and a great multitude counterfeiting Christian Religion, were here baptized in a place called Orehim. Thence he marched to the confluence of the two Rivers, Ora and Albia, where he fettled matters, as well amongst the Sclavi, who inhabited beyond, as the Saxons, that lived on this fide the Water, which having done, he returned home. But at home in Idleness he could not rest; having no matter now lest in Saxony, to work upon, nor at home to disturb his foreign Expeditions, his mind was wholly bent for upon Italy, having had better fortune, and therefore more encouragement in palfing the Alpes, than he had had in retreating over the Pyrenaans. Here our Authours that were Churchmen, would fain make themselves and us believe, that his Design was purely religious, that he went to Rome to pray, and pay some Vows. But not to question his Religious Inclinations, he might well be induced to undertake this Journey, for other very grave and political Reasons. He had planted a new French Kingdom, as it were, in an Italian and foreign foil, and for it to thrive and prosper, there was requisite a little looking after. The Lombards he had no reason to believe so much in love with him, as that their affection would not faint and cool by discontinuance of fight and commerce. Aldegisus, the Son of the late Defiderius, hovered over Italy, and expected when a convenient opportunity would be presented of reposlessing himself and family of his Father's Kingdom.

43. He thought it not amis to carry his Sons along with him, having had by Theoreto Rome. Hildegardis three, viz. Charles, Pipin and Lodowick, besides other Children of the female Sex. He had found by experience, that the Authority of the Roman Bishop had not been unserviceable in the crowning of him and his Brother Carloman; and be resolved now to desire the present Pope, who he knew would hardly refuse him Where his Sons any thing to give them the same Cast of his Office. To Rome he came, after he had fettled matters in Lambardy, where he was kindly entertained, and according are isplized, had lettied matters in Lamout 19, made and then anointed King of Italy, and his other Son Lodowick over Aquitain. In his Return at Milan he had a Daughter baptized by Thomas, the Archbishop of that See, and named Gisla. But amongst other things agreed on betwixt him and Pope Adrian, it was resolved jointly to send to Taffilo, the Duke of Bavaria, to put him in mind of the Oath of Duty and Allegiance he had made to Pipin, and his Sons and Successours, the Kings of France. They that were fent so effectually managed their business, that he promised immediately to repair to the King, if he could but be secured of his Life by fitting Hoftages. The Hoftages being fent he came, as he had ingaged, and receiving the Oath of Fidelity, gave up twelve of his own for good and faithfull performance of

Obedience. Charles, fecure of him, now, as he thought, found reason in Spring to make a Progress into Saxony, resolving to hold a general Assembly of the States, Autr his return as he was yearly wont to do in France: At Coloin he passed the Rhine, and with all his Army came to the head of the River Lippia, where he incamped, and con-

44. Here, amongst other business of Importance, he gave Audience to the Ambaffadours of Sigefrid, King of the Danes, as also to those of Caganus and Jugunus. Princes of the Hunnes, fent to desire his Friendship and Alliance. But the Assembly being diffolved, and the King returned back into Gall, Widikind, who, as we faid, fled to the Danish King, returned home, and put all into disorder, which had in appearance been formerly fettled. At the fame time News was brought to The Slavi make Court, that the Sorabi, or Slavi, who inhabited betwirt the two Rivers, Albia and Sala, had made Incursions into the neighbouring Territories of the Thuringi and Saxons, and had waited certain places with Fire and Sword. Charles hereupon gave speedy order to three of his Ministers, Adalgifus his Chamberlain, Geilo

it, which done, he returned into his own Countrey, but not long continued in

the Comes Stabuli, and Woradus a Count of the Palace, to raife a fufficient number of the Eastern Franks and Saxons, and therewith to chastise the Insolence of these The Treachery Rovers. They, when they came upon the Borders of Saxony, to their wonder and disappointment, instead of Assistence, found the Saxons, by the Practices of Widikind, ready to fight against them. It happened well that they met with Theodorick, a Count, the King's Kinfman, who hearing of the Revolt, had levied Forces all on a fudden in Ribuaria. He offered to join with them, and fet upon the Saxons. who had incamped on the North fide of an Hill, called Suntel, and they feeming to close with him, ordered him to take one way, and they would march another. fo as to incompals the Hill, and furprife them. But they feared left he should have the Honour of the Victory, and therefore resolved to fall upon the Enemy by themselves, before he could come up and meet them. And on the Enemy they fell, not in any order, but confusedly, every one putting Spurs to his Horse, and striving who should be the foremost to seize the Prey, which they doubted not but would fall into their Hands. They were fo warmly received by the Saxons, that they were all in a manner flain, those few that escaped betaking themselves to the Army of Theodorick. Amongst others fell Adalgisus and Geilo, besides four Counts, and twenty Noblemen.

45. The News of the defeat being brought to Charles, in great indignation he Who are found- raifed an Army, and entred Saxony, where calling before him the Nobility. he inly beaten in the quired into the Authours of the Revolt. All the blame was laid upon Widikind. but he, aware of what would follow had again withdrawn himself into Danemarke, or amongst the Normans, as our Authours call them, and no example of severity could be shewn upon him. Of those therefore which, moved by his Persuasions, had rifen in Rebellion, and destroyed so many Franks, no fewer than four thoufand and five hundred Men were delivered up, whom he commanded all in one day to be beheaded upon the River Alarus, at a place called Fredi. This feverity was great enough, and polibly too great, for instead of awing the Saxons, it drove them into a rage, and caused an universal Defection. Then was more work made for the King, who being in honour obliged to profecute the bufiness to the utmost. made preparations in Spring for another Expedition, when by a Domestick Accident his Journey, for some time, was retarded. The last day of April was the last of the Life of Hildegardis his Queen, whose Funerals he staid to see Royally solemnized, and then he began his march for Saxony, where the Natives were prepared to receive him at a place called Theothinelli, as Aimoinus hath it. He fell on them so suddenly, that he made a very great slaughter, and of so vast a multitude very few escaped. From the place of the Battel he marcht to Paderborne, where making fome flay for other Forces, which he had appointed to follow him out of France, he understood there was another Party of Saxons affembled at the River Hasa, with Intention to give him Battel, if he came that way. The supplies being arrived, he marched thither, and had the fame fuccess, putting to the Sword an innumerable multitude, and taking very many Prisoners. Thence triumphantly he marched Eastward, first to the River Wifara, and then as far as Albia, wasting all things in his passage. This done, he returned with his Victorious Army into France, where he presently married Fastrada, the Daughter of one Radulf, a Count, a Frank by Nation, by which he had two Daughters. The fame year he married her he lost Bertrada, his Mother, who died on the twelfth of July. All the Winter he fpent in the Village called Heristall, and there kept both his Christ-

46. Thence affoon as the feafon would well permit, he refolved to return, and finish the War with this stout and pertinacious People. Passing the Rhone, he wafled Westfalia, and coming to the Wesere, when he perceived he could not doe the fame by the Northern Party of Saxony, by reason of the Waters which overslowed the Countrey after great Rains, he himself went into Theringia, commanding his Son Charles to flay with part of the Army in the Borders of Westfalia. Through Thoringia he marched into the Champion Parts of Saxony, being near the two Rivers Sala and Albia, and wasting all the Eastern Countries, he then retreated into France, His Son Charles, in the mean time fought very prosperously with a strong Party of Horfe, which gave him battel, with hopes, that though he was the hings Son, he might not be Heir to his good Fortune, but having made great flesighter, 1000 100 of them, he followed his Father to the City Wormen. But there his Father would not keep him company; for into Samuey again he marched, having morphisms will

he could conquer and subdue this stubborn Nation, and in his Camp, in a Village Sect. 4 called Huthagoe, upon the River Amba, he kept his Christmas. The Festival being over, he wasted the Countrey, as far as the place called Rum, at the confluence of the two Rivers, Wefere and Waharne, and the feason of the year, with the great Inundations, prohibiting him to pass farther, he returned to the Castle of Eresburg,

Contemporary with the Const. Roman Empire.

and there spent the remaining part of Winter.

47: The remaining part he spent not idly; securing his Wife and Children. whom he had fent for, by a strong Garrison placed in the Castle, into all parts, as he could, he made Excursions, killing every Person he could light on, and burning all the Villages. Sometimes in his own Person, and otherwhiles by his Captains, he fo plied the Saxons, that all Winter long they had no rest, and when Spring appeared, for their farther comfort, a fresh Army out of France arrived. Having thus abated their Spirit, as he thought, he held an Affembly at Paderborne in a fo-lemn manner, which being concluded, he removed to a Village called Bardengoe, where he understood that Alboin and Witichind, the chief Authours of so much trouble, were retired beyond the River Elbe. He fent to them by some of their own Countreymen, advising them as the best for them, when all was considered, to come to him, and own him for their Sovereign Lord, which fo wrought on them, together with the late miseries sustained by the War, that they refused to appear, upon no other grounds, than that they had no Hollages for their fecurity. He sent them Hollages by one Amalwin, a Courtier, and then he returned into France. They were not long after him, for having received the Hostages with Amalwin, they came to the Court at Atigny, where all controversies were ended by their rewishate the ceipt of Baptism, and Wittehind was made Duke of Angries, being, as some have thought, the Progenitor of Hugh Capet. Thus Clemency effected that which the

48. But these being over wearied, as it were, with Ease and Fidelity, they returned

Severity of War and Revenge for so long a time could not bring about, and the Saxons for fome Years continued in Obedience.

to their old rebellious humour, and then returned the like flaughters and devastasions. as formerly had been committed. Neither could this humour be quite subdued by fo many and grievous Calamities, till Industry completed that which Force and Arms had in vain attempted, almost for thirty years together. Such as lived on this side the Elbe were by the more frequent Incursions of the Franks, sooner tamed, their humours were fooner foftened by their converfation, and their fury and violence calmed by the powerfull Charms of Christian Religion, once cordially imbraced. But they that lived on the farther fide this River, being separated from the rest, less accustomed to commerce, and dwelling in no great apprehension of Chastisement, upon every occasion were prone to their old wont of Rebellion. Charles therefore passing over the River, caused them to assemble together, and easily procured them to take the Oath of Fidelity, to which they had been as much accustomed, as to break it. This By transplanting done, he persuaded them to make an Exchange of this their Countrey, which was cold and barren, for better Lands, which he would find out elsewhere. Ten thoufand of the most stout and considerable among them, with their Wives and Children, he transported over the Rhine, and planted them amongst the Franks in Brabant, Flanders, and other places. And that these that remained might not return to their perfidious practices, and the grounds lie waste and useless, he caused the Abroditæ, a People he could trust, and the next Neighbours, thither to remove themselves. Moreover he settled a Council in the place, which was to use great feverity toward fuch as falfified their Faith, the Image of which continued in those parts many Ages after. The Conclusion of this War, and this Transplantation of the Saxons happened some time beyond the period of this present Volume; some say in the thirty third year of the War; but we were unwilling to leave the Reader altogether in the dark, as to its iffue.

49. Charles, by his Clemency to Witichind and his Party, fettled the Affairs of Saxony for a certain time, when his contrary carriage to the Oriental Franks or those of Franconia, living beyond the Rhine, procured a quite contrary effect amongst them. His fecond Wife, Fastrade, was of a quite different humour from that of his first, of an high and turbulent Spirit, intermeddling with Affairs of State, and disquieting both her self and Husband, as such Women are wont to doe, if her ambitious, envious and covetous defires were not in every point observed. Overcome by her vexatious Importunities, he entred upon fome levere Courses, which cast the Nobility of Franconia into a Conspiracy, through the persuasion of one Hardrade, a Count. But herein, as in his other Affairs, the good fortune of Charles

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Sect. 4. appeared, that he had notice of the Plot, e'er it could break out into any open Act. and by his Prudence and Expedition prevented the mischief intended, the Conspiratours being timely apprehended and committed to Custody, with whom, as conicious that his contrary acting had given them some provocation, he resolved not to proceed with cruelty. Some were deprived of their fight, others fent into banishment, fome absolutely pardoned, and none put to death, onely three were killed by the Officers, from whom they fied. Charles having to happily prevented this defigned mischief, as the Foster Child of Fortune was still led on from one felicity to another. The Inhabitants of Armorica, or Little Britain, for all his great Successes and Name, were unwilling to pay their accustomed Tribute, which the Kings had accounted their due, ever fince this People being expelled by the Saxons and Angli out of the British Island, and having seated themselves in the Territories of the Veneti and Corosolitæ, had from Scylla faln upon Charibdis, and flying from the Yoke of one, had been forced to submit their Necks to that of another. Sometimes they refused to pay their Money, with what success we have formerly seen; now and then, as they faw their opportunities, they would rebell, and turn open Enemies invading and ranfacking the neighbouring French Territories, but still in the end were forced to return, and join themselves in the yoke of Servitude with the rest of the conquered or truckling Nations. Charles distained to bear that Indignity which the meanest of his Predecessours would not endure, and dispatched away Audulse, the Overseer of his Table, with Forces sufficient for chastising and reducing them, who had fuch fuccess, that without much adoe he brought them to The Britains of crave Pardon, and promise all good demeanour for the time to come, for confir-Armorica reducted to Obedian mation whereof they gave up their Hostages, whom, with many of the Nobility.

he presented to the King, then lying at Wormes. 50. Gall was wholly now in repose, and in perfect Obedience, not the least stir nor accident happening, which might make him work. Being so much at leisure, he thought it as profitable as gratefull to his Humour, to make another Voyage inthe makes another Voyage in to Italy, and visite those foreign Dominions, which he had not of so long a time beheld. He had some reason, for Aragise, Duke of Beneventum, began to grow very formidable, making up again a little shew of a Kingdom, and having never thoroughly submitted himself, nor owned the Authority of the Franks. Upon him Charles resolved to fall on a sudden, and take him unprepared, to which purpose in the middle of Winter he took his Journey, and having made his passage over the Alpes, and through the Snow, kept his Christmas at Florence, which over, he departed with all speed to Rome. Here having for some time consulted with Adrian the Bishop, and the rest of his Friends, he buckled himself to his March toward Beneventum, the Seat of the Dukedom, a Gity of Samnium, to which was subject Campania, the Salernitani, with all Calabria. Aragife knowing himself surprized, and at best inseriour to the King in strength, betook himself to crast and policy. He fent to him Runold, his eldest Son, with Gifts and good Words, to divert him from his purpose, but he was too tenacious of it to be so put off, and taking the Messenger along with him, marched to Capua, the chief City of Campania, which he befieged. Arigife perceiving what must be the Islue, left Beneventum, and betook himself to Silernum, a Town both stronger, and standing upon the Water; whence he sent to him Grimoald, his other Son, to deprecate his Displeasure, and promifing him to obey him in all things he should require, which good language and condescension so wrought upon him, that retaining Grimoald, as an Hostage, he sent his elder Brother home to his Father, with some Noblemen of the French Army, who were to receive the Oaths and Hostages of the several Cities, which being done, lie drew off his Army, and returned to Rome, where he kept his Easter.

51. Having dispatcht his Affairs thus in Italy, though all was clear on that Coast, when he came out of Gall, yet now another storm was gathering in Bavaria, where Tassilo the Duke plaid fast and loose, being merely by sear and awe kept from openly violating that Agreement he had formerly made with Pipin and his He invades Est. Posterity, and ever and anon ready to renounce obedience, when he perceived there was any probability, either by reason of his own Advantages, or the Incumbrances of Charles, to succeed in his Designs. But hearing now that the Lombards were abfolutely reduced, and that his Kinfman would be at leifure to call him to an Account, he sent his Ambassadours to Rome, where Charles still resided, to desire of the Bishop, that he would beget a perfect understanding betwixt them. The Bilhop was very ready to become Authour of fo good a work, and Charles was not so averse, but that he easily brought him to close with the Offer, so that there wan-

ted nothing but to fign the League, and confirm the Agreement. But the Ambaf- Sect. 4 fadours being demanded what Power they had to conclude or ratifie the Treaty, denied that their Instructions or Commission extended any farther than merely to understand the Pleasure of the King and Bishop, and return their Answers to their Master. Adrian hereat conceived great Indignation, as fooled by a trisling Mesfage, and fent them away with Threats of Ecclesiastical Censures, in case Tassilo stood not firm to the former obligations he had made to the House of Pipin. Charles thought it best not to be long after the Messenger, and taking his leave of the Bi-shop, departed to Wormes. Here finding his Wife and Family, he called an Assembly of the Estates, wherein the whole matter relating to his late Exploits in Italy, and the business of Tassilo was reported, and forasmuch as it was reported and seared, that this Bavarian Duke would call in the Hunnes to his affishence, it was unanimoufly refolved to raife a very confiderable Army, wherewith Bavaria in three

feveral places should be invaded.

52. On one fide Pipin, the Son of Charles, with his Italian Forces, was ordered to march over the Rhetian Alpes, and invade the Countrey from the South. From the North the Oriental Franks and Saxons were to give the Onset; and the King himself, with the third Party, resolved to fall on where the River Leccus divided the Bavarians from the Alemans, at the City Augusta, so that Tassilo should have no way to escape, except he took that of the East, toward the Territories of the Hunnes, which if he did, then would the Franks enter, and feize upon his Dominions." Taffilo found himself so intangled, that he laid off thoughts of invading France, wherewith, at the Instigation of his Wife, and the Promises of the Hunnes, he had flattered himself, and cast himself at the Feet of Charles, begging Pardon for his past Errours, and renewing his usual Protestations. The King for this time yielded to his importunity, and receiving his Son Theodo, with twelve others, for Hostages, returned into France, and wintred in a place near to Mentz, called Ingilinheim. Here in the Spring following he held an Assembly of the Estates, whereat all his Subjects and Vassals were commanded to be present, and Tassilo, the Duke of Bavaria, amongst the rest. He made his appearance; but his own Subjects afraid, it feems, of the War which threatned their Countrey with devastation, in case he should revolt, laid heavy Crimes to his Charge, as that fince his last swearing Obedience, at the importunity of his Wife Liutberga, the Daughter of Deliderius, he had tampered afresh with the Hunnes, to procure a strong alliance with them, in order to a Rebellion, with other things and words, which were so aggravated, that he was, as a Traitour, condemned to Death, he not being able to deny what was objected. But the Clemency of the King procured a mitigation of his And shaves the punishment, for that Head which was to be cut off, was covered onely with a Monk's Hood, and Theodo, his Son, was shaven also, and for company shut up with him in the Monastery, those Bavarians that had been of the Conspiracy being banished into several places. The Hunnes, as they had promised, raised two Armies, whereof with one they invaded the Marches of Forum Julii, and with the other made an Inrode into Bavaria, but in both places were worfted, and driven back with great loss of Men. This loss inraged them, and to be revenged, with more numerous Forces they again invade Bavaria, but the Inhabitants receive them with fuch Conduct and Resolution, that having put to the Sword an innumerable Company of them, many of the rest, for fear, took the River Danubius, and thinking to fwim fafe to land, are overwhelmed with the flouds.

53. Charles having fully reduced Bavaria, put the Government into another posture. He made no one Duke over the whole, left he should commit too much Power into the Hands of one Man, but many Counts or Governours, that their number might render them weaker, and more contemptible. His Hands being now again idle, he must some other way employ, and rather than want work, he will travell to feek it as far as the very Baltick Ocean: There where it passes by Germany, in the Territories now belonging to Pomerania, Mecleburg and Hollatia, lived a Nation of the Hunnes, fierce and barbarous, in their own Language called Welatabi, and in the French Wiltzi, or Vultzi, always adverse to the Interest of the Franks, if we believe their Authours, and infelting ever and anon their best Friends and Confederates, particularly the Abrodita. The King not able any longer to indure their Insolence, resolved to make them feel the Effects of his Displeafure, and gathering a vast Army together, passed the Rhine about Coloine, whence travelling through Saxony, he came to the Blbe, and pitching his Camp upon the River, over it he laid two Bridges, whereof one on both fides he fortified, and

Sect. 4. thereon placed a Garrison. Then marching forwards, at length he entred the Enemies Countrey, which he wasted with Fire and Sword, till such time as the Inhabitants being terrified with his Name, and his manner of proceeding, began to confult how to appeale him, and laying their Heads together, the Reguli, Nobility and Senate, though they were a Nation Stout and Warlike, gave up themselves into his hands, promifing all Fidelity and Allegiance from which they never in the least departed. This Conquest so happily performed, he returned back the same way he came, and in Wormes kept both his Christmas and the Easter following. And that year, which was a wonder, he made no expedition at all, but reliding in that City, gave Audience to the Ambassadours that came from the Hunnes, and sent some of his own to them; a great Controversie having arisen about the Borders of their Dominions, which became the Original of fuch Heats and Malice as could not be ended but by a War. Farther, to busie and divert himself, he passed up the River Menus, tolhis Palace of Saltz in Germany, built upon the River Sala, and down again he Rowed to Wormes, where Wintering, his House wherein he lived accidentally was set on Fire in the Night and Burnt. Yet he still continued in the place, and as magnificently as ever folemnized the Feast of Christmas and Easter.

54. These Hunnes we lately spoke of, were part of the Posterity of those who in the Reign of Honorius powered themselves into Europe, and being a most direfull Plague to the Inhabitants thereof., had seized on both the Pannonia Superior toward the West, where are now the Provinces of Carniola, Carinthia and the greater part of Austria; and the Inferior also toward the South, which at this day contains Bosnia, Sclavonia and that part of Hungary lying towards Ister or the Danube, so named from those People which were called both Hunnes and Avares, and as we are told from both words joyned together, known by the name of Hungari or Hungarians. So long as Bavaria continued a Dukedom of it felf, there was no occasion of quarrel ministred betwixt these Hunnes and the Franks, but this Countrey being fully subdued, and laid to the rest of their Dominions, Charles and they began to quarrel about the limits of their Territories. The quarrel arose to that Picks a Quarrel height, that Charles dissaining to receive the least dissavantage, and elevated by with the Hunner, the constant success he had had over their Neighbours, from so small a beginning, raifed a most tedious and grievous War, which continued full eight years, and then was completed with the Destruction almost of the whole Nation. Making Levies throughout all his Dominions, he divided his Forces into two Parties according to his Custome, to distract and amuse the Enemy the more, whereof the one he committed to the Conduct of Theodorick a Count, and Magnafrid his Chamberlain, Alias Magnified with Orders to invade the Countrey at the Northern Bank of the Danube; he himfelf led the other, resolving to make an Invasion on the Southern part by the way of Bavaria, the Inhabitants whereof he Commanded to convey Provisions for the

Army down the River.

55. Thus appointed he began his March, and made his first incamping upon the River Arifus, which separated Bavaria from the Territories of the Hunnes, and there he spent three days in Prayers and Supplications to Almighty God, for a blessing upon his Expedition. Then invading the Countrey, he wasted all with Fire and Fire and Sword. Sword, the Enemy not daring to give him Battel, but securing himself in his Forts, whereof two were very considerable; one upon the River Cambus wherewith it was exceedingly Fortified, and another near the City Comageni, upon a Mountain called Cameoberg most difficult of Access. But the Resolution of Charles, and the Valour of his Souldiers Conquered both those places, and he went on destroying all things as far as the River Arrabo, over which paffing his Men, he came to the Alias Rabus. confluence of it and the River Danubius, where he made some stay, purposing to return by the Countrey of Gabaria. To Theodorick and Magnifrid he fent Orders to Retreat by the way of the Begamini as they came, and then having laid waste a Alias Beamini great part of Pannonia, he returned into Bavaria without any loss or disadvantage in all this expedition, except in Horfes, amongst which raged forgreat a Contagion, that scarcely the tenth part remained alive of so many thousands. Having dismissed his Souldiers, he himself saith Aimoinus came to the City Regimini which now is Alias Regimini called Reganesburg, where he resolved to Winter, and there to celebrate the Festi-Recembers. vals both of our Lord's Nativity and his Refurrection.

56. While here he yet refided, Confulting how with best success he might farther profecute the War with the Hunnes, he was in danger of his Life at home by a Conspiracy. He had a Bastard Son named Pipin, one of a beautifull Face, but Hutch-back'd, and as deformed it feems in his mind as in his Body, for feveral great CHAP. I. Contemporary with the Conft. Roman Empire. Charles.

Another Con-

Men wearied with the cruel demeanour of Fastrade the Queen, consulted with him Sect. 4. how to prevent her practices by her Husband's Death, and by fending the Father into another World, to make way for his Son's advancement in this. He being either an Authour or the pretext of this Conspiracy, they expect a convenient seafon to execute their Defigns, when the whole Plot and Contrivance is discovered to the King by one Fardulf a Lombard, and they as Guilty of High Treason were some of them Beheaded, and others Hanged, Pipin being shut up in the Monastery of Prumium, and Fardulf rewarded with that of St. Denü. This Conspiracy thus hapily blown over, he caused a Bridge to be laid over the Danube, continuing still in Bavaria and intent upon the War with the Hunnes, for which he resolved in the fame place to spend the second Winter. When he began to prepare for another Expedition, News was brought that the Forces under the Command of Theodorick, in their return through Frista in a Village called Hirustri near the River Wisara were intercepted and destroyed. This caused him to put off his Journey into Pannonia, though to keep up his Reputation he diffembled the greatness of the

57. But left he and his Men should be idle, he gave ear to the Project of some about him, who pretended they had found out a rare Expedient for the inriching of Germany, and the Neighbouring parts of Europe, by promoting Commerce be-twixt the several Countries. Of the Rhine and the Danube, the two greatest Rivers of those parts of the World, the one falls into the German Ocean, and the other runs Eastward into the Euxine Sea. Betwixt these lay two more inconsiderable, in the His endearours days of Aimoinus or the Authour of that History called Radantia and Alomora, Aliis and inguinate New whereof the one mingles its Waves with the Dannbe's and the other empties it felf & Alomo. into the Rhine. Betwixt these two they advised a Ditch three hundred foot broad should be cut, such as would receive large Vessels, and accordingly the whole Autumn many men were employed, who digged such a Ditch three hundred soot in breadth, and in length two Miles. But all this was lost Labour, it being hard for Mortals to alter that course of Nature, which God Almighty has appointed to sub-lunary things. What they digged on the Day, was by Night filled up again, partly by Earth the Ground being Fenny and loose, and partly by Water, great Rains as is usual at that time of the year falling in those Parts , lying so near to the German Ocean. While he thus made himself work in this part of Germany, he had o-the Saxons rether work made to his hands elsewhere by the Saxons, who universally Revolted, and the Saracens who having entred Septimania defeated in Battel fuch Counts and others as opposed themselves in defence of the Countrey, and having put many of

the Franks to the Sword, returned Victoriously to their own Homes

58. In the beginning, of the following Summer another Accident happened, which however he took it to his Subjects seemed not unluckly, and that was the Death of his Wife Faltrade, who was Buried at Menie in the Church of St. Albam. Having taken care for her Funeral, and held an Affembly of the Estates, he divided his Forces into two, and resolved to renew his ancient Hostility with the Saxons, giving order to his Son Charles to pals the Rhine at Coloin, and with one half with the rell of the Army should attacque them. This being done, although the Saxons had pitched their Camp in the place called Smitted, and there in appearance. Saxons had pitched their Camp in the place called Smetfeld, and there in appearance expected his coming as ready to give him Battel, yet the matter was so carried, that despains of that Society which they had lately, promited to them selects, which they had lately, promited to them selects, and sunversally begind pardon, as they had committed the Offence, and without fighting a litoke, both agreement of the selection of the selection of the selection of the latest of the selection of the selection. This being over, the king returned into I the selections humour of the selection, and in Spring following not being unmindfull of the periodous humour of the selection, being unmindfull of the selection of the selection, being unmindfull of the selection of the selection, and in Spring following not being unmindfull of the selection of the selection, and in Spring following of the selection of the selection, and the selection of the selection

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He beats the

Sect. 4. all sparing; while he was about this work, one Tudun a man of chiefelt Rank amongst the Hunnes came Ambassadour to him out of Pannonia., and willingly offered himself to receive Baptism, and to be instructed in the Christian Religion. Into so good an humour this Barbarian was frighted, by the success which the Arms of Charles though not present in Person, had lately had in that Countrey. For Henry Duke of Forum Julii being fent thither had made very great spoil, and in particular taken and rifled the Royal Palace of the Hunnes called Rhing, whence he brought to the King a very great Treasure, a great part whereof he was ordered to carry as a present to the See of Rome, or as they phrase it to St. Peter, and the rest was liberally distributed amongst the great Officers and Courtiers, having been the flower as it were of that vast Wealth which this vagrant and thieving People had pilfred out of Afia and Europe. Pipin also his Son he had fent into Pannonia, with Forces raifed both in Italy and Bavaria, wherewith he beat the Hunnes, and drove them beyond the River Tiza, which done at his ease and pleasure, he wasted and spoiled their Territories, and what was left untoucht and rejected by Henry, and sposed their Territories, and what was better the policy of the poli

And returns los- to poor, as possessing nothing but their Arms and the fruits of their Grounds, from Langebrids as this plunder became very Wealthy; and France full of Gold and other things of the value and wonder to them. Pipin prefented it to his Father, who was then return defining them. this plunder became very vicasing, it is preferred it to his Father, who was then reture semina am-value and wonder to them. Pipin preferred it to his Father, who was then reture semina am-ned victoriously out of Saxony to Aix; where Iudun and all that came with him he pur many the seminal property. It is the seminal to the seminal property of the seminal property of the seminal property of the seminal property.

de Drave dy Dande fut applie Offrich Off à dire en Thiois Ryaume Oriental, ayun offerda Buierre dy partie deguit regardant de cident de la Rivere de Lach Jupille cuarre Auftriche, Fauchet, Atmanus, c. 87. 60. About this time, as if all things and places conspired together to render

Charles Fortunate and Victorious, the City Barcinona fituate on the confines of Spain, having been sometimes in the hands of the Franks, and otherwhiles of the Saxons, was restored to him by Zatis one of that Nation, who had lately get it into his hands. This incouraged him to fend Lodovick his Son to lay Siege to Ofca, he himself having no patience till he was again in Saxony, which he wasted through steely thanks, out as far as the utmost limits of it; where it lay bounded by the Ocean betwirt the two Rivers Elbe and Wefere. Thence returning to Aix, he gave audience to Abdella the Son of King Abimenanga who was come to him out of Mauritania, and to Teocksius sent from Nicotes the Governour of Sicily with Letters from the Emperour dated at Conflaintinopie. But such was his propension toward the punishment of the Saxons, that in their Countrey he resolved to Winter, and passing this ther, fate down by the River Wefere, in a place which he would have called Heriffall, and our Authour tells us was so called to his very time. Having distributed his Army into their Winter Quarters, he fent for his two Sons Pipin and Lidovick; whereof the one was returned from his Iralian, and the other from his Spanish Expedition, and entertained the Amballadours of the Hunnes, fent to him with great presents. The like he did to the Ambassadours of Hadefonsia King of Austria and al. Ashuria. Gallicia, who neither came empty handed, and then remitted Pipin into Italy, and Lodovick into Aquitath, with whom fie fent Abdella to be conveyed into Spain on

Lodovick into Aquitatie, with whom he sent Abadea to be conveyed into Span on his way homeward.

61. Charles passed all this Winter in Sandy, to the great terrour of the Inhabited beyond the Bibe, instigicantly appeared in this; that ever, the these that inhabited beyond the Bibe, instigicantly appeared in this; that ever, the feation came, that there was Graft enough for the Affiny to take the Field, they fell bond terrain of his followers, wholl he field their to toe, Justice amongst them, and practiving a few for Ramonie killed the rest, and winter them Godescales who was in his way returning from his Embass, to supplied his of the Dabes. Barreed hereal, above an measure, he mattered the Barree, and winterever his period hereal, above an measure, he mattered the Barree, and whenever his period the Weley. In the Constitution of the Weley. In the Constitution of the Weley. In the Sandy from the Barreed with the constitution of the Weley and the Weley of the Dabes. The Rest of the Sandy for the Dabes of the Sandy for the Dabes of the Sandy for the Barreed Well the Constitution of the Weley of the Sandy for the Barreed Well the Constitution of the Sandy for the Barreed Well the Production of the Sandy for the Barreed Well the Dabes of the Sandy for the Sandy for the Barreed Well the Dabes of the Sandy for the Sa

ved the Ambassadours of Irene the Empress, who having put out the Eyes of her Sect. 4. Son, had reassumed the Government, and at their regret released Sissinnius, the Brother of Tarafius the Patriarch of Conftantinople, who had been taken Prisoner in Battel. They were scarcely dispatched, when others arrived out of Spain from Hadefonfus, with a small part of the spoil he had lately taken at his Conquest of the City Olyssepona; these were seven Moors with so many Mules and Corslets, be- Links ing as one observes rather marks of Victory than any confiderable Present. But the bringers he kindly received, and fent back with rewards. Now were the Islands Baleares afterward called Majorica and Minorica, overrun and wasted by Moorish Pirates. Charles spent this Winter at Aix, and there celebrated the two

62. The Spring following, when he was again preparing for a fresh Expedition into Saxony, he was a little diverted by displeasing News brought him from Rome. There Leo the Bilhop had been most inhumanely treated by the Kindred of his Predecessours, and after much Cruelty and Malaie shewed upon his Body, was clapt up close Prisoner in a Monastery, but thence making an escape over the Walls, was kindly received by Winigifus the Duke of Spoletum. The King hearing the News, with great forrow and indignation took care that he should be Honourably brought to his presence, yet resolved not to put off the War, which he intended Another experience more against the Saxons. Removing then to the Rhine, there in the place dism into Sax-called Jihob, he held the wifeld allowship at the PA

called Lippia, he held the usual assembly of the Estates, and expected the coming of the Roman Bishop, sending in the mean time his Son Charles with part of the Army to the Elbe, to dispose of some matters relating to the Wiltzi and Abodriti, and to receive some Saxons of those called the Nordlaidi. Not long after his departure the Bishop came, and after a kind entertainment for certain days, he sent him back to Rome with certain of his own men, who restored him to his See. He being dismissed, he gave audience to a Messenger sent from Michael the Patritian. from Sicily, and prelently after received the unwelcome news of the defeat and Death of two of his Captains, whereof one * Geroldus by name, being a Governour in Bavaria was flain in Battel against the Hunnes, and the other called Erick or *Gereld Duc de

Henry famous for his many Victories, was by the Inhabitants of Tarfus or Tarfu a Hillien Due de City of Liburnia circumvented and cut off. † But for this bad news, recompence Suare by de Hil. was made him as foon as he returned to Aix where he Wintred. For Wido or Gu- femme de Charles ido a Count and Prefect of the British Coast, || having with others his fellow Counts prim mignon du and Captains overrun Britany, brought him the Arms of the great men he + Homy Due de had subdued on which their Names were ingraven. Other Trophies were present primal rat presented him from those that had restrained and punished the Moorish Rovers, about Ma- te thornic jorica; and Asan the Saracen Governour of Ofca fent him the Keys of the City with (Ceft de Fried) other gifts, and a promise to deliver it up into his hands if opportunity should fauchet, at Ai-

tem, lib. 4. c. 89. | Guy Comte de la Marche, on Marquis de Erefaigne.

63. As soon as Spring appeared toward the middle of March , Charles left Air De pais Bra ban o3. As 1000 as Spring appeared toward the middle of Plants, to prepared for jugget en Breand viliting the Coafts of the Gallick Ocean, appointed a Fleet to be prepared for tagne, dit Faufcouring those Seas of the Nordman Pirates, who had now begun to be very trou-cher. blesome, and placed Garrisons where he saw convenient. His Easter he kept at Centulum belonging to St. Richarius, whence he Coasted again by the Sea side, and Centulum Canofo turned off to Rouen, where croffing the River Seine, he travelled to Tours to doe biumSand Ribbs

his Devotions in the Church of St. Martin. Here he was confined for certain days sii in Picardia. by reason of the sickness of his Wife Liutgarda, which Lady here died on the fourth moinum. Fauof June, and was Buried in St. Martin's Church. Thence by Orleance and Paris the fic, Centule, he returned to Aix, and at the beginning of August, held a General Assembly at Richer apparte. Chaila goes for Mentz, wherein he declared he would take another Journey into Italy. According, name à Engilbert ly with an Army at his back he came to Ravenna, where he made no stay but for me cest adire du feven days, fending his Son Pipin with the Army into the Countrey of Beneview. Roy Charles.

Thence to Rome. tum whom he accompanied as far as Ancona, and then took the way for Rome. But in his way into Italy we are told by some that he took Liburnia or Frieul, where he punished the Inhabitants of Tarlatica, for the Murther of Henry their Duke, and put one Codelac into his place. And indeed the infolence committed by them upon that man, together with the Rebellion of Grimoald the Duke of Beneventum, and the outrage against Lee the Bishop, whatever else he designed seem sufficient motives for his return into this Countrey. For they were evident figns of the stirring

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5.2.4. if not the growth of the Party contrary to his Interest, and seemed to threaten the Authority of a Prince, whole ablence incouraged a People as yet not fully fetled

64. The day before he arrived at Rome, twelve miles off at Nomentum Pope Leo met him, and having Supped with him that Night, returned to the City to be ready for his folemn reception the next day. He rode on Horseback to the Stairs of St. Peter, where Lee with all his Bishops and Clergy received him, and with solemn procession conducted him into the Church of that Apostle. After seven days he called the People together, and laid open to them the cause of his coming, the Principal whereof was, as he faid, to make Inquisition about those Grimes which were laid to the Charge of their Bishop. But no Accuser appearing, Lea with the Gospel in his hand went up into the Pulpit, and there in presence of all the People purged himself by Oath of the things objected. On Christmas-day, the King being come to St. Peter's Church to hear Divine Service, as he kneeled before the And Crowned Altar, Leo fet a Crown on his Head, and all the People Acclamed to Charles Augustus, Crowned of God the mighty and peaceable Emperour of the Romans, Life and Victory, which Acclamations over, he was according to the Custome of the ancient Princes adored by the Bilhop, and leaving off the name of Patritian, was faluted Emperour and Augustus. So was the Title of Emperour revived again at Rome, from what Inducements; how legally, and in what manner we shall consider more properly and fully in the History of that Countrey. Here we see the Franks advanced above all the rest of the Western Nations, and a King but of the second Head raifed prodigiously to so sublime a pitch of Grandeur, how and by what Degrees both Nation and Family arrived at this height, we have as fully discovered as the nature of this Work will bear. Here we must leave Charles upon his Imperial Throne, but e'er we take our leave for altogether, we are obliged to return to his Cradle and take some notice of the Tongue he first spake, with other things belonging to the most ancient State and Customes and Polity of this considerable Nation, which in the precedent Hiltory could not but too abruptly and confusedly be per-

Original on which we have already to largely infifted, it's certain it was the Sicambrian or Teutonick Dialect at their first coming into Gall, and so even to the time of or Tentonick Di. Charles it continued. There were other Languages indeed spoken in the Countrey alect was their where they inhabited, one whereof at length partly swallowed up, partly expelled theirs, but this could not be but by degrees, and in many years use and conversation, fo that though many words were stoln in upon both, and those that were Learned or Nobly Educated, spake as well the one as the other, yet for the Rule or substance, the German or Teutonick still continued in ordinary use and practice. Nay, it was the Language of the Court, as appears from what we are told concessing Charles the Great himself. Eginhare an Authour beyond all exception testi-Maghine land. fies, that he gave Names to the Months according to his own Language; the Franks particultance before that time having known them partly by Latine, and partly by Barbarous gaum and it words. To the twelve Winds also he gave Proper Names, whereas formerly scarce tempus, &c. four words were in use to express them. Of the Months January he called Junthermonat , February Hornung , March he named Lentzmonet , April Oftermonet , Hacconforcum is May. Wunnemonet, June Brachmonet, July Heumonet, August Aermmonet, September que scribines de Herbstmonet, October Quynmonet, November Quindsmonet, and December Heilig- veteri. moner. On the Winds he imposed the Names following; on that by the Romans

65. To begin with their Language, as the great both Effect and Sign of their

The Names of Of the Winds. called Subsolanus Ostrenwindt, on Eurus Ostsunderen Euroauster Sundostren, Auster Sundren, Austroafricus Sundwestren, Africus Westsundren, Zephyrus Westren, Corus Westnorden, Circius Nordunestren, Septentrio Nordren, Aquilo Nordostren, Vulturaus Offmorden. He adds that, certain Baracons and most ancient Verses whereby were Sung, the Acts and Warlike Exploits of ancient Bungs he wrote down and committed to Memory , and farther began a . " Nu will th Scriban Unfer heil Grammar of his Mother Tongue. If any one delive farther la- Evangelion deil. tisfaction in this particular, and see what the very I soguage In Fron Rife rungen. was, he may know that Orfrid a Monk of Wassenbury in this Action Language of the Franks Translated the New Testament into Language of the Franks Translated: the New Leftament into so will write (the Dath for seed of the Cords) of the Dath for which the word share to be feen in feveral Authours, particularly in Pontames his spin general Authors, particularly in Pontames his spin general Authors. are to be seen in several Authours, particularly in Pontains his Origines Francicæ, with Verses in Commendation of the Nation of the Franks. He may also there see part of Tationas his Har-

Praf. in Evangel.

the deal (for which is crept inpart.)

mony of the four Gospels Translated into this French Tongue, which continued thus German or Teutonick, at least till the Ruine of the Family of Charles the Great. This is evident from Willeramus Abbat of Mersburg his * Translation of the Canticles, out of Latine into this old French, in the time of Henry the third Emperour, about the year of our Lord 1010, one of the Chapters whereof he begins thus; Stand uph Friundinna min ilego. Min duna Min scona aud Kim. Such like Language is all the rest. and hereby it may be feen as one of . our Modern Writers obferves, that the old French and the old English, had then as great Affinity together as our Northern and Southern English have at this day. Now none will deny that our old English or ancient

English Saxon was German or Teutonick. 66. Such therefore was the true and ancient French, a German or Teutonick Dialect, before it was corrupt, mixed and at last abolished by another Speech, which overpowred it by the multitude of Speakers. For in conquests of Countries this rule is to be observed in point of Languages, that where the Invaders in Numbers prevailed, either in a small space of time pushing in multitudes upon a weaker Nation, or in a long continuance of time perpetually supplying their first Planters, there though they mixed with the People Conquered, their Language followed the Fortune of their Arms, and at length, getting Ground every day, became Victorious, but where a far leffer invaded the greater, and the Courage or good Fortune of a few prevailed over a Cowardly effeminate or unfortunate Multitude, there the fuccels was not the fame, for as the Vulgar is Master of Language, which is founded upon Use and Custome, more Voices or Words carried it, and the Tongue had better fortune than the Hand, as far greater Sounds or Noises do drown the leffer. The former part is sufficiently evidenced in the Roman Conquests, especially in the Western parts, as also in the Invasion of the Saxons made into this Island of Britain. The later part not onely in the matter of the Franks, who Conquered a People much more vast in Numbers than themselves, but in the case of the Goths in Spain, and Lombards in Italy, where the Languages prevailing in the Countries, at last got Ground, and prevailed over those they brought in with them, and not to stir far from home, we see the truth hereof abundantly manifested in the case of the Normans who coming into France, and bringing in with them a Northern or Teutonick Language of their own, first made Shipwreck of that there as the Franks had formerly done, and then having got instead of that the Romantick or Bastard Latine now called French, when they Conquered here the English Saxons

Contemporary with the Const. Roman Empire. Charles.

their unjustly got Possessions. 67. The Franks therefore by mixing and imbodying with a far more numerous People, loft their Language, what then the speech spoken by the Natives at this time was we must enquire. The Language of such of them as were Originally Galls, was the first that was spoken (as far as man can know) in this Countrey, being that which was in use when Cafar invaded them, viz. the Celtick or the Gallick, which though it might receive an infenfible impression and alteration from the Touching of the Phanicians upon the Sea Coasts, the planting of some Greek Colonies also on the Maritime Parts, the Neighbourhood of the Spaniards and Germans. and the recourse made by the Italians to the Medicinal Waters in Aquitain, yet till his time in the Body of the Land continued pure and uncorrupted. What this Language was is the great question much debated by certain Learned men, and that in two respects especially, viz. Whether it was the same Originally with our ancient British, or the Welsh Tongue, or whether it was the self same in substance with the Teutonick or ancient German Language, differing onely from it in Dialect, in some variety of phrases and terminations of words. For the first, that the Lan-The Gallick and guage of the old Gallis was all one with the British, unless perhaps in variety of manual based. Casfar himself showeth, where he writes that it was the custome of the compared. Galls who defired farther knowledge or instruction in the Learning, or Discipline

of the Druides to go over to them into Britain. Now forasmuch as they had no use of Books, the Druides in teaching must have used the same Language the Galls

did, which Tacitus farther confirmeth, alledging that the British Speech, and that

loft that also, and returned to their ancient Teutonick, (though altered by their In-

vasion,) and this they did notwithstanding all Arts imaginable used by them for a-

bolishing the English, and propagating that other amongst a People to which their

Posterity in this point was constrained at last to yield their Tongues, though not

So we now here begin,

In the French Tongue.

* Typis Plantinianis editum Extat Opera Pauli Merula.

Stand up the Friend mine Speedily My Dove my fair and come

Friundinne Saxonice Amica Schone hodie utuntu Verstegan Belga pro pulchro Inde nostrum Sheen

mony

Sect. 4. of the Galls differed not much. But seeing the Language it self is lost, some scattered words onely remaining as the broken Boards of a Shipwreck, by comparing those words with the present Welsh, our Learned Camden evinceth this truth, and that not by any wresting or straining but very easily, and without violence he proves them to agree to our British both in found and sense.

68. To give the Reader a shorter account of what he makes out more at large, that Divona a Fountain at Bourdeaux of which Anfonius Writes, that in the Gallick Divona College, Tongue it fignified God's Fountain, the Britains would have called by the same lingua fine addi-Name, for God to them is Dyw, and a Fountain Vonan, in the Latine Divona, by Analogy and for Verse sake. Jupiter Tonans or the Thunder, by the Galls, as many witness, was worshipped by the Name of Taranis, and Taran with the Britains betokneth Thunder. The Galls had another God called Hefus, Heus or Anubis pain- De tribus ifin ted like a Dog, and Huad with our Welshmen fignifieth a Dog. Certain it is that Lucanus ted like a 1063, and ridad will out very men ignited like a 1063 worthipped Mercury under the Name of Textures, as the Inventor of Arts, Brights in and guide of their Journeys. And Dim Taith in ithe British Tongue, is as much implied as the God of Travelling. The Galls as Polybius informs us in their own Language Toutes, to called their Mercenary Souldiers Gaellate, and at this day the Wellh Britains call infogus in their hired Servants Guellin. As Phalanx was the Macedonian Legion, so was Ca-Britan Indian. terva peculiar to the Galls, as may be seen in Vegetius. Neither is this word Ob- Southice manifolete amongst the Britains, who yet use to call a Troop Caturfa and Warkad, and tier ara Dissa. the strength of War which lieth in a Legion Kaderne. The Galls that marched with Brennus into Greece, named that order of Horse-fight, which consisted of three Horses, as Pausanias tells us Trimarkasia or Trimarsia, for an Horse they called Marca, which in that fignification is mere and pure British. For Tri fignifieth Three, and March an Horse.

69. The Name of Circius given to that Windo, to which Augustus Casar both vowed and built a Temple in Gall , Phavorinus the same Philosopher of that Nation, as we have it from Gellius declared to be Gallick, and he supposed it was so called from the Whirling or Whistling which it makes. This Wind indeed is known to be most Boisterous and Violent; and Cyrch with the Britains betokeneth Violence as may be seen in their Litany. The Pennine Alpes by Cafar called the Highest, had that name imposed as Livy writeth, not from Hannibal the Panus or Carthaginian, but from the Highest Top which the Mountaineers of Gall named Penninus. But Pen with the Britains, even in these days, fignifieth the Tops of Hills, whence the highest Mountains they have, viz. Penmon-maur, Pendle, Pen and Pennigent, got their Names. Neither have the high Mountains Appennini in Italy theirs from any other Original. The Cities and States of Gall fituate upon the Ocean, were as Cafar notes after the custome of the Galls called Aremoricae, and with them the Endem frankstra-Welsh accord in the very fame thing, Ar-more being as much as By the Sea, or Up- bo est ATMENTA on the Sea. The ancient and excellent Scholiast upon Juvenal acquaints us, that vidus was the Allobroges were so called, because Broga in the Gallish Tongue signified a Land or Territory, and Alla another, as one would fay Translated out of another place. But Bro in British is a Region or Countrey , and Allan Without or Eternal , io that the

Etymology in both Tongues holds very well.

70. Pliny tells us that there is an Herb like to Plantane in Gall called Glastum, wherewith the Britains Died or Coloured themselves as several Writers testifie, being that we term Wood, and giving a blew Colour, which the Welsh at this day call Glasse. This was the Greek Isatis and Vitrum by the Authority of Oribasius. The Galatæ who spake the same Language with the ancient Galls as St. Hierome witnesseth, had a little shrub called Coccus, of which that deep red Scarlet Colour was made, and this very Colour the Britains usually name Coch. If Festus Pompeius tell true, Bardus in the Tongue of the Galls fignified a Songlier, and this is a mere British word. And like as Bard is British, so the other part of Bardocucullus which as Mantial and others teach us, was the Cloak that the Gallish Bardi wore, remains intire among the Well, who call such a Cloak by the very name of Cucull. The Herb which of its five Leaves the Greeks called Pentaphyllon, was as Apuleius sheweth by the Galls named Pempedula. Now Pymp in British is five, and Deilen a Leaf. And as the Galls by Pymp meant the Number of five, fo by Petor Four, for as we learn out of Festus Petoritum was a Chariot or Waggon of theirs so called of its four Wheels, and the word Pedwar in the British Tongue signifieth Four. Among woodden Instruments a Leaver was among the Galls as Ifidore writes called Guoia, and the same in our British Language named Gwif. A Birds Bill the Galls as we reade in Suctonius called Becco, and the Britains name it Pic, Galba fignifieth exceeding fat and the British word Galuns betokneth very big. Diodorus Sicu- Sect. 4 lus his Drink called Zithum, might be reduced to their word Sider, and Cervifia unto Keirch or Oates, whereof the Britains in many places make their Drink or rather to Cwrf which we English term Ale.

71. To omit many other words, we shall farther take notice of what he observes concerning the ancient names of Places, which end with both People in the same termination as in Dunum, Briva, Ritum, Duram, Magus and the like. From such he gathers that these were Originally the same Nation, in the same manner as a very good reason may be drawn that English men are descended from the Germans, because the later and more Modern names of our Towns end in Burrow, Berry, Ham, Stead, Ford, Thorp and Wich, which carry a just and equal Correspondence unto the Terminations of the Dutch Towns, Burg, Berg, Heim, Stadt, Furdt, Dorp and Wic. Farther he affirms, that the reason of old Gallish words may be so fitly given out of our British Tongue, the property and nature of the thing agreeing also thereunto, that of necessity we must confess, either they were Names impofed by the Britains; or else that the Britains spake the Gallick Language. Whence the Galls were called Celtæ and Gallathæ, the best learned of the French could ne-.ver as yet tell. He bids them therefore confider whether not from the British word Gualt which even yet among the Britains betokeneth the Hair or Bush of the Head, as also Gualtock that fignifies Comata or with long Hair. That the Celtae were called Comati from the long Hair they studiously nourished all learned men do confess; and as for the letters C and K, Q and G how should one considering their force and Native found put a difference between them? Garonne the River to rapid and violent, that the Poets give it the Epithetes of Validus, Æquoreus and Rapidus, he deriveth from Gaw which in the British Tongue importeth strong, and fwift. The River Arar so gentle that it can scarcely be distinguished which way the stream goes, and by the Poets termed Araris tardior and Lentus Arar, he deduceth from Ara which with the Britains betokeneth still and slow. Rhodanus into which Arar falls on the contrary runs down with a violent Current, in which respect it is styled Incitus, Celer and Praceps, which words do not disagree from the British Rhedeck that signific the speediness in Running.

72. The Hills Gebenne run out into Gall, in the manner of a long continued Ridge. And Keven among our Britains soundeth as much as the Back or Ridge of an Hill, and there is a long Chain of Hills in Torkshire which the Inhabitants call the Kevin. Stones being of old time erected in Gall by the Highways fide, at the distance of every thousand and five hundred Paces, and the Gallish Luca or League containing just so many, he bids them consider whether it took not its name from Leach, which in the British Tongue betokeneth a Stone. That part of Gallia Narbonensis, where as the fabulous story goes Hercules and Albion fought, and where lie so many Stones that one would think it had rained them, the French in these days call Les Craux, knowing not the reason of the name, but Stones in British are termed Craig. The Morivi were so called from Mor the Sea. Arles or Arelarum seated in a moist and watery Soil, from Aripon and Laith, Moysture in the same Language. Oxellodunum, which as Cafar writes was fituate on an high Hill difficult of Access, from Vchell, Steep, or Lofty, and Dunum an high place or hill. The Promontory on which the City Tolon stands was called Citharistes, and if you ask our Welsh Britains what Cithara is in their Language, they will by and by tell you Telen. Such is the opinion, and so pregnant are the reasons of our famous Cambden, wherein most learned Writers conspire with him as Beatus Rhenanus, Gesner, Peter Daniel, Picardus and many others. But some there are albeit in comparison of the other but few, who would have the ancient Gallick much the fame with the

Teutonick or German Language.

The Gallick and speaking the German Tongue, had more cause to know the Roots and Originals forms Line of such words, and to understand the Etymologies than any either Equation 1. lift, or other not fully acquainted with that Language. He denies not, but that Dextro Suevici the Gallick and British were the same, but yet contends the Germans were near akin slivnum Genies to them both, and that for these Reasons. He cites a place of Tacitus, which re-almost representations and that for these Reasons. He cites and Habit, were more Rivest Habits age. lates, how the Æsti a People of Germany in their Rites and Habit, were more Rivest Habits age Sections, lingual Sections, lingual Sections, lingual Sections, lingual Sections, lingual Sections, lingual Sections and the Sections of Sections and Sections a like the Suevi their Neighbours, but their Language was nearer that of the Britains, Britainsepoint. He alledges a faying of *St. Jerome, that the Galatians or Gallogracians, except the Community of the Communi Greek Tongue, which was spoken through all the East had a Language of their tate own, the fame which the Treviri used, which could be no other than the German,

they being of that Original. To this he adds Arguments, taken first from the Habit of Galls and Germans. Secondly, from the Names of men, Places, People, and words common to both; and Thirdly, from a promiscuous use of Words which he tells us, would make up an entire Dictionary. The first he proves from Strabo, Lib. 4. & 7. who more than in one place speaks how like the Germans and Galls were in their Manners, Customes and way of Conversation. For the second he observes, that Cafar being to make Latine the proper Names of fuch Galls that ended in Ch, was fomething put to it, for that the Latine Speech very difficultly admits that final Termination. Such then as ended in Rich, he turned into Rix, as Orgetorix, Dumnorix, Ambiorix and others, for which the Galls themselves it's probable, were wont to pronounce Ereutrich, Dumerich, Einberich, or Heimrich. So in Tacitus we meet with Malorix Prince of the Frisians, but in Ammianus, Malaricus or Malarick a Frank. And Deuderix a Sicamber in Strabo.

74. Livy presents us with a certain Regulus of the Galls in Afra called Lutarius, Livius, lib. 38. which Casar changes into Luterius, and both are plainly Teutonick, not unlike contentions those of Lotharius, Lotarius and Clotharius. Lutanicus also in Casar is the same 47. 68. with Ollonicus, Lodovicus and Chlodovicus. The Germans had many Names ending in Marus, as Othmarus, Wolmarus, and Thietmarus; so amongst the Galls we find Civismarus, Combolomarus, Indutiomarus, Virdumarus and Virdomarus. As for People and Places, many we reade of amongst the Galls, like to which it cannot be denied, but several are found amongst the Germans, for as in Gall we find Santones, Pillones, Turones, Suessones and Lingones; fo Jubones, Semnones, Caviones, Jugenones and the like in Germany. For the Names of Winds he faith, they are still common, both to the Germans of Belgium, to the Britains, and the Galls, whereof he renders this reason, that they alone continued found and safe without any Alteration, because that the Romans making War against the Galls, rather by Land than Sea, this People preserved the Appellations of things belonging to the Sea and Navigation, as out of The Gallick, Ger. the reach of the Invaders. But now as to matter of Fact that they did keep them, Ine Gallucker.

man and British and that the Names of these words still continue the same amongst the Galls, Gerlangues gives mans and Britains, how dosh it appear? He instanceth in that called Occidentalis and are near a large in Latine, which the English naming Wessians (Winde he means) the low Countrey-kin, if nother in Latine, which the English naming Wessians (Winde he means) the low Countrey-kin, if nother in Latine, which the English naming wessians are supported by the countrey-kin, if nother in Latine, which the English naming wessians are supported by the countrey-kin, if nother in Latine, which the English naming wessians are supported by the countrey-kin, if nother in Latine, which the English naming westians are supported by the country of the coun men term it Westen, and the Galls (Galli not Franci) vent de Ovest. In like manner, that which the Romans knew by the Name of Auster, the Germans call Suyden-Windt, the English Soutwindt, and the Galls Sud. Moreover Orientalis as to the Germans is Oosten, so to the English it's East, and Est to the Galls or French, which Dialect mightily agrees with the words of Tacitus lately mentioned, who calls them Æfii, who in Language more resembled the Britains, agreeable also to their Speech, who inhabit nearer to the North-East. In Conclusion, that Wind known in Latine by the Name Septentrionalis, the English and all others, even Charles the Great himself called Noort and Noorden; but the French term it vent de bise. Yet though herein they feem to depart from us, and imitate the word Boreas in use with Romans, yet have they but exchanged one Teutonick word for another. For Biesen and Biisen, to the low Countreymen is the same, as to be tossed up and down, and disturbed. The Scarabeus or Beetle, from the noise it makes with its

> Bifa is used to fignifie Turbo, or a Whirlewind. 75. But the reasoning of Pontanus in this point is very Pleasant, though in other things he must be acknowledged, a very rational and learned Man. The thing to be proved from this Instance in the Winds, is that the Britains, Germans and Galls, still retain the same words they did of old, and therefore it's thence probable, their Languages were the same, not much different or near akin at the least. Now whereas by the Britains must be meant, the true Britains in the time of Cafar and before, the Britains that had the Druides amongst them, the Britains, the Posterity of whom are our Welsh-men, he makes use of the Language not of them, but of the English or English Saxons, who came out of Germany, and brought with them the German Dialect, to prove that the British Language was the same with the German. In like manner the thing to be proved, being that the ancient Gallick or Celtick Tongue was the same, or near akin to the German; he produces not the Celtick Names of Winds, but the French, or those that Charles the Great and the Franks used, who also came out of Germany, and no wonder if they brought a Language with them, which was the same, and as near akin as could be to it, and to that of the English Saxons, though nothing related to the other of the Welsh or British,

Wings, and the violence of its flight they call Biesbout. And in the Translation of

the Latine Pfalter into the German Language, made about the time of Ludovicus Pius,

which is the matter in hand. His Success is better in the dast Branch of his Proof, and that is from the many words, which in Authours appearing to be Gallick or Celtick, in found and Signification came near to the Gorman. For this he refers you to his Glossay of ancient Gallick words, acked to the finesary of Gallia Narbouensis. Without coming to his particulars, which would, be too tections, we can avouch his Testimony to be true in many Instances, and undertake for him to the Reader. Nay amongst those produced by Mr. Camden, we can find several, which without more wreiting or force, thanhe himself professeth to use, we can for Pontanus his sake eafily make speak the Teutonick Dialect; Taranis the Name of Jupiter, or the Thunderer; however, it may agree with the British word Taran Thunder, yet no doubt was the same with that of the German God Thaar, whence the Danes call the fifth day of the Week Thaarsda, or with the Saxon Thor or Thur, whence we call it Thursday. The Germans by some Variation call it Donderdack, Dand Th being promiscuously used in the Teutonick, whence as we say Thunder, they say

Donder, but the Original was the same in both.

76. Whatever affinity there be, betwixt Tentates the Name of Mercury and the British Taith, certainly that from which our Tuesday was derived, may seem to bear as great Proportion to it, being Tuisco the Great Idol of the German Nation, from whom as they call themselves Tuyts or Duyts, so the Italians still name them Tudesci. The word Gellata, by which the Galls meant Mercenary Souldiers, comes as near Teutonick Gaests or Guests, whereby Strangers are signified as it doth to the Welsh-British Guessim; and Gessa the Gallish Weapon may well have hence received its Original, as being first taken notice of to be worn by such. Trimarsia. whereby a fighting with three Horses was meant, may as well Challenge a German. as a British descent, for if Tri be British, so is it also German, signifying Three, in this as well as the other Language; for our Saxon Ancestours called the pleasant Month of May, by the Name of Tri-milki, because in it they began to Milk their Kine three times a day. And though Marca in Wellh fignifieth an Horfe, so Mara or Mara in the Teutonick, being used of old to fignifie the whole Species, as some Learned men have observed, as Horse now doth with us, who also think verily that instead of Trimarfia in Polybius, it ought to be read Trimarafia. As Mor. in Wellb betokeneth the Sea, so in the Teutonick Moeren signifyeth Moorish as we fay, or Waterish places, whence from the Lowness and Flatness of their Habitations, the Morini might be so named. As Glasse in the British Tongue signifieth Woad, which giveth a blew Colour, by the Greeks called Stati, and by the Latines Vitrum; if an English School-boy be asked what the Saxon English of Vitrum is, he will answer Glaffe.

77. We could note fomething more upon Camden's Catalogue, but we have transgreffed already in the length of this point, and it's our Duty to give the Reader but a prospect of the Controversie. As for what Objections are made on both fides from Authority, concerning the main Question, whether the Celtick was the same with the German Tongue, they may be answered with this Allertion, that there may be many words common to several Languages, which we have no reason to believe were ever the same, as also that of those People, the Language of whom is Originally and fubstantially the same, the Dialects through distance of place, and length of time may be so divers, as the difference of Pronunciation added, very difficultly may they understand each other. The truth of the former part of the Affertion hath been fufficiently made out by the almost impertment Labours of feveral late Learned men, who have taken pains to flew how many words there are in our Modern Languages, which are almost the same in sound and Sig-nification, with several of the Greek Tongue, particularly in the ancient English Saxon, the present English, French, and the Dutch. Some find many. Arabics, words others very many Phanician, where yet they must confess the bulk and substance of the several Speeches are far different. It's certain, that Languages most remote in some points agree. And Busbequius, who was Ambassadour from the Emperour to the Great Turk, observes, that many Dutch and English words were in his time in use, in the very Taurica Chersonesus. On the contrary, a Language may be for root and substance the same, and yet the Dialects so different, and the Pronunciation to divers, as with difficulty can the People that speak them understand each other living at diffance, and obnoxious to Impressions, made, by Strangers with other Accidents. This appears sufficiently in those that make use of the Teutonick, of whom the English understand not the Dutch, nor the Dutch the English, when they speak words merely of that Original, little more do the Dutch understand the Swedish or Danes, nay the Low Countreymen, those that inhabit the

upper parts of Germany. 78. To conclude the Controversie so far as concerns us, it appears evident that, the Celtick and British were the same, both from the Testimony of unquestionable Authours, and the remains of that Language, which Antiquity like broken Boards of a Shipwreck hath cast upon us. The Consideration of the little distance betwixt the Island and Gall, brings no small Addition of weight to the Argument; for that Britain was planted from that part of the Continent, is rather more than probable, as also that as the Island received its Inhabitants first from Gall, so also its Dialect from the Celtick Language. That the Galls and Germans should have many things common, both Words, Names and Customes, seeing they were so near Neighbours, it's no wonder, supposing there was Commerce betwixt the Nations. The Galls were an active stirring People, made many Inrodes into several Countries, and no wonder at their return they should be something changed in their Manners, and their Tongues tip'd with fome Words, Accents or Terminations witneffes of their restlefs, light, and mutable Humours, to which the Inhabitants of that Air and Soil are subject whencesoever they come. But to examine whether the Celtick and German Tongues were the same, or near akin we take in the British, which we can be throughly Confident was the same with the Celtick in substance, and compare it with the Modern German, we shall hardly be induced to incline to the Affirmative, considering what a vast difference there is betwixt our Welfb and the present Dutch Language, and yet that for a thousand Years and more, neither is the Welsh nor German so changed in themselves, but that at the first sight one may easily perceive the Names and Words to be substantially the same, however the Teutonick be some-

thing altered by Communication with other Speeches. 79. As for the Opinion of those few, who thought that the ancient Galls spake Greek, it carries so manifest absurdity with it at the first look, of any one that's but meanly skilled in Antiquity, that it deserves not a serious Resutation, especially The Gallick and Confidering what Varro hath written concerning the Citizens of Marfeilles, that Hebrew compa- they spake three Languages , viz. the Gallick, the Greek, and the Latine; the Gallick, because that was the Language of the Countrey where they inhabited, the Greek, because they were a Colony of the Phocenses planted here, and Latine as they were Subjects of the Roman Empire, and had constant Entercourse with that People. That most Learned man Bochartus, tracing the Footsteps of the old Phasnicians finds them in Gall, and many Names of Places, Rivers, and things he deduceth from their Dialect, remainders whereof he finds also in our British Islands. being the true Cassiterides, to which that industrious Nation traded for Tinn in very remote times. But though he maketh it appear, that many things were common to both Languages, yet would not he have it thought, that the Phanicians and Galls had one and the same Tongue, or onely differed in Dialect. For from Polybius it appears, in the Case of Autaritus, and otherwise that the Galls learnt the Language of the Carthaginians, by long use and Custome, otherwise they had no Entercourse with them, but by an Interpreter, as is evident from a passage in the same Authour, that in the Army of Hannibal, Magilits a certain Regulus of the Galls, declared what his Courreymen had resolved by the means and affishence of a French-man. Although by reason of Commerce, of common Wars, or which he rather suspects of some ancient Colony of the Phænicians planted in Gall, they borrowed words one Nation from the other, yet that they had feveral Languages, and peculiar abundantly appears in the Names of Men in use amongst the Galls, * Nibil ope of most of which are quite different from the Genius of the Sacred Language, though at exemple well nigh all the Punick Names be merely Hebrew. *He concludes with this Afferman and the state of the Sacred Language, though at the sacred Language, the sacred Language at the sacred Language, though at the sacred Language, though at the sacred Language, the sacred Language at the sacred Language, the sacred Language at the sacred Language, the sacred Language at the sacred Langua

in it felf. But enough (if not too much) of the ancient Gallick or Celtick [th. 1. 645-

80. The Gallick Tongue being such before the coming of the Romans was forced to truckle to their Latine, as well as the Countrey to their Victorious Arms, but this not on a fudden, but by long usage and Continuance of time. The Romans wherever they subdued a Countrey esteemed it a Maxime of State never to be left unpractifed, to procure the Natives their new Subjects, to learn their Language, to bring them to a nearer Familiarity and acquaintance with them, and their Government, without which more Difficulty could they be kept in Obedience and Appellation. Civil order. For this purpose they set up several Schools to instruct the Youth, as repaired by for substance in Gall, at Autun, Befancon and Lyons, of which we are informed, both dante

by Tacitus and Ausonius. The Natives perceiving there was no strugling, and that Sect. 4 they must needs submit unto the Yoke, to make the burthen as light as might be, accommodated themselves to the desires of the Conquerours, and learnt their Language, especially knowing that no preferment could be got without it. Latine then began to be the Gentile fort of Speech, and the Celrick to be accounted Clownish, and by degrees to grow out of Fashion: But as it decayed in Reputation and Practice, it made great Alteration also in the Latine, it being impossible, but that amongst such multitudes of Speakers, there should be diversity of Words and Phrases, and a great mixture and medley be produced, for it was hard to obliterate those Impressions, which long Custome and daily Practice have acquired. Therefore though great violence was offered to the ancient Gallick Tongue, the words of which were discarded, and Latine intruded into their places, yet by a certain fort of Reaction, the Gallick forced also some of it's own upon the Latine, and

CHAP. I. Contemporary with the Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

that very early, when the Contest betwixt them was but newly begun. 81. For Cicero in his time complains that a strangeness of Speech was infused into Esist. ad Samil. the City, so that no remainders of the ancient quaintness of Language was to lib. 7. ep. 15. be found. The Roman Oratours and Poets began to affect Celtick words, and by vide Quintilian. degrees made them free of the Commonwealth, as Rheda and Petoritum, whereof this Covariant Cicero himself for all his complaints uses the former, and Horace thinks fit to manifestary ferve himself of the latter. If then such Alteration was made at Rome it self, how Gasta saltum of the latter. must that Latine be handled, what mixtures must that receive, which was spoken Gallica valuein the Provinces? The Celtick Language went to wreck, but the Roman by its runt, in Rheda nu the Friorintest. The CERTAL Language with to the heart, but the common by its min, of the Conquest, was also weakened and reduced to such a Constitution and Temper as a Familiar easily, to be obnoxious to the Impressions that were made upon it by other strange Circum tumor. and Barbarous Speeches. For the Roman power as well as the Purity of the Lander Haring guage, decaying in Gall, the Goths, the Vandals, Burgundians, Allemans, and last currous of in of all the Franks, made their feveral Invasions, and brought almost as great an Al- one, be far teration into the Language, as they did a change into the Power and Government certs, obviant of the Countrey, fo that the true Genius of it was destroyed, and the ancient section re-frace and shew of it quite obliterated, a Foreign and strange fort of Declension sense Redarms. and Phrase, as well as multitudes of words being brought in. And the same sate lis impediments, and Phraie, as well as mutuades of words in Spain and Italy, where by its Con milibus at falehad the Latine Longue at the land the Gothick and other Teutonick Dialects, bat. Horatii iunction with the Moorish Language, the Gothick and other Teutonick Dialects, bat. Horatii loum with the Moorish Language, the Gothick and other Teutonick Dialects, bat. Horatii those Bastard Speeches we now call Spanish and Italian were begot.

atque Caballi, Pascendi, ducenda petorrita; & Rheda & Petoritum genus vehiculi Gallici significat. Petoritum è quatuor rotis Constabat;

82. This Hodgpodge or Medley, was at fuch time as the Franks were well fet-

led in Gall, called the Rustick in opposition to the pure Latine, which was preferved in Books and understood, and written by Learned men, onely as it is at this Which Hodg- very day. And yet so great were the Impressions made, by these many Foreign podge is termed to Dialects, that even the Latine writings of the most Learned men of these times, position to compared with the best Authours, appear little better than Barbarous. What a strange style, and what odd Words do we find in Cassiodorus, one of the best Scholars of his Age. By him we may perceive how the Roman Tongue was then

decaied in Italy: And for Gall what slender Latine was written by the most Learned amongst them, is sufficiently evident from Gregory Turonensis, and what a number of Gallicismes and Francismes were broken in upon them in his time. To give the Reader a Taste, the word Parens and Parentes in the plural throughout his Book, he useth not in that Sense, that good Latine Authours do, but as the Modern French, to fignifie kindred in general, wherein he is imitated by Aiminius; Repetate, he ufeth for to retreat or go back. The word Reclaufus, as now they do Lib. 5. c. 17. for one retired or flut up close, which they (and therefore we must) call a Republic c. 27. for one retired or flut up close, which they (and therefore we must) call a Republic c. 27. for one retired or flut up close, which they (and therefore we must) call a Republic c. 27. for one retired or flut up close, which they (and therefore we must) call a Republic c. 27. for one retired or flut up close as Calumella, informer we was held a day to the contribution of the a certain quantity of Land, which as Columella informs us, was half an Acre, Ma-Lib. 6. c. 45. a certain quantity of Land, which as commenta informs us, was only an Activ, that Lib. q. c. 4. Miserable, unfortunate or unlucky: Levare in that Signification they now use Leur to zi, Latine diraife, lift up or carry away, as an eminent Translatour of our own most strangely min and that state states the Ralecth it. Placitum for Pleas or Pleading often and Placitare to Implead as our English be execute on-Norman Lawyers now do phrase it. Leudes and Leades are with him the same as Ream is with the for whom the same as Ream is with the contraction. with those whom the Dutch now call Lieden, Vassals or such as are obnoxious to Lib. 7. c.c. 13. with those whom the Dutch now can leave, Vajus of North With Sense with the 14.7, their Prince. Cupæ are Wooden Barrels or larger Vessels, in which Sense with the 14.33, 1.8.

Dutch the word still remains, and thence call they the Workman that Libbs 10.34, 1.8.

Lil makes Lib 7, 2.37.

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The Latine

Scct. 4. makes such Vessels Cuper, and we English a Cooper, though Cup with us fignifies a a lesser fort of Vessel to drink in, the same which in another place he calleth Bacchinon, whence the Dutch Back, and our and their Beker is derived. In his Writings we find Morganegoba fignifying a Mornings Gift, as Morgengaue and Morgangabe Lib. 9. 6.38. now do in the German Tongue, a Gift given to the Bride by the Bridegroom the Morning after their Marriage.

83. The Rustick Roman or Romance (as they called it in Spain) being the Med-*Vide Nithouth ley Language generally fpoken when the Franks had seated themselves in Gall, could Hill to Be not for a long time expell or swallow up theirs, but by degrees, as it had dispatched ministry significantly the state of the state the ancient Celtick. For as we formerly faid in the days of Charles the Great, the Filips, physical old French was the Language of the Court, and after him (there at least) it continued these the court of the cour reasonably pure, and unaltered during the Reigns of his Grandchildren, a Specimen Tam. 2. whereof we shall present the Reader, to give him full Satisfaction, and a more diffine so apprehension of this matter in hand. * The Sons of Ludovicus Pius, had great Dif. mr. shall apprehension of this matter in maint. In cours of the perfect Union be mineral fentions betwirt themselves, but at length a Reconciliation and perfect Union be mineral fentions between the confirmation thereof. and Charles Confirmation thereof. ing made, each of them took a folemn Oath for Confirmation thereof, and Charles volve makes. ing made, each of them took a tolente out to Commission theory, and comites way also particularly in the Theorifeb Language (for so was it called) in these very words. In some of the Godes minus induithes Christianes folches ind unser bid here Gealtenist so these days desired framinardes for am so mic Gat genuis ci indi madh surgibit se hald jihtis an minam bru a wonting so me feat inthis uthat Zormigso madoo indimit lukerem in nothe is mit hing nege gango out thought the Carlo with Carlo with the continuation. theminam uvillon imo ce scadhen merhen. The Orthography of this Oath is very lene se Halli to odd, and many Words by often Writing and Printing of Nithardus the Hiftorian of Administration of the Hiftorian of Administration of the Copy are corrupted, but to any one that understands the German Language or min for the Copy of th the Teutonick Dialects perfectly, it cannot but appear of that Original. The Im- of France precation is contained in the Confession of the ancient German Church with very little verni Early difference, and the Danes have at this day a Phrafe, and Words not much differing from Memanara, if. But the whole is to be explained, but out of feveral Speeches or Dialects of this date ancient Language, for as Rodericus Toletanus near five hundred Years agoe observed, Guldasto. the Testinic (properly so called, or German,) the Danish, Norwegian, Suedish, Flem, Pransidish, mish, and English Tongues were the same, distinct onely in Idioms. To this Oath of tale, mile, and Engage Longues and Mr. which their People took, and Nr. with thom, to Allegiance, which their People took, and Nr. with the Majine from the thardus hath also related in these very Words, as we have them from the Edition incept li of Pitheus. Oba Karl theu eid theu er sineno bruedher Ludhuwige gesuor geleistit, P. 354. inde Ludhuwig min herro theu er imo gefuor forbrichit, ob ih ina nes aruvendenne mag, no ih, noh thero, no hein themihes incuenden mag nuidhar karle imose follus tine mag, no th, not there, no nem themines muchaen mag muchaen auto energy journs, line one Fine.

nuirdhit. Pontanus has turned both this and the other into the Belgick Dialect, this is, as whereby the Reader if he please may see that near Affinity and Proportion, which

84. The fame Nithardus, who himself lived in these days, and was the Nephew of Charles the Great by his Daughter Bertha, hath also left us upon Record the Oath which Lodowick the other Brother took in the Rustick Roman Speech, a very choice Monument, whereby the Reader may fee the two quite different Languages fpoken at the same time upon the same place, by two several sorts of People, the Franks, and the Romanized Galls, though by the better fort, both of them were understood and spoken. This is the same Oath in the Romance, mutatis mutandis, which we formerly presented in the Theotisch or French Tongue. Pro do, amer & Pea Panarte pro Xpian poblo & nostro Commun salvament dist di en avant in quant dis savir & Pease to pro Xpian poblo & nostro Commun salvament dist di en avant in quant dis savir & Pease to propose podir me dunat si Saluarui eo cist me on sradre Karlo, & in adiudha & in cadhuna to min communication. cosa, si cum om per dreit son frada salvar dist ino, quid il mi altro si fazet & abludher de ceste junie nul plaid nunquam prindrai qui me on vol eist me on fradre Karle in damnasil. The en avant en People moreover which understood and spake this same Language, made in it the favoir or person fame Oath with the former, which because it is not long we shall also here me domera and present to the Readers Eye. † Si Lodbauig Sagramment que son fradre Karlo jurate je k shangan Conservat, & Karlus meros serodra in suo part rales tanit, si jo returnar non lint pois alee quelle ne jo neulslui eo, returnar jut pois in nulla ajudha contra Lodhuvig nun li iner. cune chose ainst

one of the Speeches beareth unto the other.

per Drail, Gr. † Si Lauis le ferment q'ail á fan frere Charel juré Conferve, dy Charle mon Seigneur de fa part ne le tient, fi je detounner ly ne pais ni is, ni nullui detourner luy ne pais, en nulle aide contre Louis avec luy iray.

lies to be translated, that they might be understood by all. And hereby may the Sect. 4.

Reader perceive how great a change in all Sublunary things time produceth. That Language which is newest is always counted the best and most Gentile. The Cel-Three forts of tick was first essential nework is a ways countred in other and note countrie. The correction of tick was first essential new and laid assist in the Roman being most in request, and happy he that could speak it. Then when the Franks came in, their Landon of the Roman being most in request, and the speak is the same of the results of the same of the results of the guage called the Theotisch being that of the Court, became the Gentilest for a while, and the ordinary Roman, as well in respect to it, as to the pure Latine onely preserved amongst the Learned, was termed Rustick: Yet as we formerly noted, the Language of the multitude prevailed at length, over that of a few Invaders, and what was once counted Gentile and Courtly, became neglected and out of Practice, Custome, as Pindar the Poet faith, being King of all things. But behold still more to admire. The Theotisch, that is the Tuitsch or Duitsch, or Teutonick Dialect was at this time, whereof we write, called the Frankisga, Taugen or French Tongue; but afterward the Case was quite altered, the Franks by degrees forgot this their Language, accustomed themselves to that of the Provincials, or Native Galls mixed with Romans, which had the same Success over it, as it had formerly over the Celtick. This they own, this they hugg and embrace, this they admire, esteeming all others Barbarous, and forgetting their own Original. This still corrupted Latine, though it be, to use their own sine Words, a Jargon and Meslange, or Hodgpodge of Celtick, Roman, Gothick, true French (or Theotifch) and other Speeches, they think they can never trim, adorn and polish enough. But thou seest, Reader, what the true and first French was. How now by degrees this being forsaken, the Bastard Roman was espoused, and having got the Name of French, how it altered to what it is at prefent, and what its Constitution was and is, I think it not altogether impertinent to tell thee, to make our Discourse more complete in Sum, to present thee with the Memoirs of the French Tongue, a Tongue most dear unto thee if thou beest not a Pedant, a mere English-man, art a Traveller, or hast any thing in thee of good breeding.

86. Know then, that being adopted as it were into the Name of French by the dying Language of the Franks, it confifted as we formerly hinted, and now again are forced to repeat, most of Latine, but yet had many words out of several other Speeches imposed on it, however against its Genius. The ancient Celtick though fo long agoe driven out of Gall, yet left fome remainders of Words behind it, which by their near Affinity to the British sufficiently shew what was their Original. To instance in a few : Guerir to Heal, which Guerif signisieth amongst our Welsh-men. Guaine with the French is a Sheath, and so is Gwain with the Britains. They say Derechef for Again, and the Welsh Derchefu: The French have Camur for Crooked, and the Britains Cam, the one Nation useth Bateau, and the other Bad for a Boat, the one Gourmand, for an over great Eater, and the other Gormod for over much; the French Baston, the Britains Pastcon for a Staff, the French Accabler, the Welsh Cablu to Oppress, the French call an Haven by the Name of Haure, and the Britains by that of Aber; and the word Comb is used by both Nations for a Valley. And as this Language retained many of the old Celtick words, so many more of the Teutonick. The Names of Rivers, Towns, and Places, are most of them Gallick, but the Christian Names of men, when not out of Scripture, particularly of their Kings, are generally of the German Original, as are a great quantity of common and ordinary words, of which it would be too tedious here to make a recital. The General and most probable Estimate is this. The present French Tongue-may be divided into four parts, whereof one half is to be ascribed to the Latine, as to any one that is meanly skilled in both, it cannot but evidently appear. The other half is so to Hotomani Francebe distributed, as that one part may be allotted to the ancient Gallick, another to gallia, c. 2.

by reason of the Commerce with the Masslienses or old Inhabitants of Marseilles. So weak is the faying of Matharell, who resolves to oppose Hotoman whether In respons. ad right or wrong, that the present French is night he same Speech with the old Gal- Hotom. Francolick, because for sooth he finds some words the same with those Gallick that are gall. mentioned in ancient Authours, and because the Names of Rivers and Places are very much the fame. 87. To come then to the Latine, it had much more Conformity to it, in the

time of Charles the Great, and thereabout than it hath at prefent, the Teutonick, or that of the Franks, e'er it self became extinct giving very much Alteration to it. And indeed from the Teutonick hath it received its Phrase, Form and Declension,

that of the Franks, and the last and least to the Greek, betwixt which as Henry

Stephen has abundantly shewed, and the Modern French there is great Conformity,

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^{85.} Thus we see what both the Ruflick Romance, and the Theorisch were, into which Engent weight a Canon of the Council of Tours orders that the Bishops should cause the Homitism Four Publisher Roman Ruflican Research manam Linguam, aut Theotiscam, quo facilius possent cuncii Intelligere

Sect. 4. though most of its words from the Latine. For no otherwise do the French at this day express their minds, than the Germans, Low Countreymen, and English by the adjutant Verbs, Am and Have. For Example, a Roman would have faid Tu fecisiti, which it a French-man imitate or translate, he must say, Vous avez fait, nor otherwise then the German would say, Du habstes gedaen, and an English-man, Tou have done; which way of Speech in Latine would be Intolerable, for who would fay in that Tongue, In habes illud factum? The Reader by comparing the Oaths lately mentioned with the Modern French may be farther fatisfied in this particular. We come to the Latine words, to fee how they came into that form and thape we now behold them. This was by changing A fometimes into E, as writing for Æstas Estè, Bonitas Bontè; sometimes into I, as Cerasum into Cerife, Vacuus Vvide; sometimes into Ou, as for Tangere, Toucher; otherwhile into Ea as Aqua into Eaue, and into several other Diphthongs, as vice verso Ea into A, as in many Inflances we could flew; as also their change both of the Vowels, I and O into A. and indeed mutably the fame Alteration in them all. For Confonants the fame thing may be observed, as for a taste, B into C, as Cubare into Coucher, Cubile into Couche. So also into F, as Babalus into Boufle, Trabs into Treffs; into G, as Ruber into Rouge; into P, as Turba into Troupe; and into V, as Caballus into Cheval, Debitus into Deuë, and Ebrius into yure. The like might be faid of all the rest of the Contonants well nigh, and an whole Dictionary made, but that's not our work, and the Reader if he defire full Information may confult the French Grammar of that Learned French-man Robert Stevens.

88. But herein the ancient Speakers of this Language imitated the Romans as in other respects, that they joyned not Articles with Words, as the Modern French doe in Conformity to the Teutonick, and ended divers Genitive Cases in S, as for Liber Cæsaris in Latine, they would say and write Lieure Cæsars, whereas now they write Le liure de Cesar. From this Correspondence with the Latine comes it to pass, that there are many proper Names ending in I, because they were called by the Name of their Family, more especially in Italy; but in France also some, they being so named in their Contracts made in Latine. But to note farther the Inconflancy and Alteration of this Tongue, those, who anciently spake it, ended many words in Erre and Esse, which now-a-days are terminated in Eur and Euse. For example they faid Semerre, Gaignierre, Trichierre, Sannerre, Vainquierre, Luitierre Vergierre, Pechierre, Conoissierre, Decomerre, for what is now written, Semeur, Gagneur, Trompeur, Sauneur, Vainqueur, Luiteur, Vengeur, Pecheur, Conoisseur and Deconeur. They said Tauceresse, Trouneresse, Lecheresse, Mangeresse, Repenteresse, Demonstreresse, for what now they say, Tauceuse, Trouneuse, Friande, Mangeuse, Repentante, and Demonstreuse. Sometimes they ended their words in Oisse, as Aideroisse, Conforteroisse, and the like. To such words as end now in Eau they added Aux, though they spake in the singular Number, as in Biaux, Oisiaux, Touiaux, Aniaux, sometimes they left out the u, terming them Biax, Oifax. On the contrary Voyet les Ruber. from plurals they took the Letter S, as faying li autre, which is now changed into les ches des dailysi autres, li enchantement, now les enchantements. Such as now end in jeu, they termi- tes de la Lagre nated in ex, writing Diex and Liex, for Dieu and Lieu. More anciently they wrote #tinatic Gastin and faid, Soye and Moye, which now is altered into Sienne and Mienne, Sor for Sur, Ot par Liene Bad Medicin de Pair for Eut, Pot for Peut, Seaut for Seut, Veaut for Veut, Fui and Bui for Je fus, and imprime, 1667. Je beus. In some words they placed Hafter C, where the Modern French now leave it out, and on the contrary had no H there, where it is at this day placed;

for Example they faid Cha, Embracher, Merchy, Conchut, Puche, Cheler, Piecha, for which now you have ça, Embrasser, Mercy, Conceut, Puce, Celer, Piega; on the contrary they called that Reproce, Ducesse, France, Blance, which now is Reproche, Duchesse Franche and Blanche. They faid Sentu for Sentir, Creez and Veez, for Croyez and Voyez, S'ame, T'ame, M'ame, S'image, T'image, S'angoisse, T'aucelle, M'aucelle, S'ostesse M'esped, whereas now they write and speak Son ame, Ton ame, Mon ame, Son Image, and the like for those that follow.

89. As more conformable to the Latine, they ended fuch words in Ous, which their Posterity now have changed into Eux, saying Pious and Religious, for Pieux and Religieux. On the contrary they changed the V into 0 in feveral words, to which those that came after again added the V, and so retained both O and V, saying Poue and Pooir, instead of the Pource and Pouvoir, and Molt and Cort, for Moult and Court. Many words they terminated in El, which fince have been ended by Eau, as Cremel, Mantel, Corbel, Chamel, Veel, Cheurel, Morcel, Pel, Moncel, Vaisel, Fournel, Bel, Fourrel, Chapel and Tumbel more agreeable to the Latine, instead

of which now if you will speak proper French, you must say Cerneau, Manteau, Sect. 4. Corbeau, Chameau, Veau, Chevereau, and the like. Many they ended in On, as Mefprison, Achoison, Delivereson, for which Mespris, Occasion, and Deliverance are now in request. For Dirent, Mirent and Occirent they faid Distrent, Mistrent and Occistrent, Ensoigne for Enseigne, Pointure for Peinture, Teche for Tache, and Plaigne for Plain. The Latine O now and then they changed into &, faying Cuel which now is Col, Cuer now Coeur, and to O added V, as Repous and Propous, now written Repos and Propos. Most of the words ending now in Eur, they terminated in Or, as Trouveor and Chanteer they wrote not Trouveur and Chanteur, and Jougleor not Jougleur. The Particle de they often omitted, or understood as Les fils Tuain for Dynain, which yet is continued as they fay still at Paris, l' Hostel Dieu, not l' Hostel de Dieu; and lately Le Palais Cardinal, as in the Northern parts of England, they feldom put the Letter S, as the fign of the Genitive Cafe, but instead of my Father's Horse, Stable, House or the like, say my Father Horse, my Father Stable, and my Father House; and here in London, not Somerfer's House, Tork's House, Kirk's House, but Somerset House, Tork House and Kirk House. Their Dux was afterward changed into Duc, their Salus into Salut, and their Capel into Capet, their Nuis into Nuit, and their Pous into Pout.

90. The Observations of this Nature might be infinite, but this may be faid in General, that the remoter times in the use of Words, went still farther from the Latine, although in some Cases this Rule must admit of an exception. One thing by no means is to be omitted, and that is the strange Affectation of brevity in words, in writing by Contraction of Syllables, and in Pronunciation by leaving out the Confonants. Quadragesima must be Quaresme, and then Caresme, Perdere Their Contra-ction, or Abre. contracted into Perdre, and Pudicelle into Pucelle, Scribere into Escrire, Christianus into Chrestien, and Thousands of others so abreviated. But neither would these French-men content themselves with such a Contraction of words, but these words thus contracted, they must again in their Pronunciation contract, leaving out many Consonants; as for Example the S in all these we have now mentioned. The Humour and Custome of the most ancient French was to omit in their short writing the Vowels, whence afterward proceeded new words, as Quaresme they were wont to write Quresme, Quarrel, Qrel, for Moult Mlt, and for Chevalier Chr. But late days their Posterity thinks fit in their Writings, to omit the quiescent Conso-

nants, especially the S before the T, as for Estant they wrote Etant, for Este Ete; or qu'il ne sin fo S before C, as for Escrire now you find Ecrire, and the like in other Words. If any que I En-malgre service we compare not onely some of their present words with the Latine, from which part assets they are derived, but with those in use about Charles the Great his time, we can Orthographe, connot but a little wonder at this Assectation. We find in the Oath taken by the dait in mm. People in this Romance Tongue, and lately mentioned, that one of the Brothers first par will was called Ludbuvig, as Ludovicus in Latine, and Lodovick or Hlodvick in the pulpit wer Ef-French or German. Now is it so Metamorphozd, that one living in that time around this could not know it, for they write it Louis, and pronounce it Louis. He that was called living the min de Saripura, Colonaus in like manner they write Clouis and pronounce Cloui. And what is more, plunt que Enti-Theodorick they write Thierry, Landerick Landry, and the latter part of the Name trace: Sant technology. of Brunichild, they have quite mangled and changed, calling her Brunehault in flift que Saut, or aftif d'une tipicate de la changed and changed are sur constituted as a sur constitute and the sur constitute and the surface
sous silence. Ils voudvient cacher l'origine de leur Langage qui n'est que le Latin corrumpu ou on jargon de messange, comme nous avons dit, fait par l'irruption des Barbares dans les Provinces Romaines.

91. They are so possessed with an humour of refining this Bastard Latine, that Pource qu'on conthere is no end of their fancies and attempts this way. The word Mademoifelle cir quilque the great Courting word of this elegant and neat Courting Language as they would met, on war have it esteemed, they have as is congruous made so essemitate, that whereas not supplies where long since they pronounced it out in length, of late to soften it in the Ears of their fair on langue Mistresses they pronounced Madmoselle, but this being too long, now Mamoselle, and a la mode, conit's to be expected that in a little time it will come to be Melle, and afterwards me on fair des

mande qui ne fant qu' appauvrit le Royaume, se faire passer passer par tidicules parmi les messeres. Els clases que nous parlens mierz que nas perci ser avons seus de Jugernes se la baste desqualles ils se parent en leurs Fareres. Els ce dans que nous parlens mierz que nas terci ser avons seus de Jugernes se Rois mois, Mais csel que mus semus semus seus paramentes. Rica moist, Mais cel que mus semus semus semus semus semus en la langage antien mous chappe incontinent. Si encore on en democratit da ou lin en est, on parrait spendre partence. Mais les charges destruct natural que le mande, se seux qui par leur elequence persone corport avoir nequis une reputation eternalle, passer ridicules dans moins d'un siece. Hec vers se ingrade factore Borelos Parsipessis Medicas.

CHAP. I.

Sect. 4. Me-uire, wholly Spiritual or Angelical; fo airy is their fancy, and light is their temper, that to avoid harshness, they run upon the other extreme of Effeminacy. Certainly a due mixture of Vowels with Consonants, and an open pronunciation of both, provided there be no rude harshness such as is that of the Italian Tongue, is more majestick and manly, and more suitable to the Organs of Man's Voice, asthat Musick is not always the best, which departs the most from the Base in sound and proportion. But so great a desire have they to polish this Speech with Eloquence, because to them there seems nothing to want to the felicity of their Kingdom, but to separate from the Number of Barbarous Languages, that Tongue which they + See Fellipure speak, and which all their Neighbours too will speak e'er long, (they are their + Hillory of the own words) if their Conquests continue as they have begun. For so brave a Design, my founded by one of the greatest Ministers of State they ever had, founded a Society called the Cardinal Rich- French Academy, confifting of the choicest and most refined Wits of France, the Conferences of whom he looked upon as the most affured means to bring it about. Forasmuch as their Tongue which was then more perfect than any other which was spoken at that time, might as well at length succeed the Latine, as the Latine did the Greek, if there were more care taken than had been thitherto of Elocution, which is not indeed the whole of Eloquence, but makes a very confiderable part

92. Such are their hopes and expectations that their Conquests shall increase, and their Neighbours be forced to submit both to their Language and Empire, which they think is in a fair way to fucceed that of the Romans, as the Romans did the other of the Greeks. Now both Greeks and Romans found it a very great expedient for the Continuation of their Empire, to propagate their Language, and suppress by degrees the Original Speeches of the several Conquered Countries. They like great and perfect Statesmen consider this, and are so prudent as to conclude that it's in vain to expect and attend an after Game, where there is hope they may be beforehand. If the Speech of the Conquerours propagated amongst their Subjects be a great means to keep them in Obedience, by rendring their Perfons and their Government familiar to them, then it must also be a means to facilitate their Conquests, and draw in a People not yet subdued, their Language making way for their Arms by communication of Councils, and a convenience of infinuating those things there, where want of understanding what each other says, increases a strangeneis, and strangeness ever procures a diffidence and an Aversion. Therefore did they not onely fet about the polishing of their Language as they imagined, to make it more charming and effectual; but having begot a good opinion of it in those who, ignorant of better, travell into their Countrey for gallant Breeding, translate all the most considerable Authours which speak either the Greek or Latine into it, to render those Languages useless, and to advance their own into the place of both. What their fuccess in this kind of Conquest of their Tongue hath been, and is daily we have largely feen; the French being now the Courtly gentile Language, and in as great Reputation in some other parts of Europe, as it's parent was once in Gall, it obtruding its words, and phrases still upon those of the Countries, and giving good hope to its Masters to obliterate them wholly at the length, it is already become the Gentile, and as to the Commerce of Strangers has already in a manner displaced the Latine, which by imprudent People, who never think nor consider whither things drive, now begins to be drolled at as the Language of Pedants. Could it once attain to be the learned Language, the work would be accomplished, and this it would quickly be were it once imposed upon the Univerfities, and had the Keys of the Arts and Sciences delivered into its Custody, a fair way to which they have already made by their Translations, and as they hope by the dints of their Swords. But what progress they have made in that other fort of Conquest, viz. by Arms, it's more proper for others to consider than my felf, as alto how far this may farther confer to it, that the Latine Tongue begins to be despised, and Europe is generally Frenchified, being one would think bewitched and running a madding, both after the Speech and the Fashions of that Na-

93. Whatever the iffue may be, the danger is not very much apprehended, as we may judge by the universal demeanour of the Christian World; and however the case may stand upon a formal Examination and scrutiny by the principles of ancient, and therefore now-a-days dull and despised prudence, it may be hoped their whole design will no more succeed than hath the project of their Academy, for refining of the Language, in order to which by all means a Dictionary must be

made of true and Authentick words and phrases. But their Founder before his Sect. 4. Death often complained that he was frustrated in his Expectations, and that they did little or nothing of moment. The People in despight of their Rules, and Obfervations ever was and will be Masters of Speech, which is framed by custome and generality of Expressions, any one word in it self signifying no more one thing than it doth another. Therefore though a Dictionary hath been promifed and expected above thirty years, yet cannot we yet have the happiness to see it, and to fpeak truly it's Silyphus his Work, for as they add still new words to it, the first and oldest will become out of use and fashion. But there is no great need of their Si Homando aliand oldert will pecoline out of the anatomic but the state of the stat every day, and by our People are bought up because French, as the greatest trea-terities arrigue. fures of Wifedom and Ingenuity, though not one word of truth or fenfe in them. ares, shade This, Reader, is the caufe of our fo great prolixnefs upon this Subject, for I thought of definement. I could not doe thee a more eminent Service, than in drawing the Pedigree though at length, of that whereof thou art fo exceedingly inamoured. Take with thee at parting, and dispose of it next thy Heart, or where else thou pleasest, the true and lively portraicture of it drawn in little, by no worse Pencil than that of him who understood it well, the most skilfull and dextrous Joseph Scaliger.

94. Art thou ignorant faith he, that the Tongue thou now useff like as the Ita-94. Art thou ignorant mun me, that the Latine? The Materials of it came from gam editan, and Spanish, is an Abortive Brat of the Latine? The Materials of it came from gam editan, Latinm, which have now acquired a deprayed form, are fluft with adfipirations, the quarket line in the fluid and the Latium, which have now additioned to the forming of deformed Diphthongs, in burningle approfounds of the vowes being another than the state of the s speak who use no Diphthong at all? Farther, the Accents and Quantities are adul- Pref. ad Toojauterated, the Confonants devoured in pronunciation, in which if there be any fense, rum de lingua why should not the Orthography be the same, and omit them as well as doth the Vide Postanum, fpeech: Of the Declenions I fay nothing, for they are nearer akin to the Germania Origin. France found, whence the Franks are descended. But go to, if you will ask any thing requifite for Eating and Drinking, or for War, of which necessary things you are very studious, you must (though barbarously) ask for them in Latine, as Pifcis, Caro, Panis, Vinum, Spatha, Scutum, Lanced, Caballus & Coriacea, for this must come from Corium, as with them Lorica from Lora. As for these Madmen, who would derive you from the Greeks because of the Druides, their inconsiderateness often makes those laugh, who are furnished with more acute Judgments. Thus much, and too much indeed of this Language, but Reader as I faid thou must thank thy felf.

95. We shall spend the remainders of what we have to say, upon the Customes and Polity of the ancient Franks, and herein as it is fitting give their Kings the Honour of precedency. That they had Kings from that very time that we have the first knowledge of them in Antiquity is very evident, their being is certain, ment Monarchi the onely question is concerning the manner, and first how they came to that Dignity; the opinion of some Learned men is that the Kingdom was not hereditary, but in conformity to that Nation from which they had their Original, was conferred by the choice and fuffrages of the People. That the Kings of the Germans were created after this manner, * Tacitua affirms, where he tells us that * In the like they choice their Kings for their Nobility, and the Captains for their Valour. This mention Germans Research they choice their rangs for their robbitty, and the captains for their valour. This name Regist Custome is yet retained by the German; themselves, and the Polonians, and lately milliane, Duese both by the Suedes, and Danes. Yet have the Sons + of the Kings ever had the ex virtue faprerogative, or been first considered in the Choice, a great mark of the excellency man, to find a billion of the finding in the choice, a great mark of the excellency of ancient Prudence. For as skilfull Hunters according to the Observation of || Plu-tat, aut magna tarch, do not so much desire a Whelp begot by a Dog of generous or Noble strum merita. Breed, but such a Dog himself; so good Statesmen will not chuse a man who is simmetian adv to be a Prince, but one who is a Prince already. To this may be added, that the leftennilis affig-Parents of such Children upon hope of such Élection, and lest they be rejected in the parents of such Children upon hope of such Élection, and lest they be rejected in the state of the parents of such Children upon hope of such Élection, and lest they be rejected in the parents of such Children upon hope of such Election, and lest they be rejected in the parents of such Children upon hope of such Election and lest they be rejected in the parents of such Children upon hope of such Election and lest they be rejected in the parents of such Election and lest they be rejected in the parents of such Election and lest they be rejected in the parents of such Election and lest they be rejected in the parents of such Election and lest they be rejected in the parents of such Election and the parents of such Election and Ele by the People, will have especial care of their Education. But to prove the matter in hand, that the Kings of the Franks were Elected they produce these Testimonies. First from Aimonius they alledge these words: * The Franks, according to * Lib. 1. 6.4. the custome of other Nations chasing a King, advance Faramund to the Throne; again, Regen, cases. † The Franks establish a certain Clerk Daniel by Name, his hair now growing, in the rum more Mateligentes Faramundum salio sublimant regio. † Lib. 4. 6. 51. Franci Danielem quendam Clericum, casarie Castis erescence in regnum standam, Lib. 4. 6. 67.

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Sect. 4. Kingdom, and name him Chilperick. Out of another place, King Pipin being Dead his Sons Charles and Carloman by consent of all the Franks are made Kings; and out of another, Pipin being Dead, the Franks in a folemn meeting, make both his Sons their Kings, on that condition that they should part the Kingdom equally betwixt them. So much out of Aimoinus, according to what we have formerly written upon

96. The like Testimonies they produce out of Gregorius Turonensis, as where he Lib. 2. 6.12. writes, that the Franks having rejedted Childerick, unanimoufly make choice of Egi-Penel edit dius, and then the Franks who formerly had an Eye to Childebert the Elder, fend a dium fish manmessage to Sigebert that in case he would come, they would desert Chilperick and make when adolism, him King. A little after he adds all the Army came unto him, and setting him upon the 4 c. 51. a Shield made him their King. In another place, Sigebert confenting to the Franks, and being according to the custome of the Nation put upon a Shield was ordained King, and obtained the Kingdom of hu Brother Chilperick. To strengthen these Testimonies, they produce the last will of Charles the Great, published by John Nauclerus and Henry Mutius, out of which they urge this passage. In case any of these my three Sons have a Son, to him whom the People shall make choice of, we will that his Uncles consent that he succeed in his Father's Inheritance, and permit their Brother's Son to Reign in the portion of his Father's Kingdom. All this they enforce by what Regino hath written concerning this same Charles, his Disposition of his Dominions to his three Sons while he yet lived; namely that, He held a Confulta- Chrom. 1. 2. tion with the Nobility of the Franks, concerning the partition of his Kingdom amongst his Sons; and a Division being made into three parts, of this be made his Testament, which was confirmed by the Oaths of the Franks. Lattly, Eginhart relates in his Life that sending for Lodovick the King of Aquitain, who onely remained of the Sons of Hildegardis, in a solemn Assembly of the Nobility, met from all parts of the Kingdem of the Franks by advice of them all, he made him his Collegue or Partner in the Kingdom. Francis Hotoman in his * Franco Gallia produceth many more examples, but respecting the times later than those whereof we write, they are not so proper * Libellus fit. for our Cognisance and Disquisition.

cu occupata, describens. Editio Secunda ex Officina Hieronymi Bertulphi. 1574-

97. Hotoman having in his Franco Gallia published this amongst other Doctrines, at fuch time as in the Civil Wars in France he had fided with that Party which took In Scaligrania at such time as in the Civil wars in France he had nided with that Farty which took anger Edition.

Arms against the King, and had withdrawn himself out of the Kingdom, a * great interiment in the civil mention in the civil was a super Edition. Alarm was taken by his Adverfaries, and the Book looked upon and that not un- tera H. Alarm was taken by his Advertaces, and the book tooked apoil and that to overturn Hamani Fradefervedly as a thing contrived, and defigned for no other end than to overturn against the deterventy as a tining contrived, and territorial to the Heads of the People. Papirius no 19 gifts the Government, by infrings fuch Notions into the Heads of the People. Papirius no 19 gifts the Maffonus wrote his Cenfure upon it, but the intire † answering of it was referred Papirius no. to Anthony Matharell, the chief Procurer or Attorny of Catharine de Medicis the utrum Region Queen Mother, who deserves Commendations for the great Loyalty or Zeal he Franco-Gillit, the State of the Sta opposing every thing almost because the other affirms it, as jealous that it was more quantum written out of Design, yet hath generally the better of him both in his Cause and himmon the Proofs he brings to Establish it. He denies that from any of these Instances, it is, not a ship in the Proofs he brings to Establish it. of Inauguration, and not of Election, or if they be it forces not much, for he funding exercise might be chosen, because the former Race of the Kings had failed. But after him taleran in Reigned his Son Clodio, who dying without iffue Male, Meroneus his Kinfman was gallambarili King not by Election, but Succession, for Aimoinus writes, that he took the Govern. Mathematil Research ment of the Franks upon him. After him Reigned his Son Childerick to whom fine Manil in By right of Inheritance fucceeded his Son Clodonæus the first Christian King, who be- dry pinanting Dead, his four Sons Theodorick, Clodomir, Childebert and Clotair, equally parted fit to Official his Kingdom amongst them to the the Words of Ainsteiner Stude he called the confidence of the Christian Research of the Chr his Kingdom amongh them to use the words of Aimoinus * who, he tells Hotoman, Federic Medit four times Condemns him for lying.

vilegio. * Regnum interse aqua lance dividunt ut verbis Aimoini utarqui te jam Hotomane quater mendacii argait.

98. Of these Childebert dying without iffue, Clotair Reigned alone, who also as the same Authour testifies, lest four Sonsthe Heirs of his Kingdom, viz. Cherebet, Guntran, Chilperick and Sigebert, the Posterity of whom inherited as their Ancestours had done before them. As for Daniel the Clerk, who was by the Franks chosen King, his Hair being suffered to grow, and named Chilperick, he takes notice, and Complains Complains that Hotoman should sweat so much to establish a lie. He tells him a Sect. 4. Lawyer (fuch Hotoman was, and that a great one) ought to confider that Laws are fitted and framed to fuch things as frequently happen, and not fuch as fall out very feldom; for from Pharamond whom he calls the first King of the Franks to this Daniel the Clerk passed three hundred years, in which space of time the Kingdom was devolved not by Election, but Inheritance. And by this Election of Daniel and fuch like, he puts him in mind that he never confiders how that not fuccession it felf, but the fuccessours were Condemned; for smuch as good Princes may have very bad Heirs, and yet the Succession and Inheritance be just and good. It happened that the last three or four of the Family of Meroneus were lazy and Drones, and flupid, which gave occasion to Charles Martel with ease, though he himself be faid to have refused the Crown, to transfer the Government upon his Children. They being not of the Royal Family, this was effected partly by force, and partly by confent, of those whom they had obliged by many good Offices, and Pipin by means of Zachary the Roman Bishop, obtained to be Crowned and anointed King; as his two Sons Charles and Carloman were by the Hands of Stephen who was then in Exile, which thing he accuses Hotoman for omitting and making mention onely of the confent of the People, as defiring to make out his Election from that place of Aimoinus, which place yet he affirms, makes nothing for his Lie and figment as may be evident to any that's half blind

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99. As neither doth the Testament of Charles the Great, by which it's certain he made Ludovicus Pius King of Franco-gallia, Bernard his Nephew being made King of Italy, as is clear from the Testimony of Nauclerus. This is farther confirmed from what Aimoinus writes of this very Subject, that Lodovick being in Aquitain, when News was brought him of his Father's Death, came to Aix, and there by Confent and good liking of all the Franks he succeeded him, where the word Confent can by no means be referred to Election, but fignifies the wilhes, expectation, and defire of all the People. In like manner the itirs being pacified, which were rifen betwixt Pius and his Sons, to the great detriment of Francogallia, and which produced an horrid Example, the Kingdom was divided by Pius amongst his Sons, as Aimoinus farther witneffeth, and not by the Election of the People, fo great a truth is it, that not onely in the times of the Meroningi, but the Carloningi alfo, the Sons succeeded their Fathers in the Kingdom. But as all humane things are inflable and mutable, and nothing can last always, in like manner as the Meroningi when they degenerated were deprived of their Power, and their Authority transferred upon the Family of Pipin; fo by a certain viciflitude, and the fecret Judgment of God, the Carloningi behaving themselves no less idly and luxuriously, it passed from them to Hugh Capet, either as a Punishment of their first perfidiousnels and Rebellion, or because the Sons of Pius had so impiously demeaned themfelves toward their Father, for God punishes Sons for their Disobedience to their

Parents, though it may come late.

100. That which Hotoman cites from Gregary Turonensis, concerning Childerick the Father of Clodonaus his being expelled by his Subjects, no way proves that the Kings in those times were made by Election, it being one thing to depose and expell, another thing to Elect a King. He upbraids him for inflancing in a Pagan Prince, and in the endeavour of Sigebert for expelling Chilperick out of France, a thing rather to be Buried in filence, than revealed to the People. He tells him that Sigebert was fent to, and provoked by fuch like wicked persons as himself, neither was it a wonder if having despised the Council of Saint German the Bishop, he came to fuch a Tragical end, and was punished for his Infidelity, as Hotoman had feen from that place of Turonenfis, yet shamed not to produce it. As for what Hotoman affirms that Sigebert consenting to the Franks was made King, and obtained the Kingdom of his Brother Chilperick, it's repugnant to what is written by Turonensis in the place that's cited. For there he affirms, that Sigebert despising the advice of St. German, and being come to the Village Victoriacum, all the Army affembled before him, by which he was put upon a Target and faluted King; then two young men with sharp Knives ran him into each fide, whereupon he crying out fell down, and shortly after expired, and together with him Charegistlus his Chamberlain. "Thou hast here the reward of Perfidiousness and Treachery, and what happened " to one that gaped after another Man's Kingdom, and thou perhaps, fays he, ap-" provest it, and faist it is lawfull by the Law of the Franks. By this the Reader may fee what to judge of the rest. Neither is that of any moment that we often find in Turonensis, Ado, Aimoinus and others, how the Franks were wont when re-Mmm

folved to have fuch a King, to raise him, to lift him up on high, to set him upon a Target, and the like; for all these Expressions signific onely Inauguration, and not Election. Upon such an occasion the Nobility was wont to meet, to salute the new King, and fwear Fealty and Obedience to him, which custome yet continues, as may be gathered from the faid Authours, which yet it's certain do not in the least argue an Election. To this may be added the Testimony of Foreigners; particularly of George Cedrenus, the Greek Historiographer, who in his Compendium of History writes: 'It's reported that the King of France, according to custome, ereceives his Kingdom by Succession from his Ancestours. So much Matharell in his Answer to Hotoman, besides much other opprobrious and reviling Language.

101. But though to an indifferent Person, his Language would make his cause fuspected, yet in this point he really hath the advantage. For the Instances of Faramond and Pipin conclude nothing, but in an extraodinary Case, neither do those of Daniel the Clerk, of Ægidius, or any other produced out of the Histories En que rania. of the Meroningi; and we are taught by Julian the Lawyer, that things extra ribing and ordinary, or which rarely happen, are not easily to be reckoned of, or eftermed suits companies. to conclude any thing in question. The Franks, like as their Kings, were a fierce fir Reguligion. and untamed People for a long time; and if they some time deposed lawfull Prin- 1.64. ces, and fet up others in their Rooms, it was not fo much as has been practified in Nontemailell non facility and facility other Kingdoms, not to go far off; where yet there is no fuch thing as Election, etiam and beau and the Succession by right of Inheritance has ever been out of doubt. The calling Authors in his of the Estates together, and having their Consents was a matter of Prudence, as peritur. Sicenia elfewhere it is a thing of Courfe, that the Nobility be prefent at Inaugurations, to Conditional have them five ar to defend that Crown on which they lay their hands, nay to have present the property of the course of the cours the People asked, whether they will have fuch an one for their King; and yet temere, id of, none can have the Face to fay that the Kingdom is Elective. These Ceremonies were ad fragen proused at the entrance of the Kings of the Franks upon the Government, and thence mit, wide Brown at their Inauguration the People were faid to make them Kings, and yet they did charff. in locan. it no more than those who now proclaim or Crown our modern Princes. What- Regent, non facts. ever the posture of Affairs and Convenience might suggest to Charles the Great, in ordaining that fuch a Grandson should be King as the People should chuse, he never defigned to put it into the power of the People to chuse any whom they pleafed, or one out of his own Family; or to imitate herein the Custome of the Germans mentioned by Tacitus, that Sons of Kings should but be first considered. For whoever ferioufly weighs that long and uninterrupted Possession of the Sovereign power, by the Family of Meroneus; and that wonderfull Zeal all the Franks had for it, which affrighted the Majors of the Palace from affuming the Title, will eafily perceive it never entred into their thoughts, from the time of Childerick to make any Innovation, nay they esteemed it a point of great Wickedness to think of any other House or Lineage, till Martel and his Sons had so far infinuated themfelves into the power, that they were forced to make a Virtue of necessity, and forfake those who were neither in a Capacity to help themselves nor them. We shall dismiss this Point as Matharell hath done it with the clear Testimony of another Foreigner, more to the purpose than that of Cedrenus, who was not born till about two hundred Years after the Death of Charles the Great. This is Agathias, who wrote more than fo many Years before Charles was born, and therefore his Testimony is more direct to the times, whereof we write. He testifies that it was the Custome or Law amongst the Franks, for the Sons to succeed their Fathers in the Kingdom, or rather to receive it from them as by Descent.

102. From the fame Authour, and feveral others we may observe, that such Males as were of the Royal Family were not wont to cut their Hair, but have it lye dif-sheveled about their Shoulders, being perfumed with sweet Ointments, as a Mark of distinction betwixt them, and the Inferiour fort. This admits of no dispute, but is accorded on all hands, and the Reader may be satisfied by the Course of the preceding History, as also in this, that such as were to be deprived of the Kingdom, or of the Succession, had their Locks cut off, a thing which Clodonald or St. Clon practifed upon himself, when he resolved to forsake the World and enter into Orders. The Custome of wearing long

Hair, they brought * with them into Gall, where it had also been long † practised, insomuch that part of it, hence got the Name of Gallia Comata, as any one meanly Conversant in Antiquity, cannot

* Ex Chancis feu Chaycis orti funt Franci. Lucann:

Es vos Crinigeros bellis arcere Chaycos Oppositi, petitis Romam, Gc.

† Claudianus verò lib.2. in Ruffi Inde truces flavo Comitantur vertice Galli, Quos Rhedanus velox, Araris quos tardier ambit CHAP. I. Contemporary with the Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

but observe. Afterward the use was confined to the Bloud of the Kings, who as Sect. 4. fome observe, from what Dagobert did in the Battel with Bertoald the Saxon Captain, were wont in fight to tye up their Hair and lay it upon their Helmet, as a *Estarm 3 of Creft and a farther Mark of diffinction. Hence it came to pais, that some Foreigners of the Stand of the S who bore them no Good-will, gave the Kings of the Franks the opprobrious Epi- necoting, deput thete of Setati or Brifled, and whereas the Setat, or strong and upright Hairs, or Bri
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stless are common, not onely to Lions, Horfes and the like, but to Hogs also; thence was in juitage
came the Fable, that on their Back-bone, the Rachis or Spina Dorsi they had any revenue. Hairs growing, as hath that kind of Creature. A passage which we learn from goods as the Hiftory of * Cedrenus.

103. But we leave this Mark of the Bloud Royal, as a thing not so considerable, and come to the Signs and Tokens of the Royal Prerogative, a thing much Bandied betwixt our two Antagonists, but with more Partiality and design, than evidence of Truth, more flourishes, and Digressions than real Arguments, like the Andabatæ we reade of, so much are they, or rather is the matter in the dark. Yet if we may judge of the Conclusion by the Premisses, and of the Superstructure by the Foundation, Hotoman's Fabrick and Model of Government cannot subsist; for he makes the Sovereign power to have lain in the People, to whom he ascribes Authority, both of electing and depoling Kings at their Pleasure, a thing he supposes for weak Reasons, and to be exploded upon that account, we have already given unto the Reader. He confounds the Forms of ancient Governments, making thole the fame which were far different, commends the Extravagant Liberty, the Ephori usurped over the Kings of Sparta, whom yet he can never prove to have had any hand in Election, it being notoriously known to every Novice almost, that the Kingdom of Lacedæmon was Hereditary. Instead of a Government, he would affert a Medley of Power, which would never hang together, never thinking he can lessen the Royal Power enough, and not considering that a Prince may have as well too little, as too much, to protect himself and his People, and keep all from running into Confusion. The truth is, he would allow the Kings of the Franks no more than what the later Meroningians enjoyed under the Licentious and Extravagant Actings of the Majors of the Palace; but as to matter of Fact, to prove it was fo, he is not able, and therefore flyes out, and keeps nothing close to the matter in question. True Royalty, or a Prerogative above the Infolence of the Rabble, he accounts Tyranny, commending that Form of Authority, he cites out of Cafar, that amongst the ancient Galls, before they were Couquered by the Romans: The People had as great Authority over the Petty and Nominal Kings, as these shadows of Royalty had over the People.

104. Then gives he you three special Notes, or Marks of Tyranny; whereof the first is a forced Command over Subjects, when they submit to them unwillingly, and merely by Constraint; the second is, when they keep a Guard of Foreigners about their Persons; and the last, when the Profit and Welfare of the People are not confidered, but the Emolument and Arbitrary will of him that Reigns. By these, as so many Touch-stones he tries the Government, to see if it be true and Natural, or to discover the Sophistication, as he accounts it, which the Lust and Ambition of some Men hath made. For the first he concludes, the Authority of the Kings of the Franks was not forced, or by constraint, because the People had Sovereign power in chusing and rejecting them at their Pleasure. As to the fecond worthy and infallible Mark, he will undertake to prove out of Gregory Turonensis and Aimoinus, though he doth not doe it, that these Kings used no Guards about their Persons: And for the third he has a sufficient Argument to the contrary, that Matters were not ordered according to their Arbitrary Will, but for the good of the People, because the chief Adminitration of this Franco Gallick Kingdom was in the publick and folemn Council of the Nation, which later Ages have called a Convention or Assembly of the three Estates.

105. To defer a little the matter of Fact, as to the Kings of the Franks, and omit Matharell's reply as too dilute, it will not be amiss to try the Infallibility of these his Marks, and to compare them with his other Principles. The first either may be, or not be, and yet the Government may be exceeding good. For fometimes the Commands of a Prince may be very reasonable, his Maximes highly just, his Defigns tend as well toward the defence of their Liberties, as his own Prerogative, and yet the People, or rather the prevalent Faction may not understand it : A matter which a very mean Historian may make evident by many particulars. On the other fide it hath been found, that Monarchs who (to speak to his Principles)

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Scct. 4. neither could be elected by the People, nor (juftly, and according to the Model of the Government of the Land) could be deposed, have Reigned over the Subjects without any forced Command, any other (for the main) than to which without constraint or unwillingness they have submitted. In this respect there are Nations, the Laws of which confented to, or made by the People, both are against Election and Deposition; and yet say the King can doe no wrong, acting according to the faid Laws, and Constitutions of these Kingdoms. The second, or that of a foreign Guard is trivial; for most of these Usurpers we meet with in flory, have feized on the Power, and maintained themselves in it, by standing Guards of their own Nations. And as to the work of this Touch-stone, scarcely is there at this present, any one Monarch or Sovereign Prince Elective or not Ele-Ctive, who hath not these Protectours of his Person about him; a thing not denied to Vice-Roys, and very Generals of Armies. For the last we must say, it is a certain Mark of a Tyrant (though the Government according to Law established. may not be Tyranny) when he acts all things according to his mere Lust and Will, not confidering the advantage, or disadvantage of his People. But must needs every Prince, who is not merely Nominal as he would have him, and to be fet up and kicked down at the Will and Pleasure of the unconstant multitude, needs act all things in this manner? No, a Prince may have as well too little as too much Power, to Protect himself and his Subjects from the violence of unreasonable Men, and we may fay, that without flattery to fuch Princes, there both have been and are, who are neither Elected, neither can be deposed by the People, but fucceed by Inheritance, as proceeding from the Loins of their Ancestours, who do not make their Lust a Law, but propound the Good and Welfare of the People generally to themselves in their Actings. When any otherwise disposed do happen, the Men, not the Government is to be blamed; forasmuch as Accidents. and fuch things as do rarely fall out, are not to be reckoned on in fuch Cafes.

106. Therefore as to the matter of Fact, we answer, that the ancient Kings of the Franks were not Elective but Hereditary, and yet their People willingly submitted to them, not forced, nor by Conftraint and Terrour. The Rules and Methods of their Government, were fuch as the People approved, and generally they observed, and kept close to them; when they did not, they blamed the Men, as we find, not the Ordinances and Customs of the Realm, as knowing that there will be Persons of several Humours; and not any one Course of Administration can be found out, which will have no Inconveniences attending it. His delign to Tax the Custome of the Modern French Kings, in having a few Scots and Swiffes for their Guards, is extremely ridiculous. What grand Feats of Tyranny could they atchieve in fo great a Kingdom against such multitudes, by so small and inconsiderable a number? Hotoman had read how Pisstratus, Agathocles and other Tyrants of petty Cities or petty States, got some Troops of Satellites about them, fufficient indeed, to awe and terrifie their fellow Citizens; and thence he presently concludes, that where a few Souldiers Watch and Guard a Kings Person, though by reason of the smallness of their number, they cannot be fit for any considerable Attempt; yet they are a manifest sign of Bondage and Tyranny. But the ancient Kings of the Franks, however he be so positive in affirming the contrary, were not without their Guards about them, no more than the Confuls of Rome (not to speak of the Dictatours or Emperours, for these perhaps with him were Tyrants) nor the leffer forts of Magistrates, who had their Lictours with bundles of Rods and Hatchets. From Gregory Turonensis the very Authour, he would wrest to his purpose (but very inconsequently and ridiculously, as if because a King doubles his Quad Satellite Guards upon some imminent danger, he never had Guards before) it is evident, that graties agreement Clodonæus had these Satellites and Guards about him: And if he, why not his Suc- &c, l.2.637 ceffours in the Throne, upon the same Account; for the same Reasons? That Clodonæus used such Satellites Matharell doth well observe, to which we shall add this Observation farther, that those whom Gregory calleth Satellites a little before in the same Chapter, he nameth Pueri, this word by Writers of these times, being Maternalis used to express such kind of Attendants in general, who were usually chosen out of autem partie of young Men now called Pueri, in like manner, as when the Roman Tongue decay—demins, ed. Infans came not onely to fignifie a young Child, but a Son in general, though grown to Maturity, as at this day do Enfans and Infante in the French and Italian Tongues, and Infante a Kings Son in Spain and Portugal, as Infanta a Kings Daughter of any Age in both these Kingdoms. Now if Pueri and Satellites, when applicable to the Attendants about these Kings were the same, let any one who hath

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been Conversant in that Authour, but consider how many times he speaks of these Sect. A Pueri, and confequently of the Guards about their Persons.

107. As for Hotoman's third and last Mark, we close with him, that the ancient Rings of the Franks ruled not merely according to their Wills and Appetites; but we must needs differ from him, about the evidence or the reason of this our apprehension. For what we can gather from the ancient and faithfull Historians, we must say the bounds that were set to their Wills, were set by their Consciences. and their Consciences were regulated by the good Laws and Customs of their Countrey, which directed them in the Management of Affairs, but never awed them by the Terrour of Depoling, nor by any Punctive or Coercive power, the People ought to exercise over their Persons and Authority. But he is quite of another Opinion, he believes they did not rule merely after their own Wills and Appetites, because they could not doe it, that they did not bite because they had no Teeth, did not push because they had no Horns, at least but very thort ones; forasmuch as they could doe nothing of Confequence, nothing amounting to Empire and Sovereignty, but all this was to be transacted by the Convention of Estates, which he tells you every Year, met on the first of May. Here he admires the Wifedom of his Ancestours, and from this Rapture falls to an Enumeration of such things as were handled and determined by the Sacrofanct Authority of this publick Council, as he words it. These were no less, you must know, than electing or depoling a King, which he is never weary of inculcating, determining about Peace or War, making Laws, bestowing the greatest Commands, Honours and Government, providing Patrimony for the Sons of the deceafed Kings, and Portions for their Daughters, which by a German word they called Abannagium as art exclusory Part; in fum, here were determined all those things they vulgarly call matters of State, because nothing that related intimately to the State or Commonwealth could legally be done any where, but in this Council. If the Case stood thus, the Kings were indeed but Idols of Wax or Puppets, which moved their Lips, Eyes and Hands, according as they had motion given them. But the boldness of his Affertion, quite over Balances the weight and Efficacy of his Arguments.

108. Indeed his Reasons to speak indifferently are very frivolous. The making and marring of Kings, he arengthens by one other Testimony out of Aimoinus; but and marring of rathesis the strengthens by one other 1 retinionly out or Amonius; in the Charles the Lib. 5, 6, 17.

Bald in a general Affembly held at Carifiacum or Creffy, girt his Son Charles with a His fight most in the strength of the Common of the Head, gave to him Neufria, and to Pi-Houmans, how pin Aquitain. A fit evidence to be joyned to thole he formerly made use of. A min Amonius of the Ming is Crowned in a great Affembly of Nobles, and the common fort, therefore quisiting from the People elect him, and bestow the Crown upon him, as their own Gift. It candom in infeems Charles their Father was the Oratour or Speaker of the Assembly, and how convenie armit can you chuse but believe that after a great debate, the Question was put, and it Engle circuit. was carried in the affirmative, that their faid Speaker Charles (who possibly had no Vote, neither as our Chancellours and Keepers have not in the House of Lords, when they are not Peers themselves) should in their Name, and by Virtue of their Command, as their Minister solemnly invest them in their Royal Offices, which should be but Conditional neither, held during Pleasure, or at farthest, so long as they should well demean themselves therein, that is till this multitude should fay they did otherwise, for who I pray must Contradict them, if they affirmed a Wart to be an Horn? Almost as weak is the next that follows, about the said Charles, how going to Rome, he held a general Assembly on the first of June at Compendium or Compeigne, where he ordained in certain Capitula, or Heads, after what manner his Son Lodowick, with those were trusty to him and the Nobility of the Land, should govern the Kingdom till his return. This he calls Infigne Testimonium, concerning the power of this Council, in disposing of the Kingdom; and judge, Reader what it amounts to. It is not faid, that they ordain in his Presence, or together with him, but in the fingular number : He ordains, using their Councils and Direction. But he subjoyns, that the Nobility finding Charles the Simple, by reafon of his young Years uncapable to Govern, chose Odo his Protectour or Guardian. Another wonderfull Testimony of the Peoples power in disposing the Kingdom. If he was not able to Govern, some must; they offered not to depose him, and Elect another in his place. A Guardian he wanted; and he had not Judgement and Discretion enough to chuse one himself; in such a Case of necessity therefore why might not they doe it for him?

109. As worthily doth our Authour discharge himself, in reference to the second thing, wherein he afferts the supreme Power of this Council, and that is in the point of making Laws. Would not the Reader expect fome such Proofs as thefe. The Council by its own Authority enacted such and such things, such Laws were made by the Council, the King not being at all confidered therein, being unwilling, absent or the like; these were some Foundations for such high Confidence and Presumption. But what think you is his Evidence? a certain place in Gagainus, which hath these words concerning St. Lewes, and you must mind them well. Lewes being come to Paris, and having affembled a general Convention, reformed the Commonwealth, excellent Laws being made concerning the distribu- Ludovicus action of Julice by the Judges, prohibiting the Sale of Offices with other matters. "He Ganage Behold here Lewes reformed the Commonwealth, how? By making Laws; for home the Commonwealth, how? By making Laws; for home the Commonwealth, how? though it be said, Statutis optimis Legibus, absolutely without a restriction to his vit, shawing though it be said, Statutis optimis Legibus, absolutely without a restriction to his vit, shawing the said of th Person, yet it's said, Habito generali Conventu, now who called and assembled the june of Indicates Meeting but himself? That in such Meetings there used to be debated the making dietads, & de of Laws is most Evident, even in later times, when the Government was grown die, &c. more highly Monarchical, as in Francis the First, and Francis the Second's time, little more than one hundred Years fince, fuch a Defign was fet on Foot in the time of Francis the fecond, and completed at Orleance, in the beginning of the Reign of Charles the Ninth, in a full Affembly of the Nobility, Ecclefiafticks and 4.D. 1560. inferiour fort of Men, the product of which was a Book of Laws published the A.D. 1555. & fame Year; which work was renewed by the faid Charles feveral times after. But 1572. to fay, that all the Power and Authority of making Laws remained with the Estates without the King is most absurd. Certainly it's one thing for a matter to be Transacted or done in an Assembly, by its Council and Direction, another to be enacted and ordained by the fole Virtue and Authority of fuch a Meeting.

x10. If in any Authour, he can but find after his diligent fearch any impudent Act, any Seditious and unlawfull Attempt, any Violence and Usurpation committed by the People, or a party of the Nobility, he hath both the Logick and the Modesty to argue from the Fact, to the Right and Authority of the Actours; with as good reason as from the Robberies of the Banditi, and the force they many times put upon the Inhabitants of the Countrey, he may conclude they have a Title to the Territories, and a Legitimate Sovereignty over those Persons, which are the Subjects of their Rapines. Because Charles the Bald had discontented some Aiminus, likes of the Green and the Life of the Committee of of the Great ones, about the disposing of Offices and Preferments, that is, had not preferred themselves, they met together, they entred into a Conspiracy against Lodowick his Son, who was to succeed, but after some Messages, sent to and fro they agreed, and he was Confecrated and Crowned by the Confent of all, as well Abbats and Bishops, as the Nobility of the Kingdom. That they mutined it appears, but that they themselves had right to dispose of Preferments appeareth no where. Neither can Hotoman conclude any thing we hope from this place, that they Elected him King, the words being that by their Consent he was Consecrated and Crowned, and that they sware fealty to him. He received the Kingdom from his Father, concerning whom there is a passage in this very place he quotes, which Hotoman would not mention, and therefore we shall doe it for him. Before the Agreement fully concluded, and the Coronation, Richildis came to Lodowick to Compeigne, and Auslit et Plas thither brought him the Precept, whereby his Father before he died, had deli- Pater from the vered up the Kingdom to him, together with the Sword of St. Peter as they called Regnum and marten fram it, whereby he invested him in the Kingdom, and a Royal Robe, a Crown and radiderat: 6 Staff, or Sceptre, of Gold and pretious Stones: His Father it feems thought he Spatham que et could herewith invest him in the Kingdom before any Ceremony passed from the tri, pr quant-People. As much to his purpose, is what he cites out of the Appendix to the sm de Regniscon History of Gregory concerning Clotair, his referring it to the Estates of Burgundy, regium sessions to chuse a Major of the Palace to succeed Warnhar. The Reader may remember, that the Burgundians had of their own accord shaken off the Yoke of Bruni
grammin. child, and revolted to Clothair. In way of Gratitude, and to bind them to him he c. 54. grants them this Privilege, and passeth this Complement, which had they had a Right to chuse, it would have behoved them not to wave it; but they defired to be excused, chusing rather to live under his immediate Government, without fuch an intervenient Minister.

111. As little wonder is it, that in times of Contentions and Factions, those that thought the Estates would be on their side, should refer the matter in question to the Determination of this Council, as Clothair did knowing Brunichild to be

PART III

mortally hated by all the Nobility. Neither can we blame Charles the Great, if Sect. 4. to secure to his Sons those shares of the Empire he had designed them, he should require the advice and confent of the Estates, as that which would oblige them to Obey such as they had received to be their Kings, and as a means to keep his Sons in Order, and hinder them from incroaching one upon another. From that fingle example of Clothair, whereby to shun Odium, and the thought of Malice and Revenge, he referred the case of Brunechild to the Army and Nobility, (which he calls by the Name of this Council,) he fairly draws this General Conclusion; that it was a Custome, if any Prince or great Person was accused of a Crime, to be arraigned before this Affembly. And from all put together, that the whole Government lay in this Affembly, which was called *Placitum*, because after the custome of the Latine Tongue that was properly so called, which after much deliberation was fetled and agreed upon, as for Example, in Cicero and other ancient Writers we meet with Placita Philosophorum. Hence he inforces that Conjecture which he had made in other Books he had formerly Written, that the common Form used by the King's Clerks at the end of Laws and Edicts, viz. Quia tale est Placitum nostrum, had its Original from this Placitum whereof we speak. This being written in Latine, (as he conjectures it appears from Aimoinus, the Capitulary of Charles the Great and other Monuments;) these Clerks or Scribes coming to use the Speech of the Countrey, by ignorance, or rather through an evil purpose turned it into this Expression: Car tel est nostre Plaisir, For such is our Pleasure. That which confirms him in his Opinion is this. The People was interrogated concerning the Capitula or Heads to be added to the Laws, and after they had confented, they confirmed them by Subferiptions. Hence it appears, that the People were bound to no Laws but what they made themselves. Lastly, he observes vide appendical again from one fingle Testimony and instance and no more, that Foreign Princes Gregori Turn. were wont to refer their Controversies to the Cognifance and Determination of this #sh. 23. Council, fo great was its Fame and Authority.

112. So great a Noise he made, for Noise it is consisting of words, which con-

in this Assembly, which they did indeed call by the Name of Placitum. But as Matharell very well excepts against him, there's no need that the ordinary Form Cartel est nostre plaisir now used, should at all be derived from this Placitum, but from the ancient custome of Roman Emperours, Kings and Popes who generally used such an Expression at the end of their Edicts, to take away all doubt and Ambiguity. Justinian hath this expression at the close of his Constitutions. Que igi- Constitutions. Que igi- Constitutions. un placuerunt Nobu tua sublimitus operi esfettuique dare sestinet; some times this; 18,19, 20, 50. Que à Nobis dispossta sunt, or Que igitur præclare Nobis & Religioni placuerunt; but Quæ placuerunt Nobis most commonly. Nay it's to be hoped so great a Lawyer as he could not affirm, that the Emperours of Rome held fuch Placita wherein lay the supreme Administration, and without which they could neither make Laws, nor doe any thing elfe. But so great is his Design and Studium Partium in this matter, that one cannot but with admiration and difdain perceive how right or wrong he drives all things in by Head and Shoulders. Surely he had never read, or he deeply dissembles that place of Gregory Turonensis, where he speaks concerning Chilperick, who in his Edicks or Precepts fent to the Judges added this Claufe; if any si qui precepta shall Contemn our Commands, let him be punished by pulling out his Eyes. He matter contempts may answer us that this Chilperick was a Tyrant, or as Gregory calls him, the Nero wither matter. and Herod of his time, and so indeed he is accounted by our Historians, but any two, lib. 6.c. ult. one may fee what was the reason, they were such men as he was no Friend to; he complained they had got all the Revenues, and his Exchequer was poor, and fuch Princes as he who have had the luck in these dark times to have their actions related and transmitted to Posterity, by no other than Religious Persons, are never well spoken of but rendred infamous, a thing which hath happened from Monk-

clude nothing of that his Affertion, that the supreme Administration of affairs lay

ish Authours, to some Princes of our own Nation. 113. But to make an end of this Controversie as it's more than time, by perusal of Gregory Aimoinus and others of those ancient Writers, to any unbiassed and indifferent Reader it will appear, that the Meroningian Kings of the Franks had Jura Majestatis. These are such as these, Power of Peace and War, to make Laws, power to raise Money, and of Life and Death. The Wars of Clodonaus, of Theodorick, and in general of all those that Conquered Gall, and made War in Italy and other Countries, nay, of Charles Martel who was no King, but the Prime Minister, or Majour of the Palace, fufficiently evidences this thing, for who will shew us that it

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Sect. 4. was done by a previent Vote or decree of this General Affembly , except he will , say that when this present French King for example makes war in the Low Countries, because his Nobility and Gentry accompany him in the Expedition, because they do not refuse to joyn with him, but serve him in this Employment, therefore Peace and War are in their power, and they are the General affembly or Placitum which hath the supreme Administration of Affairs; for this would well fuite the way of Hotoman's Arguing, to be fure, if the King should make a Speech to them at the Head of his Troops, and they applaud his purpose, and incourage him to the Undertaking. For the power of making Laws, the famed Salick Laws no man hath yet faid to have been framed in a Placitum or affembly of the Estates, but by Wifogalt and his few Companions. If the Kings could make Laws for raising of Money and payment of Tribute, certainly they might do it in other Cases; Clothair required the third part of the Fruits of the Grounds, even to be paid by Churches. And we find that Chilperick laid new Taxes upon the Subject, and several forts of Denique Class. ways increased the former Revenues of his Crown. He is blamed for this by the rim Rex indix. Historians, and we are told it caused a Mutiny, but what was the reason, viz. the erat ut smart E. excessive burthen he laid upon the People. Every Arepennis or half an Acre of edita Rent Batton Half and Half Batton Hal positions were so great they could not be born. The thing that offended was the lib. 4. c. 1. lim. quantity, not the Imposition it self, not the Authority; they do not complain that Aimsinus, 110.2. he broke the Laws of Government, that he usurped the Power which belonged to Statistican enim the Placitum or the assembly of Estates, that he took that upon him which his savan again. Predecessiours never challenged, and the Laws forbade, but his Impositions were for depositions. heavy and could not be endured.

penaeur reaseur. Sed dy alia funtiiones infligebantur multa tam de reliquis terris quam de mancipiis : quod impleri non poterant. Gregor. 1, 5, c. 27.

114. The like is objected as to the Punishments inflicted by him , not that he did punire or take the cognisance of the case to himself, but injuste punire, and that for to feize on the Goods of the Persons condemned. Nothing is more ordinary for to feize on the Goods of the Persons condemned. Nothing is more ordinary that no meet with examples of this kind, how not onely he but all the other in case Magnes of the Meroningian Family, before such time as the Majors of the Palace while jife to came to usurp the Government, took this Power of Condemning or absolving, Pu. git intensit, by nishing or Pardoning at their own Wills or Discretions. When they did without fine wednings we desired the control of the property wednings. cause, as Guntran, put to Death his best Servant, then are they blamed, but never a Rege obtained for taking the Authority of the thing it felf, of depriving men of their Lives or Vide etiam libito. Estates, when the Parties deserved it. The most wary of them considering what spilene Green a matter of weight the Life of a Man and the ruine of a Family is, were wont to de case the state of the sta call to their affiftence, their Nobility or attendants to fift out the matter, and give a Rege auditive their advice for a more certain and just way of proceeding, it being indeed a very justinguistation hard and dangerous practice for one man to afture the Cognitance of matters re-jugard tamps. lating to Life and Death alone. So the Tryal of Injuriolus about killing of a cer- Greg. Thron. tain Jew his Creditour was held before King Childebert, and this was called Place 106.7. 6.23. tum, as indeed any meeting in General, as the Treaty betwixt Guntran and his Nephew Childebert is called by this very name. So doth Aimoinus use it to figni- Lib. 1. 6.20. fie a Colloquy or Treaty betwixt Clodonæus and the Goths, and an Enterview, Debate, or Colloquy betwixt the faid Guntran and his Nephew Childebert. The Lib. 3.051.69 first time we meet with it in him when it fignifies an assembly of the Estates, is c. 61. when Dagobert fummoned a General affembly together for making of his Teflament. The cause was not that he could not make it himself without their autho-Lib. 4-6 30. at rity, but as he tells them, that he alone might not applaud himself. He had al- delir quero reready determined and resolved what to doe, but he would have it figned not onely ages in this with his own Hand, but those of his two Sons, whom this day faith he in so many he applications words I make and ordain Kings, and by the Hands of the Bishops also and Prin- continue at the continue of the Bishops also and Prin- continue at the continue of the Bishops also and Prin- continue at the continue of the Bishops also and Prin- continue at the continue of the Bishops also are the continue at the continue of the Bishops also are the continue at the continue of the Bishops also are the continue of the Bishops ar ces. Now Hotoman will not fay the Subfcription of the Sons of the Kings was for in the encedlary, to establish or enact a thing in the Assembler. Yet this he requires especially and for this reason, that he was a finished by cially and for this reason, that he was afraid after his Death his two Sons would firmate, not take endeavour to invalidate his Will. There lay his fear, therefore he conjures them are plant to keep it inviolable, as they should average the like Description of the conjures them are plant in to keep it inviolable, as they should expect the like Duty and Obedience from their oran Sigheri as Successiours. No arguments, no perswasions doth he use to the Assembly, as having shake Regular to sing Courses the chief of the course of the chief of the course of the chief of the course of the chief o fummoned it to give Countenance to the thing, the better to keep his Sonsto their fittee thing, present promise and Ingagement.

isfict, nec non gentis neftre Primipes. Penter film Reger Conflimit non isaque eleGus est à Populo Clodonesse wet Historicist, quanti the tomanus los affirmet, quantoto vero probati pulchre feil, ex issis Append. Verbis Onnesque Lusdes com in Masslana witha sistimani indi-

115. Indeed

115. Indeed before this we find in the same Authour mention made of a Con- Sect. 4 vention of the Nobility of the Franks, but not by the name of Placitum. This Clothair the Son of Chilperick advised Brunichild to summon to debate the matter Idemibid. c. 1. of Succession, having held Intelligence with them, and knowing most certainly they would be at his Devotion, and therefore he would make them Umpires in the cafe, not that by any right and authority they were fo, neither do we find that she owned or followed his advice. Not long after this time, I am verily of the opinion that those Assemblies began to be things of course. Of the yearly Placita or Conventions of the Estates in Gregory Turonensis not one word is to be found . neither can it be perceived by him that the Placita were held of course, but onely as occasion required the Kings summoned these Conventions. Towards the decay of the Monarchy they came into fashion, when the Majors of the Palace to gain more Power, fought to please the Nobility by referring matters to their Cognisance, and determination. The first hint we have out of Aimoinus that they were Annual, is Conglique at pro given upon occasion of the Saxons, whom Pipin having brought to terms, caused mineral is on them to ingage to present every year three hundred Horses at the General meeting like of falls. Pipin to obtain the Crown which he fo much longed for, omitted nothing to court ros of annis finthe People, and having once obtained it, that it migh fit falt upon his Head and glill howits and those of his Successours, thought it fafest to follow still on the same course. So did constant easier his Son Charles, to prevent Seditions during his absence in Saxony, Italy and other trecents pro micplaces, knowing very well that he was an Emperour of the first, and a King but Lib. 4. c. 64. of the fecond Head. After his Death most grievous Troubles arose, through the differences and Wars of his Posterity, Æmulation betwixt Competitours ever producing this Effect, that People gain and the Crown loses, while every one that contends for it, is glad to make Friends and part with one or more Flowers of it, to purchase a quiet Possession of the rest, through the favour and assistence of the Estates. This gave incouragement to these Assemblies, to take still more upon them, and the differences, through their fidings and bandyings, of Charles his Posterity came to such height as to give incouragement to Hugh Capet a man of another Extract to fet up for himfelf, there being none thought worthy to Reign that remained of the Carloningians, who were thus punished in their kind, for their

Contemporary with the Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

Usurpation and Revolt from the Meroningian Line. 116. Thus did the use and Authority of this Placitum or Assembly of Estates arise Franci ut pluri and increase, through the diminution of the Royal Authority, the ambition of the Ma-nine or mode. jors of the Palace, the Usurpation of Pipin, and the Judgments which ensued upon his sed or Carolingo Family. But from particular extravagant and illegal actions Hotoman would draw from adduction general Conclusions; So weak are his Arguments, and so palpable his Design, that divinite sin at his Book upon a severe examination, can hardly escape the censure of a Libell, Latinitate many which Name by certain Persons is thought most fit to be conferred on it, and they have the placewhich Name by certain Perions is thought more in to be constitued on a, and they doke the Plate-confirm to us the truth of what Cajacius, that great Lawyer passed upon his Works, chumetion Mat-that they do Scutica indigere, need something fit to chassile and correct them. A yes-law rockmat: ry learned Lawyer indeed he was, but addicted to a Party which was too fruitfull and Dani goo-in this kind, and about the same time brought forth leveral such Brats as this, for ransferm Dia-central control of the Party Repair and Scatter Corrected doubt, the lamen of instance, Junius Brutus, and the Treatise De Jure Regni apud Scotos, forged doubt- Theutonum idisless upon the same Anvil, though not perhaps by the same hands, which sufficiently mate differ, each betray the extraordinary Heat and turbulent Humour of the Contrivers; what he tamen processing the contrivers of the Contrivers farther Writes concerning the Majors of the Palace in part we must approve, and wis a Germa-in part reject: That they came up but towards the latter end of the Reign of the item Angil (nor Meroningians is certain, I mean to that Power and Dignity which they usurped, the do being For towards Clodoneus his days, who hears any thing of such an Officer? and in times fine for the such as the contract of the contract in the form of the contract in the contract the very Reign of Lotharius and Childebert, where have we any mention of these mone quoque usur Majors, except by the bye upon occasion of some other thing, for they were then the Their Theutomibus but Domesticks and Officers in the Palace?

nari. Franci bedierni son abs re itaque Parlamentum noncopant. Belgicum Maul (gr. Maulitat (gr. noftrom Mealfineat pro convisio (gr. north conversation) and conversation and dimanafe hand ambigendum, cum fermo (gr. canfabilatio convicio, quafi tosgedum (gr. vita fit. Mine copone existinat gradem ma despue ratione Pontanus quad unferieribus existia poft Carolum M. Seculis hinjeneda Imperialia colloquia convensitique apad Germano Dilasa caperira munimati.

117. Therefore do we find that their Dignity and Place was inferiour to that of a Bishop, as appears from Gregory Turonensis in the case of Badechisil, who from a Major of the Palace was preferred to that Sacred Function, and from the fame Authour it is evident, that not onely Kings but Queens also had such Officers, as had Bogundis whom Waddo served in this capacity. Hotoman observes out of Histo- Gregor. lib. 7.

Sect. 4. ry, that belides this they had several other Names or Titles, being called Magistri Regii Palatii, Præfetti Aulæ, Comites, and Comites Domus Regiæ. But as lie is out in comparing them for the Nature of their Office to the Præfelli Prætorio of the Romans, fo in this also that he makes the Major Domus, and the Comes Palatii to be the fame. For Gregory makes mention of Florentianus the Major Domus Regia, Lib. 9. 1. 30. and of Romulfus the Comes Palatii, both which were fent by King Childebert at the Invitation of Meroneus the Bishop into Poittou. About the time of Clothair the Second, they began to aspire after an extravagant Power, and the carelesness of fome Princes gave them opportunity to increase it to that grandeur, at which at last it arrived. Yet were not all the Kings of the Meroningian Race, in general, such Sots as Eginhart the Chancellour of Charles the Great, (and from him Sigebert) out of flattery to his Master, and to palliate the Treason of Pipin would make them, witness the great things atchieved by them against the Romans, Alemans, Goths and other Nations before ever these Majors were heard of. As I hinted before, the Authority of the Placitum or General Assembly increased with theirs, as well that of the one as the other being not heard of till later times, whatever Sigebert Writes that once a year on the first of May, the Kings were wont to shew themselves to the People, to salute and be saluted by them. They found it a good expedient to preserve and increase their Power thus to cajoll the People; then Pipin concluded that as naturally things are preserved the same way they are obtained, it was convenient to use the same means for keeping the Crown on his Head, which he had ferved himself of in the setting of it on; and what in him and his Son Charles was highly convenient, the Diffentions and Quarrels of their Posteri-

ty did afterward render as highly necessary. 118. To understand yet more fully the Polity of the ancient Franks, to that of

the Kings and Majors of the Palace, we must add the knowledge of the Dukes and Counts, a Subject proper to have been considered by Hotoman in his Franco Gallia, but that he could find nothing in it fit to drive on his great Defign. That Duces were Generals of Armies amongst the Romans, and afterward Commanded Forces upon the Borders, we have already sufficiently discovered. After the Goths had feized upon part of Gall, although deadly Enemies to the Romans, yet did they not much after the State of the Provinces, fetting after their Example Dukes over the Provinces, and Counts over the General Cities. So do we find that King Eurick Green. Tarton appointed Vidorius to be Duke over feven Cities and the Arverni: And about the 186.2.6.20 fame time we find that Marseilles was under the Government of a Count, mentioned by Sidonius upon a particular occasion. Afterwards we find Goianius and Ti-Lib. 7. Ep. 17. motheus famous upon this account, that the Breviary of Theodofius his Code being finished, Alarick sent it unto them to be made use of in Administration of Justice, as appears by the Commonitory prefixed to the Work. In like manner the Franks having vanquished the Romans, Goths and Burgundians, and become Lords of Gall, did not cliange the State and Polity of the Provinces, as they found them framed by the Romans. They neither abolished the use of Dukes nor Counts, lest by a new posture of things they should discontent and alienate the affections of the Provincials, but on the contrary accommodated themselves to the Roman Customs, as both Procopius and Agathias do testifie, and thereby though Conquerours submitted to the Conquered. Neither can this feem strange, for the Franks serving in the Wars, and being in the Satellitium of Guard of the Emperours, had fufficient opportunity to make the Customes of the Romans familiar to them; Ammainus, Lib. 15

as we have formerly shewn, witnessing that a multitude of them slourished in the Court, and Gregory Turonensis confirming this to us by this passage, that Valentinian Lib. 1.6.9. being thut up in a private House of Vienna, and almost reduced to the State of a private Man, the care of the Militia was committed to the Franks, who were Satellites or of the Guard about him.

119. The Franks as they found so continued those of Dukes and Counts, and that from the first founding of their Kingdom in Gall, for Aimoinus makes mention of Winomadus a Duke under Childerick, and of Aurelian under Clodonieus, to whom the Kingdom of Milidunum was delivered. From the beginning of this Sovereignty of the Franks, this was the difference betwixt Dukes and Counts; that Dukes had the Command of many Cities, or of particular Provinces, whereas the Counts ru- * confan 1.8 The difference led the particular Cities or parts of Provinces. This is fo evident from * Gregory c. 18. 67 at 1. 6

berwist Dukes Turonenfis, that nothing can be more; and thence came it that Counts are † com-c. 7. cm land Counts in pared to Bilhops in Dignity, and Dukes to Arch Billiops. The Power of Dukes + Wadapitas their Power, Du ty and office. Was larger than that of Counts, but their Office and Duty was the fame for fub- Early a st

stance. Dukes had charge of matters | concerning War, and gave Order out to Sect. 4. the Counts concerning the levying of Forces. It was incumbent upon * both Dukes and Counts, to fortifie and protect the Cities and Places under their charge. | Vide Gregor. In times of Peace Dukes precided in hearing † and defiding Controversies. Thence * Lib. 6.6. 41. is it that in the form of the Office of a Duke extant in Marcalfus the Monk, it's + Institute pair required that such an one Govern the People committed to his trust, whether per mangaran to Franks, Romans, or Burgundians, according to the Laws and Customs of each New purerit Nation. | Dukes allo took care of the yearly Tributes of the Provinces, as did pretto verter the * Prefidents and Governours of Provinces amongst the Romans. Such as an Sic Fortunates fwered not to the Summons to the War, the Counts † punifiled. In Peace also they as shiftling were employed as well as Dukes in || Administration of Justice. It was their con- || Marchign. cern to have * the Province kept in quiet, to take care also of the † Tributes and * Caddeposta. publick Revenues, in which Employment they used the Ministery and affishence of #8ipri 5 1. their Vicarii or Vicars.

in domo B. Martini, Gr. | Gregorium Vide, lib. 8. c. 18. G. l. 10. c. 6. Eundem de miraculis Santiorum, l. 2. c. 16. Fort matu n. p. 10. c. 2. Concilium Vernense c. 23. Cabillonense Secundum, c. 21. G. Triburiense, c. 9. * Lib. 5. c. 15. † Gregor, passim.

120. For the * Vicarii were their Deputies, as were also the + Centenarii and *Vide Capitular. Scabinei or Decani, in the leffer Towns or Villages, the Count's Pagus, Place of his c. 28. of Concil. Jurisdiction or County, being divided into Vicaria, Centena and Decania. Far-Arelat. quarti, ther, let the Reader take notice these several Counties and Provinces also made up traits estan the Missatici or Missatica, which were certain Regions or Tracks, through which Tungini erant. certain Ministers of Princes from their fending called Miffi, were dispatched abroad Sal. ieg. tit. 48. and distributed. From these Missi came the Title of Commissarii, and they were of Convenir, at Tanfeveral forts. As Missi Dominici, who were extraordinary Commissioners, sent by ginas vel Center the Prince into divers parts of the Kingdom for Administration of Justice. Miffi indices, Gloff-ver discurrentes who were sent into the Provinces for dispatch of some particular Affair, Tanginas qui political discurrentes who were sent into the Provinces for dispatch of some particular Affair, Comitem of disand so called because they staid not in their Missatica, as did the Missi Dominici, unsure pir, and but having dispatched their business, quickly returned, most like to our Justices of quasiforum Justi.

Affize. Charles the Bald distributed all his Kingdom, (except Aquitain which was subsequently many the Governed apart, and Britannia Aremoriza which had lately Rebelled,) into twelve about Dunis of these Regions or Missatici, and in these instituted so many Colleges of Missatici, and in these instituted so many Colleges of Missatici, whereof each according to the custome had one or two Bishops belonging to Technic, Judex it, as also one Abbat and one Count, or more of each fort as the case required. Sergen Que it, as also one Abbat and one Count, or more of each fort as the case required. Sergen Que it, as also one Abbat and one Count, or more of each fort as the case required. Sergen Que it, as also one Abbat and one Count, or more of each fort as the case required. Sergen Que it is a said one Abbat and one Count, or more of each fort as the case required. Sergen Que it is a said one Abbat and one Count, or more of each fort as the case required. Sergen Que it is a said one Abbat and one Count, or more of each fort as the case required. Sergen Que it is a said one Abbat and one Count, or more of each fort as the case required. Sergen Que it is a said one Abbat and one Count, or more of each fort as the case required. Sergen Que it is a said one Abbat and one Count, or more of each fort as the case required. Sergen Que it is a said one Abbat and one Count, or more of each fort as the case required. Sergen Que it is a said one Abbat and one Count, or more of each fort as the case required. the Inhabitants of the Low Countries: Noviomifus or rather Noviomenfis, now No. pud Germano, gonnois, Vermandisus Vermandeis, Adertisus Artois, Curtricisus Courtray, and Flan-tata retinetur. drensis Flandres. Of the Cortoriacenses the Notitia Imperii maketh mention, and Necaliunde Granof Flanders Ludovicus Pius in the division which he made of his Kingdom amongst corum Esthevius deducantus, his Sons, and is extant in Pithæus his Collections.

121. But to return to the Counts, the cognisance of more weighty causes be vide capitalar. longed to them, and those of the lesser to the Vicars and Centenaries. For some rea- Caroli M. 1. 3. fon therefore are these Vicars of Counts and Centenaris compared to Parochial and Space and Contenaris compared to Parochial and Space and Compared to Parochial and Compared to Priests, by Walafridus Strabo. The Dignity of a Count was a step to the promo- G. not. tion of a Duke, which was accounted the Top or highest pitch of his Preferment.

That the Ducatus or Dukedom contained several Comitatus or Counties is certain, but how many is not agreed on by Learned Men. Pitheus reckons no fewer than Advert. 8, twelve, as necessary to the making up of a Dukedom, and herein he follows the Annals of Pipin , and Aimoinus which inform that the faid Pipin gave to Griffed his Brother after he was taken Prisoner, twelve Counties and this was according to the cultome of Dukes. But others contend that the Number was varied according Auton. Dadines to the pleasure of the Prince, neither was the account of Dukedoms certain in Alteferra in lithis respect, as almost an infinite Number of places in Gregory Turonensis, do abun- bro de Ducibin dantly testifie which seldom assign more than three or four Counties to a Dukedom, Provincialists and conclude nothing certain. Bignomius that he may not contradict Aimoinus, Gallie. very cautiously would fix this custome of twelve Counties upon the Reign or Age of Pipin as peculiar to it. But Alteserra doubts not to affirm, that these words Ducum more, according to the custome of Dukes, are a Comment of the unskilfull Monk, there appearing in this Age not any one Footslep of such a Custome.

Nay this same Authour acknowledges, that in the next following Age of Ludevi- in the Dukedom of Forum Julii or Friuli was divided into four Councies. Or Aimoinus might be deceived by the Constitution of Pelagius the Second; which

A Dukedom

Sect. 4. gives ten or eleven Cities to a Province, whereupon he might think a Dukedom was to consist of so many, or one more. But he ought to have observed, that a Province was here defigned, rather according to the Ecclefiastical than Civil form, and that in Gall the measure of Dukedoms was as has been said, in no place certain.

122. At first the Duration of the Offices of these Dukes and Counts was various, limited onely by the Will and good Pleasure of the King to a certain time. This

Their Honours is abundantly evident from Gregory Turonenfis, as well as others, who has frequent- De Leudoffe C. Their Honoris is adulting article from of Speech, ex Duce, ex Comite, ex Vicario, fignifying those who mite Tunnelliduring Pleasure. ly these forms of Speech, ex Duce, ex Comite, ex Vicario, fignifying those who mite Tunnellitune pleasure. formerly discharged such Employments; but now were superfeded. It were needless to totion Regularity formerly discharged until Employments, but not mention to have been made Dukes amit gainers reckon up those many, which by Name we could mention to have been made Dukes amit gainers. and Counts of fuch and fuch particular places. In Case any one died in his Employ. Wide etiam, l.s. ment, the Prince appointed him his Successour whom he pleased, so Charles the c.7. 1.4635. Bald bestowed the Honours of Gerard Count of the Biturices, upon Boso the Grand Research Line Bald bestowed the Honours of Gerard Count of the Biturices, upon Boso the Grand Research Line Bald bestowed the Honours of Gerard Count of the Biturices, upon Boso the Grand Research Line Bald bestowed the Honours of Gerard Count of the Biturices, upon Boso the Grand Research Line Bald bestowed the Honours of Gerard Count of the Biturices, upon Boso the Grand Research Line Bald bestowed the Honours of Gerard Count of the Biturices, upon Boso the Grand Research Line Bald bestowed the Honours of Gerard Count of the Biturices, upon Boso the Grand Research Line Bald bestowed the Honours of Gerard Count of the Biturices, upon Boso the Grand Research Line Bald bestowed the Honours of Gerard Count of the Biturices, upon Boso the Grand Research Line Bald bestowed the Honours of Gerard Count of the Biturices and Cou Brother of his Wife Richildis, and Ludovicus Balbus distributed the Employ abs fighting ments of Bernard the Marques of Gothia. The first that began to Change this Continuous de Course, and to take more upon him, was Bernard the Duke of Septimania, catch Idon tild. a.31. ing hold of the opportunity presented him by the War which then raged betwixt Lotharius and his Brothers, Charles and Lodowick. Confident in his own strength, he sate as an indifferent Person and looker on, and then by his Son William recommending himself to Charles the Bald the Conquerour, required that his place and Ninhard. 1.3 Honours he had in Burgundy, might be confirmed and fettled on him. Afterward the Authority and Empire of the fecond Race, or the Carloningi declining, and Charles the simple Reigning but precariously in respect of his Age, our Provincial Dukes and Counts began to Challenge their Governments by way of Dominion and Propriety, and transmitting them to their Heirs, made the Kings Vaffi to be their

123. After this manner did Robert succeed Odo his Brother in the Dukedom of the Franks, and because some part of the Principality which Odo had held before Aimini Casinahe was chosen King was not restored to him, he began to conspire against Charles ator, 1.5.6.41. the Bald, and affect the Kingdom. In like manner Richard the Duke of Burgundy tic. 1.8. c. 26. had for Successour Rodulph his Son, and Herbert Count of Vermandow his Son of the same Name with himself. This now was universally Challenged as a thing of Right, but such as were more dutifull to their Kings, when they divided their Governments amongst their Children, would desire their Consent to the Distribution. So in Regino we reade, that Vto the Count at his Death, whatfoever Preferment or Ad. A. D. 940. Governments he had by Permission of the King, he divided as an Inheritance amongst his Sons. About the same time seven Dukes or Provincial Counts, raised themicles to the Power of fo many petty Princes or Reguli, as the Duke of the Franks, the Count of Paris, the Dukes of Burgundy, Normandy and Aquitain, the Vide Franks Counts of Flanders, Champaigne and Tolouse, who in a manner contended with the in Chronic al Kings for Dignity, and by their Ambassadours would dispute with them as upon Ann. 924 even Ground. At length Hugh Capet, having seized the Sovereignty, in some meafure made up the Breaches of the Kingdom, but very cautiously like a prudent Physician gently handling these great and festered Wounds of the Common-wealth. Accommodating himself to the times, he let pass such as had been of longer Continuance, left he should discover his own weakness, and made them with the other leffer Feuda, as perpetual and Hereditary, referving to himself and Successours the Sovereign Jurisdiction, Allegiance and Military Services. By this Agreement and League, as it were, the Face of a Kingdom was restored, and the Dukes and Counts became faithfull and obedient; but yet the Majesty of the Kingdom recovered not, till fome time after, these Noblemen retaining the Regalia or Royal Privileges, which during the Difturbances they had usurped. What these Regalia were it's too long for us to infert, and the Reader may have abundant Satisfaction out of Alteferra. Thus much at present we observe, that contrary to the Affertions of Hotoman, the Power of the Meroningians was free and uncontrolled; those Dukes and Counts being wholly at their Devotion. And that the Wars, Seditions and Changes of Government which followed, brought forth these Extravagancies and Innovations for which he pleadeth.

124. To omit the Senescallus & Comes stabuli, as Officers considerable onely in Sed vide series latter Ages, and so not proper to our present Work, as neither to this Disquisition Paragrapt tending to the discovery of the Polity and Government of the ancient Franks, we shall after the Governours, inform the Reader a little concerning the Ranks and Distinctions of the People. They were distinguished into Edelingi, Frilingi and

CHAP. I. Contemporary with the Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

Lass, as were the Saxons their Neighbours. The Edelingi were the Nobility, Edel, Sect. 4.

Ethel and Etheling in the Teutonick, and our ancient English Saxon Tongue fignifying Noble. Of these Edelingi mention is made in the Rythmes, Composed in the true and ancient French Language, sent to King Ludovicus, and in the Offridian version of the Gospel. Marculfus the Monk, who lived about the Reign of Dagobert, A.D. 660. mentions the order of the Nobility, and shews how Bishops were Formular. I. s. wont to be Elected out of it, which is observable also in Sidonius, and Gregorius Turonensis. The Frilingi were so named, because they were Fry, or as we say Freemen, answering to our Teomen, as did the Ethelingi to our Edelmen, Noble or Gentlemen: and of them mention is often made in the Laws of the Franks. The Lass were Slaves, or rather answered fully to our Villains, who Tilled the Ground as Hirelings, and Tributaries to the Condition of which, that of the old Lacedemonian Helote, and the present French Peasants doth much answer. Such of these as were

Manumitted or set Free, were termed Frilass, or in their own Language Frigelassene, concerning which the Reader may fee enough in the Formulæ of Marculfus, and the Notes of Hieronymus Bignonius upon them, who observes, that there were three forts of these Manumissions, or three several ways they were made Free. One was by a Denarius or piece of Money, another was in the Church, and a third by a Paper or a private Letter, concerning which we have abundant Satisfaction from the Salick Laws, Gregory Turonenfis, and the Formulæ of Bignonius and Pithæus. Be-

fides these Lass, in Writers of the same Age we meet with Liti, who are thought Pontage, Orie, to have been a fort of Villains also little different from the other, except in this, Franc. 1.6. 6.15.

that they parted with their Freedom for Money. 125. Something we must add concerning their Laws, and then it will be more

The Civil Law

imposed on them by the Rement.

than time to difmiss our Franks. And to tetch things a little higher in reference to Gall it felf, we must know that the Conquerours were not onely wont to impose their Language, but their Laws, also upon the Conquered. Therefore as Livy tells us, the Crotoniatæ refusing to submit to the Dominion of the Brutii affirmed, they would rather dye, than mixing and imbodying themselves with them, they would exchange their own for the Customs, Rites, Laws and Language of Strangers. The Romans using the political Course imposed not onely Tributes and their Language, but their Laws and Magistrates, upon those they had once reduced under their Subjection; whereupon their Law, called the Civil Law by way of Excellency, was pro- in Panegue, ad pagated together with their Empire through all Quarters, and the Provincials ftu- Origin. Thandied it, as their greatest Comfort, as that to which of necessity they must have Re-maturgus the course. The first part of Gall, which received this Law in this manner, was Gallia Newsajante Narbonenfis called formerly Bracchata, which being Conquered by Fabius Maximus alicum effe prahad the Jus Italicum bestowed upon it with Immunity from Tribute: Many of the dicat, univer if best Inhabitants were taken into the Senate before the time of Augustus, and from continuation the Privilege it received of wearing the Roman Gown, it obtained also the Name E Green, Na. of Gallia Togata. Moreover Aquitain, the Daulphinate and Savoy were Provinces interest att. before Julius Cafar, and all of them received the Roman Laws, being governed by the party purity in the party purity pur Presidents and Proconfuls, as long as till the Reign of Honorius the Emperour, dyretin it single the same of the whole the Costs. At length all Gell being Orat 21. who gave up his Right in them to Athaulphus the Goth. At length all Gall being Conquered by Cafar, followed this Example. This appears first from the An- Ve Limities D. Conquered by Capar, nonowed this Example. This appears that from the International formers, which the Emperours returned to the Prefidents of the Provinces, who designed Ren. I. confulted them upon occasion yet extant in our Law Books. Secondly from this, D. de capar, Tie. that the Youth of Gall frequently reforted to Rome, there to study the Law, as tel. 1.2. t. d appears from Rutilius, Sidonius, and Altissodorensis and others, who instance in Pal-gine ladius, Eutropius, Germanus and the like. Thirdly, the new Constitutions of Prin-Lib. 1. Itiner. ces were wont to be published at the Tribunals of the Judges in Gall, and entred Lib. 1. ep. 6. amongst their Records. And lastly from Zozimus it appears, that at the Declension Sandii Germani of the Empire, Britain, and some Provinces of Gall having by their own strength vita Apollonii cleared themselves of the Germans, without the Assistence of the Romans, rejected 17.6.17. their Laws, and returned again to their own Customs. Hence it is evident, that Autofin Confession and the Local Research Their Laws, and redurned again to that the Law of Rome, although some Free Cities were light, permitted at first to live according to their own Customs. As were the Arverns Staines at Application of Association of the Control of th and Rutæni by order of the Roman People, the Hedei and Atrubetes by Cæfar: Nammatism the Massilienses also retained their old Laws and Customs, whereof some Footsteps L. 6. p. 827. remain in Strabo, Valerius Maximus and others. The first Roman Lawyer that Gall Cofer de bell. remain in Strado, Vaterius maximus and others. And the Cefar's Invalion was Trebatius, with whom Cicero makes himself very Mem. 10.

2. 14. Lib. 7. epp. 10. 126. The & 15.

126. The Roman Empire going to Ruine, and the Goths having seized on Aqui-tain, with the Province of Narbon, they indeavoured to remove, as other Marks of the Roman Dominion, so also that of the Laws. But in respect of the Laws, the Provincials despised them, keeping to those of Theodosius, and raised heavy Complaints against Seronatus the Presect of Gall, as treading upon those of Rome, and Conspiring with the Goths for their Extirpation. At length Alaricus the last King of these Goths, perceiving the Minds of the People so addicted to the Laws of Theodofius, that there was no hope of bringing them to have any Gufto of the Gothick, caused a Breviary of Theodosius his Code, to be Composed by some Select Persons, and to be published by Anianus his Chancellour; and lest he should diminish his own Majesty, by admitting this Foreign Law, made it his own as appears by the Commonitory to Timotheus the Count prefixed to it. This Alarick being flain, Aquitain with part of the Province of Narbon, was subdued by Clodo næus, but Septimania for the present escaping the Conquerours hands, remained in the Power of the Viligaths, as did the Province of Arby in the hands of Theodorick the Oftrogothian and Italian King. In these Countries yet remaining to the Goths, to be fure the Roman Law Continued fafe, of which Theodorick himself is more than once Witness in Cassiodorus. Clodonæus also, either because he thought til. 3. 194 17. it impossible, or unsafe to make such an Alteration, or unwilling to shew any 6 43 Harshness to those who had invited him into the Countrey, or rather for that he had no better to obtrude upon them, fuffered them to enjoy their beloved Civil

Law, with all Freedom.

127. Hence came it to pass, that the Provincials of Aquitain and others be-Fredegainin yond the Loire, were by the Franks called Romans, as also the whole Countrey on alveminated that side of the same River, Romania, Romana Terra, and Gallia Romana. More Romanis p over King Clothair, under the Name of Romans by an Edict, permitted them the use right share of Roman Laws, as also did Guntran, Chilperick and Sigebert by their Approbation. education, the Sa spreadle hereto. did several Bishops and others make their Wille fully conditions. As agreeable hereto, did feveral Bishops and others, make their Wills fully con-cilia item psformable to the Rules of the Civil Law which Gregory Turonensis witnesseth; and Lutityandar alii. Aimoinus tells us, that Sadregifilus the Duke of Aquitain being flain, his Sons for Lik4.6.28. that they would not profecute and revenge the Murther, were according to the appointment of the Roman Laws, despoiled of all their Father's Goods. In the days of Clodonæus the second, and the Son of Dagobert, flourished this Law as is fully manifest from Marculfus his Forms of Codicils directed to the Rulers of Provinces. In the Age also of Childerick the second it is evident enough, that the Civil Law Extinas. No. was in high Efteem, both in the Courts and the Schools of the Arverni. Charles End around the Great, following the Example of his Predecessours of the first Line, established Bonit intends. the use of it to those that lived beyond the Loire, Commanding the Code of Thee templifying the Loure to those that lived beyond the Loire, Commanding the Code of Thee templifying the Lorentz transfer and transfer an dostus to be mended for their use, as appears from the last words added to the Januar 15.

Commonitory of Alaricus, and prefixed to the said Code. Nay he was so great a transfer of the said Code. Friend to this imperial Law, that many things out of this Volume he caused to be role Reg Fran. transferred into his own Capitularies. The fame Courfe was observed, by those of Imposed to fair Faming Many to the Ruine thereof, a notable Instance of which we have in Gerard, Instance of which we have in Gerard, Instance of Aquitain, who that he might not break the famous Law use sensible a certain Court of Aquitain, who that he might not break the famous Law use sensible called Fusia Cialia (and Mundialis in our Authour) by his Testament resuled in book of the distance of the Manumitt more than one hundred of his Slaves. At that time flourished many in easten less than the state of the state o eminent Men in Aquitain, who were great Proficients in this Science. Particularly refinantly indimensional transfer and the Father of Odo Cluniacensis, is said by Joannes Italus the Writer of the Life bere. of the Son, to have had by Heart the Histories of the Ancients, and the Novel Ods Chestard's of Justinian. In Septimania indeed, by an Edict of Cindafaindus King of the Vift- 1th. 3. Gradle out is the Raman I aw was acir ware twent out of Door and the Vift- 1th. 3. goths, the Roman Law was as it were turned out of Doors, and the Gothick pre-Les. Wife La. vailed fo long as the Goths possessed that part of Gallia Narbonensis, but after the " & Countrey was subdued by the Franks, they recalled the Roman as we may easily gather from the perpetual Laws of Charles the Great, Ludovicus Pius, and Charles the

128. But we are told by Eginart, that the Franks had two Laws very different Nam Frank Law in many places. The Reader must know then, that besides this of the Romans they haken legs his rimis in loss to the rimin in loss to th found in Gall, they made or brought with them another of their own which is the de diversal. The Salick Law, fo much spoken of in later Ages. Who were the Authours of it, is sufficiently set forth in the Presace, and Sigebert moreover informs us; as that it was Sigebern Gere Composed by four of their Noblemen chosen out of many, and known by the Names blacen of Wifogast, Bosogast, Salogast and Widogast, in these Villages of Germany, Salachaim, Bodochaim and Wingehaim. We are told that these four meeting in three

Malli, or so many several places of Assemblies, very carefully handled and discussed Sect. 4. Causes, resolving to Judge according as the Salick Law declareth. Whence it Whence to call should be called, there are different Opinions. Some derive the Name from Sal Vide Pontanion and Sala, fignifying a Court or Hall, as if for Salica should be meant Aulica. So 1.6. c. 17. Aventinus interprets Lex Salica, Terra Salica, Salica Prædia, and Salici Clientes, and indeed still at this day the Dutch-men have this word Salbuch frequently in their Mouths, whereby they mean Salicus Codes or a Salick Book, wherein are described the Grounds belonging to the King or Church, together with the Tributes and Revenues. Moreover in the Laws of the Alemans and other Nations, the Leg. Alaman. word Sala is often used for an House, as Hall now is used by us English, and not tie. 81. onely for the greatest Room or dining Room, as Salle in French also fignifies. In til. 3, 4. this Sense the Salick Land should properly be that Land or Ground, which being Conquered was affigued to the Court or Courtiers, wherein the Female Sex could not fucceed, as unable by Arms to defend and fecure it. Lindebrogius cites an old Gloffary, wherein Terra Salica is explained by the Teutonick word Selilaut, as the Ground or Soil belonging to the Court or the King's House.

Ground or Soil belonging to the Court of the Mills I rolling.

129. Others derive the word from the Franci Salii mentioned by Ammianus Mar. Petitique swelton

129. Others derive the word from the Franci Salii, who formerly took the bold-gar confirmation of the following the saliin, who formerly took the bold-gar confirmation in the Roman Pale: at Toxiandria locus, and when Ju. Salii appetant, nefs to fix their Habitations in the Roman Pale: at Toxiandria locus, and when Ju. Salii appetant, nefs to fix their Habitations in the Roman Pale: at Toxiandria locus, and when Ju. Salii appetant, nefs to fix their Habitations in the Roman Pale: at Toxiandria locus, and when Ju. Salii appetant, nefs to fix their Habitations in the Roman Pale: at Toxiandria locus, and when Ju. Salii appetant, nefs to fix their Habitations in the Roman Pale: at Toxiandria locus, and when Ju. Salii appetant, nefs to fix their Habitations in the Roman Pale: at Toxiandria locus, and when Ju. Salii appetant, nefs to fix their Habitations in the Roman Pale: at Toxiandria locus, and when Ju. Salii appetant, nefs to fix their Habitations in the Roman Pale: at Toxiandria locus, and when Ju. Salii appetant, nefs to fix their Habitations in the Roman Pale: at Toxiandria locus, and when Ju. Salii appetant, nefs to fix the Habitations in the Roman Pale: at Toxiandria locus, and when Ju. Salii appetant, nefs to fix the Habitation in the Roman Pale: at Toxiandria locus, and when Ju. Salii appetant, nefs to fix the Habitation in the Roman Pale: at Toxiandria locus, and when Ju. Salii appetant, nefs to fix the Habitation in the Roman Pale: at Toxiandria locus, and when Ju. Salii appetant, nefs to fix the Habitation in the Roman Pale: at Toxiandria locus, and when Ju. Salii appetant, nefs to fix the Roman Pale: at Toxiandria locus, and the Roman Pale: at T lian was come to *Tungri*, he adds, that there it was, that their Amballadours met him. mans fib and Berwixt these Opinions there's no Repugnancy, they may both be true. This Law Toxiandrian historical man the control of the contro might be called Salick from the People; and the People called Salit, from the Sal figere, lib. 17. or Sala lately mentioned. But this Toxiandrialocus in the Judgement of several Learor Sala lately mentioned. But this Instantantiation in the Judgement of levelar Lear-ned Men, is that very Village in the lower Loraine, which to this day is called Rer. Braham.l.a. Tessanderlo. For the People called Tungri in the same Tract, and the River Mosa Christoph. Bron. flowing along are most certain Notes of the Habitation of these Franci Salii in wens Annal. Windershoven. For the first Zelheim, with a little Variation of Dialect in the Vindic Hisp. c.5. Teutonick Tongue founds no other than the Habitation of the Salii, over against which on the other fide of the River Tamera, stands a Salick Village called Zelck: Germani pro There lyes also a Region betwixt Herkam and Halen, at this day called Vranckriick, or unnur Z zel is the Kingdom of France; and beneath that the Salick Meadows, known by the Sal. Heim idem Names of Zeelbemden, which manifeltly prove those to have been the first Seats of sum noftro Ham, the Salick Franks.

etiam Home. Sic Zelheim est Sal ham. Habitatio Saliorum.

130. But Julian the Emperour himself writing of these Franks, which living at

130. Dut Juttan the Emperour nimer writing of their Prants, which in high at A. Toxandria had made their Addresses to him, calls them a part of the Salii, which themenses. hints that another part of them inhabited elsewhere. Now that any which dwelt Molean Tor beyond the Rhine were called Salii, appears not at all; therefore Chiffletius thinks, Sahidis that those of the Franks which had passed that River, and now fixed on this side, were so named from the River Salia, which rifing out of the Lake by him called Lindrius Lacus at the City of Metz, empties it felf into the Moselle. Now that this River had it's Name from Sal or Salt, Fortunatus tells us, where he Enume-Hara, Sara, Charates the Rivers of Gallia Belgica. Chiffletius adds, that this Etymology is found-ba, Somma, Sued upon very good Reasons. For not far from the River are the Salt Fountains of ra: Seu qui Loraine, which Spring up at Dieuze, Marfal, Mogennic, Salone and Chasteau-falin, sale nomen haat which places they boil the water into Salt: Neither is far distant, the Mona-bens, lib. 7. 6. 4. stery of the Salt Valley, of the Order of St. Norbert. That greatest Contests of old happened betwixt the Burgundians and Allemans, the Catti and Hermundari about fuch Salt waters we are affured by feveral Writers, as well out of a superstitious Conceit they had of fuch impregnated Waters, for the great Gain that arises out of fuch Traffick; and why might not they have the fame Defires? why might not the fame Endeavours be used by the Franks? But that from this Salia they were fo named, this renders it still more probable, that in the parts of Loraine feveral other People may be found, which took their Names from the adjoyning Rivers: As from the River Monus (by Regino called Mogonus) the Mogonciaci from Rura, the Ribuarii, in old French, les Ruyers, from Elellus the Elfatii: From

Haina the Hainonii, and from the Mofella the Mofellani. Why then not as well

from Salia the Salii. To speak indifferently this is very probable, and Papirius Maffonus was of this Opinion, that the Salick Law was so denominated from Salia the River of the Mediomatrici, as also Hotoman, that the People received this Appellation from the River.

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131. From very many Instances and Examples, Chiffletius proves that in those Countries, lying within the Rivers, Meufe, Moselle, Scelde and Somona, or the Somme, the Salick Law was used and in Force for many Ages, amongst those who were first called Salii, then Austratii, and afterward Lotharingi. Upon the very same account, Conrade the second Emperour was long after called Salicas, because he was born in the Salick Land, in the Territories of Wormes, within the Borders of the Eastern France, or the ancient Kingdom of Loraine. In like manner, St. Norbert born in the Countrey of Cleeve, in the Diocese of Coleine, is by Hugo Came- In vita tites racensis, his first Associate and Successour in the Pramonstratensian Monastery, said Annum 1140. to be descended of the Illustrious Off-spring of the Franks, and the Salick Germans that is to fay of the Austrasians, who were the Eastern Franks, called afterward Lotharingi, the Kings of whom were intituled, Reges Orientalis Francia: Kings of Deterraverise Oriental France. To these in the Opinion of Cujacius, truly and properly belong-lica in malium ed the Salick Law, by Virtue whereof Males alone succeeded their Ancestours in reditain media. their Inheritances. For so a branch of it runs: But of the Salick Land no Portion sed becarifulated of the Inheritance passeth to a Woman, but this the Male Sex acquires; that is to be described fay, Sons succeed in the Inheritance. This is that passage, whereupon has been Hardhate face. raifed such a noise in the World, and has cost two Neighbouring Nations, so much dust. Bloud and Treasure.

132. But Cujacius very well observes, and so doth Hotoman in his Franco-gallia, Separatis libris that in feveral Books are written the Law Salick, and the Law of the Franks: belong its Salad hat to the other of the East, of its belonged to those of the West, and that to the other of the East, of its belonging the salad belonging to the the Australians, and Lotharingians as they were afterwards called. Chifflet affirms, out the Salick Land to be the Dukedom of the upper Loraine, the right of Succession illa Orientalian. in it, by Virtue of this Law belonging to Males onely, as also in the Dukedom of dis tit. I. the lower Loraine, till fuch time as by Indulgence of the Emperours, the Succession Vindia Hip. ch. was also devolved upon the weak Sex. As by many Instances, he proves that the Salick Law belonged to the Eastern Franks, so by as many and more doth he shew, that it no way concerned the Kingdom of the Western, which at this day we call France. That fometimes the Kingdom was transferred to the Males, when there were Females remaining, viz. the Daughters of the late deceafed Kings cannot be denied, as we have feen in the Case of Guntram, who though he left a Daughter called Clotilde, yet his Kingdom went not to her, but to his Brother Sigebert. So Childebert the third dying, the Crown came to his Brother Clothair, though he left two Daughters; and Cherebert the fifth being deceased, the Succession was devolved upon Sigebert his Brother, and his three Daughters were excluded. These Inflances and Testimonies yet he over-rules by a far greater number on the other fide, whereby he doubts not, but that he demonstrates that the Law Salick was never observed nor practised, there where some in later Ages for their own Interests, have fo much pleaded and contended for it.

133. First, had any such Law been regarded as Sacred and Inviolable, it would have awed the Franks fo much, that after the Death of Clodio they would not have passed by his Children, and transferred the Kingdom to Meronaus his Kinsman, Posterio Cludio probably descended of the Bloud Royal by the Female Sex. It would also have nin Regin quita been a Bridle to them, against their rejecting of Childerick, and making choice of tenus fixed fac-Ægidius the Roman Patritian, whose Mother or Wife probably was a Frank, because veri stemmat, We find that his Son Siagrius possessed the City of Soisson by right of Inheritance, quiet et Ms. Had there been such a kind of Curb, a Reverence to such a Law, it would have like been more effectually joyned at least with their Duty and Allegiance, than to suffer public juris seit. them to reject the Male Line of the Meroningians, and promote the Family of Charles Martell, which was descended of it by a Female, as we have formerly shewed, viz. by Blithilde the Daughter of King Clothair, Married to Ansbert the Duke of Austrasia. The like Example we find in Wido, Duke of Spoletum who was chosen King, though he was descended from Charles the Great, by a Daughter onely of Pipin the second; but for this very reason that he was a Kinsman by his Mother, of Charles the Simple. Odo Moreover obtained the Crown of France, for being descended from the said Charles, though by his Concubine, for which and no better a Reason, Rodulph the Kinsman of him and King Robert, thought himfelf worthy and capable of a Crown, which he put on his Head, and caused himfelf to be faluted King of Burgundy. The faid Robert pretended to the Kingdom Sect. 4 by the same Title and none other, as had done his Brother Odo, who as he affirmed, had Reigned by as good Right as had King Pipin. For the same reason was Rodulphus made King of France. Neither could Hugh Capet himself challenge the Crown by any better Title. All these were actually possessed of the Crown. Where was then the Salick Law, which the Modern French so much boast of, as vindic. Gall. firmly established, and sprung up together with the Kingdom, by which alone the cap. 16. Liberty and Dignity of the Name of France hath subsisted, as that which hath preferved it from being oppressed by the Empire, and Jurisdiction of Strangers?

Contemporary with the Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

134. From the Rights and Pretentions of others, it appears that this Salick Law Vetus Flandrie was not in this point at all acknowledged in ancient times. Henry the first of that Chimican and Name being dead, Baldwin Sirnamed Pius the Count of Flanders, who had mar pingia, o. rice Adela his Sifter, was made Protectour or Guardian to Philip his young Son & continue ut on this Condition, that in Case the Child Philip should dye without Children, he startedton mai should succeed to the Crown in Right of his Wife, the Aunt of his young Pupill. contingeret pra-Here Authours say, he should be King in Right of his Wife, and that the Nobility Buldwines France fwore fealty to him, as the just Heir of the Kingdom, in Case Philip should dye corum Rex effect without Islue. Now no Right can be against such a positive Law, and Just and such a positive Law, and Just and such a positive Law, and Just and such as such as the such as t Legitimate flowing from Law it felf; how could he be faid to be King in Right Aliad verus of his Wife, of a Just or Legitimate Heir, in Case of such an Illegality? In Chron. M.S. Manufactive Sansti like manner, the Nobility after the death of Lewis the eighth, dissaining to be official finances governed by Blanche his Wife, in the Minority of his Son Lewis, resolved to con-confine material for the Crown on Enguerran Lord of Coucy, for no other Cause, than for that he proxime. was descended from the Loins of their Kings in a double Line, but in both by Chronica ver. Women, as appeareth by his Pedigree to be seen in Chifflet his Book. The first apad candem a time that ever the Salick Law was objected and made use of in this Case, was after tum jam fuise the death of Lewis Hutin, who left his Wife Clementia Great with Child of a Son Enguerrannum called John, that died the eighth day after he was born. He left a Daughter also Regem Francia. named Joanna, begotten on Margaret the Daughter of Robert Duke of Burgundy Poliquam oblafor whom her Uncle Odo Son of this Robert, challenged the Kingdom of France casionem amissifier in Right both of her Father and Brother, But Philip Sirnamed the Long, took of after of ifto Lemthis Odo by Marrying to him his own Daughter Joanna, and as Du Haillan observes. Tene said Roy Philip having a Controversie with a young Virgin destitute of Help and Succour, ne Duc Justi in Alleria and having bribed the Nobility by great Promiles eafily had the better of her. Yet pur fire decourt, did her Aunt the Dutchess of Birgundy protest against the promotion of Philip in rivant de voge. Right of her Niece, neither would the Dukes of Burgundy and Flanders, though the determinant of the Peers of France be present at the Inauguration. Odo yet afterward as we said to Respire the included the said to the Respiration of the Peers of the Peers of the Inauguration. nounced the Right of his Niece, being taken off by a Marriage with Joanna, who vero usurpata shall brought with her the Inheritances of the other Burgundy, and Artesia; though had woo bridgens Sie this Salick Law been known amongst the Western Franks, he would scarcely have ew, we will be the Salick Law been known amongst the Western Franks, he would scarcely have ew, we will be the said and objected almost nine Foot Bulgane. afferted her Right at all. But now was it first cited and objected, almost nine probat Baltan. whole Ages after it was first enacted in the Salick Land.

135. Odo the Duke of Burgundy gave up the Cudgels, as we faid, as to the Right of his Niece; but when his own turn came, he was not willing to be fo ferved. For Philip the Long being dead, he Challenged the Kingdom for Joanna his A. D. 1312. Wife, Daughter to the faid Philip, and contended though in vain, he himself having helped to make a Prefident, with Charles Sirnamed the Fair, the Brother of the King deceased. Not long after, Charles had the same sate as had his Brother to dye without iffue Male, which Accident procured that famous Contest betwixt the two Nations of France and England. Our King Edward the third, the Nephew of Charles by his Sifter Ifabell, justly contended that the Crown belonged to him, rather than to Philip of Valois the Coufin German of Charles, who laid claim to it. He affirmed, that though the pretended Salick Law were admitted; yet would the End and Defign of it be accomplished in his Person, who though descended from the French Kings by his Mother, yet was a Man, and so fit to Govern; Women by it being excluded from the Inheritance, but not Men who derive their Pedigrees by Women. He produced the Example of Pipin, the Father of Charles the Great, urged those of Odo and Robert, and instanced in Hugh Capet, who were promoted for this very reason, that by their Mothers and Grandmothers, they drew their descent from the Kings of the Franks. His Right and Title to the Crown, to be better than that of Philip he shewed, in that he was the Grandson of Philip the Fair, begotten on his Daughter, and therefore it was fitter that he should succeed his Grandsather and his Ucles, than Philip, who deriving his def-

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cent from the Father of Philip the Fair, was more in Bloud remote, though he feized on the Kingdom. He quartered the Arms now of France and England together, and defied Philip the Invader of the Kingdom, calling him by no other Name than Philip of Valois. Then what Wars followed none can be ignorant, than which Æmilius affirms none ever was more grievous, none more long, none more Bloudy and Contentious, nor any more frequently repeated. A later Writer Audentu Mirror adds, that this Contention involved the French and English, by reason of a tedious in Chron. Belg. War, in the greatest Calamities: Hence the Kings of England have taken the Title ad Am. 1322, and Arms of the Kingdom of France, and as yet do take them; and affirm the

Controversie as yet not to be decided.

136. While John the second of France was here Prisoner in England, Charles King of Navar, Son to the Daughter of Lewis Hutin, renewed the Claim of his Mother, and the Dolphin then Regent, was glad to buy him off with that part of Normandy he had got into his hands, before the Kings Captivity; by Virtue of which Bargain his Right was then extinguished. But Charles the fixth could not fo stop the Mouth of our Henry the fifth, but Marrying to him his Daughter Catharine, ordained him Regent of the Kingdom during his Life, and after his Death Successour to it. The French Writers here except that Charles was not well in his Wits; but its a wonder that the Estates of the Realm should be so mad with him for Company. For it's certain enough it was done by their Confent; if Madness was the Cause, this Madness neither died nor was buried with him. His Body being laid in his Grave, in the Church of St. Denis, The Officers of his House brake In 6 250. their Staves, and cast them into the Grave, turning their Keys also downwards, then the Heralds coming to the Graves side cryed out: Rest the Soul of the most high and most excellent Prince Charles King of the Franks, of that Name the fixth, our Natural and Sovereign Lord: then with an higher Voyce added; God lengthen the Tears of Henry by the Grace of God, King of France and England our Sourceign Lord. Then erecting their Keys and lifting up the Lilies or their Coat Armours toward Heaven ingeminated these Words, Let the King live. Had the Salick Law been of fuch Sacred and inviolable esteem, it's not to be supposed, the Estates would have Confented, especially *Philip* the good Duke of *Burgundy*, who being himself issued from the House of *Valois*, had no reason to make Shipwreck thus of his Hopes and Expectations. But in profecution of the Right which rose from the Title of Idem, Annual our Henry the fifth, his Marriage with Catharine, and the Agreement upon that Marriage, Henry the fixth his Son some thirteen Years after came to Paris, and there with the same Consent was solemnly Crowned and anointed.

137. The Governour of Paris with the flower of the Citizens went out to meet him, and did him Reverence. They were followed by the chief Prefident, habited like a Prince with the Members of Parliament, clad in Purple and Scarlet. Next to these went the Masters of Accounts, after them they that had the Charge of the Treasury, the Masters of the Requests, and the Secretaries: All these kneeled before him, and acknowledged him for their Sovereign. The Provost of Merchants, and the Eschenius or Sheriffs brought a Canopy of blew Silk poudredwith Golden Lilies, and carried it over his Head all the while he passed through the City. On the seventeenth of December he went to the Church of Nostre Dame, and there was Confecrated by the Cardinal of Winchester. Thence returning to the Palace, he entred as it were into Possession of the Royal Dignity, the Doors were set open, he sate on his Bed of Justice, heard and determined Causes, and executed the Office of a King. Letters Patents were sealed with his Seal Royal, and he had two Crowns, the one on his Head, and the other standing by him, to flew openly that he was King of fo many Kingdoms. Where was then the Salick Law? In the same Esteem doubtless as it was more lately, not yet one hundred Years ago after the Death of Henry the third, the French King. The greatest Faction would willingly have Cancelled it out of Enmity to the Family of Bourbon. Some were for the Duke of Loraine or one of his Children, others for the Duke of Savoy, as the Son of a Daughter of France; but most cast their Eyes on Philip the second King of Spain, as descended from the Loins of Charles the Great, and fixteen Paristans who, had then the Care of the State upon them, wrote to him Letters full of Duty and good Wishes, to be seen in the Book of Chiffletins. What cause the Modern French have to bragg as they do, of the Observation of cassan, in their Salick Law, inviolably preserved since the founding of the Monarchy it self; let the Reader judge by these Instances, which howsoever they transcend the Period, we have allotted to this Volume, yet in so material a Subject which

we here handle once for all could not be omitted. We assure our selves, that Sect. 4. during the Reigns of the Kings of the first and isecond Lines, it was never thought of, and it was so far from being a Check upon the French in ascertaining the Succession, that the contrary Doctrine, viz. that the Descent from the Royal Family by the Female Sex, gave a Right and Title to the Crown, was no small incouragement to the ancient Franks, to commit those extraordinary and extravagant Practices, upon which Hotoman founds his Doctrine of Election, and opened the Door to the Succession of Pipin and his Family, if not of that also of Hugh

138. All this is abundantly confirmed from the Successions of several Dukedoms, and Counties of the Western or Modern France, which have often descended from the Spear to the Distaff, have been possessed both long since, and lately by Women and their Children: He that defires Satisfaction may confult the Book of Chifflet written upon this Argument, where he may find the feveral Examples, and the Pedigrees he produceth for the Proof and Evidence of his Affertion. We shall here give the Reader onely a Tafte of it. First, he produceth the Testimony of Orho Frisingensis, who writes that it's the Custome in Burgundy (as almost in all the Provinces of Gall) that ever to the elder Brother and his Children, whether Males or Females, the Right of the Father's Inheritance belongs; others looking upon them as their Lords. He observes, that the Particle Pene, or almost, excludes the Salick Lands of the Eastern France. Then for Instances, Conrade Count of Paris was Duke of Burgundy, in Right of his Wife Adelais, the elder Daughter of Hugh the Bastard Son of Charles the Great. So was Hugh the Son of Conrade in Right of his Father and Mother. After Hugh fucceeded Alaydis his Niece by his Brother, her Husband Richard the Count of Autun, being in her Right made Duke of Burgundy. In their Right fucceeded Hugo Niger their Son, betwixt whom and Hugo Albus there arose a difference, for he pretended to the Dukedom, because his Mother was Beatrice the Daughter of Richard and Alaydis, Married to Robert the first King of the Franks: The Contest grew so high, that they divided Burgundy betwixt them. Hugh the Black dying without slue, Gilbert Count of Dijon the Son of Manasses, who had Married another Sister succeeded, and in like manner left the Dukedom to Otho his Son-in-Law. Long after this continued the Succession of Hugh the White in the Male Line; but at length Duke Philip Sirnamed Robore- A.D. 1352. tanus dying without Issue, the Dukedom fell to Folm the French King, by Right of

Joanna his Mother, great Aunt to Philip the last Duke, though there were se-

veral of the Male Line remaining; therefore certainly not by any Right he claimed by Virtue of the Law Salick.

139. Which Law in the Succession of Burgundy, was never heard of till Lewis the eleventh of France, indeavoured to exclude Mary the Daughter of Charles the Bald, flain in the Battel of Nancy; and this, faith Chifflet, is the Fountain of that Right, whereby the French King retains from her Posterity the most noble Region of Burgundy. But to proceed, the Province, faith he, which the King of England afferts at this day as his Right, and which his Ancestours throughout all the Kingdom of France enjoyed quietly in times past, belong to him no otherwise than by Right derived on the Female fide. For the County of Maine, Fulco Earl of Anjoy married Eremburgis, the Daughter of Helias Earl of Maine, together with Willielman Gemher receiving the County, and by her had two Sons and as many Daughters, meticanfis, lib. 2. whereof one married to William the Son of Henry King of England. His two Inflatinian Sons were Geoffrey and Helias, whereof the elder married Maud the Daughter of mammam & our Henry the first, the Sister of the said William, and Dutchess of Normandy: And Anglorum. at length Henry Son of Geoffrey and Maud (being Duke of Normandy by his Mo-Galiel. Neubtiat tength Henry Andrews and Maine) took to Wife Elianor the Daughter of the genfit, 1.1.631.

Duke of Aquitain, or Guienne, formerly called Wife to Lewis the seventh King of Ratine congists. France, and by her became Lord both of Guienne and Poictou. The Historian manni potestatem writes, that Guienne by little and little withdrew it felf from the Dominion of the transfirit: Fran-Franks, and passed into the hands of the Duke of Normandy by reason of his Wife: dia labe The Franks pining with Envy, but not able to hinder the effect of his Right, but, fed impedire Our King Henry by the fame Right, being Lord of Poilton could lay just Claim to indeen just prothe County of Tolouse, derived from the Grandmother by the Fathers side of his vestum faid Wife Elianor by Name Philippa, the Heir of Count William, and Wife to marthanus, 1.6. faid Wife Elianor by Name Philippa, the Heir of Count of Manager States and Alphonfus, Brother 6.8.

William the eighth Duke of Guienne. And no other Right had Alphonfus, Brother 6.8.

Estadous Guiden Country of Tolonfe, than for that he had married apad Guiden.

Labe Gib Count of that Country.

Catch in Higher.

O 0 0 2

140. As comitum Tolofa.

140. As for Bretagnes, the Dukedom of it hath four times descended to Females, Males and Uncles being fometimes excluded. As to the two first England was concerned, and therefore we shall present the Reader with the Writers words. Baldaines Acc Concerning Peter, Sirnamed Mauclere, Brother of Robert the fecond Count of M. S. Haire, Dreux, it must be known that he married Aleydis Countess of Bretagne, whose april chiffman. Grandfather Conan Sirnamed the Groffe, had one onely Daughter Constantia by Name, which married to Jeoffrey the Brother of Richard King of England, and brought him a Son Named Arthur, together with a Daughter Elianor by Name. King Richard dying, the Kingdom was devolved upon Feoffrey, who deceased also before such time as he could receive the Homages of his Subjects. Therefore John Lackland Januar firetin. his younger Brother feized on the kingdom, procuring his Nephew Arthur after that any ward to be drowned, and detaining his Niece Elianor in Captivity, out of which Sorpius she never escaped. Feoffrey being Dead, the Countess Constantia married to Almarick Count of Anjou, who begat on her this Aleydis. She then possessed of the County married Peter Mauclere, who had by her one Son and a Daughter. Thus we fee how twice this Inheritance descended to Women. Another example we have in Charles the younger Son of the Count of Blois, who marrying Claudia the Niece Page of John the Duke of Bretagne by his Brother, in Right of his Wife assumed the Ti- A. D. 1340. tle of Duke, though John the last of the Brothers of the deceased Duke contradicted it, denying that this Countrey could in Equity fall back to the manly Sex. This John was in Right of his Mother Count of Montfort, whence arose a most sharp War, King Philip assisting Charles his Sisters Son, and the English Monfort. Froissart affirms, that by the Judgment of the Peers of France; Blois was preferred before Montfort, because Claudia was nearest akin to the deceased Duke. He had the better therefore upon his Wives account, and in her Right, by Virtue of which he had also received the Vicounty-ship of Limosin. As for Anne the Daughter of Francis Duke of Bretagne, later Writers Consent that she was not onely the Legitimate Heir of her Father, but would never permit the Kings her Husbandsto Semmathei dispose of her Duchy. And for Claudia her Daughter, she was rightly enough be Frantikses. trothed to Charles of Austria, but was married to Francis of Valou, left so goodly an Inheritance should fall into the hands of Strangers.

141. Farther the County of Champagne, as Pope Honorius the third decided Extravagation. the Question of Right, appertained to the Queen of Cyprus, which was Aleydis Comitimen C. the eldest Daughter of Henry the second, Count of this Province, married to Hugh Lusinian King of that Island. Her Cousin Theobald by strength of Arms carried it from her. But the matter succeeded better in behalf of the Women in the Reign of Philip the Fair, to whom this County fell in the Right, and upon the account of his Wife Jaan. The like might be demonstrated concerning the ancient Counties of Crespy or Valou, of Bursur, Aube and Vermandois, of the County of Provence, of Flandres, which fell to Philip the Bald, in Right of his Wife, as also afterward to Maximilian, the Husband of Mary of Burgundy. It would be too tedious to expatiate upon the County of Arthois, passed to a Daughter by decree of the Parliament of Paris, notwithstanding the endeavours of the dead Brothers Sons, viz. to Margaret Countels of Burgundy and Artois, who was as a Peer present at the Inaugu- Belleforth in ration of Charles the fifth at Paris, putting her hand to the Crown, as the rest did Chron. Tom. 1. while the Archbishop prayed for the King. In like manner, it were easie to inlarge 1. 4. 5.54 upon the Counties of Nevers, Auxerre, and Tonnerre, the Dutchies of Rethel, Montpensier, Touteville, Joyeuse, Aumale, Mayenne and Aiguillon, very lately in the hands of Women. The County of Mesconnois, to which the Privilege of Peerage is annexed, was bought by St. Lewes of Aleydis, the Widow of John Earl of Dreux. Helia, the Sister of Robert, gave the Duchy of Alençon to Philip Augustus. Albret fell also in the last Age to Foan the Wise of Antony of Bourbon, and Mother to Henry the fourth. Now by these Instances, to mention no more, let the impartial Reader judge whether Cassanus hath reason to write that by the Law Salick, not onely all access Lib 2. 4.5. to the whole Crown is barred by Women, but even to parts of the Crown also, as Dukedoms, Counties and other Fees, because they are of the same Nature with the flock, from which they proceed. Of the same Nature they are indeed, but what this Nature is this Discourse hath made very evident.

142. But the Reader must know, that they which are for this Succession cannot agree amongst themselves, some affirming, that the Law Salick onely concerns the Crown, others the Crown, and the other Feuda or Fees we have lately mentioned, France Gallery, and the other Feeda or Fees we have lately mentioned. and others that it neither concerns the Crown, nor any Fees neither, but the Exclu- Francisch fion of Females they lay upon an Inviolable Custome, which hath the form of Law, Matharett.

as doth Hotoman, whose Foundation how weak it is, we way perceive by those Sect. A Examples he never fufficiently confidered. It's not in vain to take notice of what we Chifflet presses upon us, that by the Ambiguity of the Word France, the Modern French have endeavoured to impose upon the World in this particular. For there being three feveral Countries which have born this Name, the one beyond the Rhine, called by St. Jerome the Region of the Franks, and by others Antiqua Francia, the Habitation of the Anfinarii, and two more on this fide that River, the one Oriental, the Inhabitants whereof were the Salii called Austria, Austrasia, Francia Orientalis, Lotharingia and Media, Pars Franciæ; and the other Occidentalis, Nova, Latina, Romana and Neustria, the Inhabitants whereof were called Romani, from the Bastard Roman Tongue, the Modern French Writers have applied to themselves or the Western Franks indistinctly whatever was written concerning the other; making the inconfiderate World believe the new Kingdom was the very fame with the old. An advantage and Incouragement to this, they had from this following Accident, that the Name of France onely remained with the Weltern or their Countrey, where it had fixed before the days of Sigebert; whereas in the Ad Ann. 845 days of Charles the Great, under the Name of the Kingdom of the Franks, besides the three Frances lately mentioned, all Germany was included. But as the Franks were Germans Originally, so their Tongue prevailing against the Bastard Latine abolished the Name of Franks in the two Countries first mentioned, and in the Occidental France, the Bastard Latine being adopted into the Name of French carried away that Name, and blinded those that were not well skilled in Antiquity, as if that had been the onely true French Tongue, and fuch as spake it were French alone. But most true is that saying of Paulus Æmilius, that the Germans may Hist. Franc. 1.3. with more Right Challenge the Glory of the ancient Kings, Dukes and Emperours of the Franks to themselves as descended from them, for the Oriental Franks are still amongst them, and the Occidental or Western, are onely their Progeny.

143. From all that has been faid upon this Argument, whether or no we have reason to be of the same Opinion with Du Haillan, their own Historiographer, a Councellour or Secretary to King Henry the third, let the Modern French be Judges. Concerning the Law Salick he hath this Expression, that it was ascribed Este apellee Sa to Pharamond by those who, that they might make themselves Kings, defired to lique, by a Pharamond attrifound their Right of Convenience upon a very ancient Law, by this Antiquity to buce, par cent give it more Lustre and Authority. He demands, why Pharamond should be thought gap of faire to have made this Law for this Modern Crown of France, who never entred fairle lead that Name, to which he neither had Right, nor the least the binsh are pretension, never passed the Rhine, but always contained himself in his Province auctenne, pour la of Franconia. By that Article of Succession, so far is it, that any thing mount he women put the meant of the Succession of Kingdoms, that it speaks not of Fefs, but onely of aniquite that the fact that it should be successive the succession of Kingdoms, that it speaks not of Fefs, but onely for aniquite that the fact that the succession of the success of Franconia. By that Article of Succession, so far is it, that any thing should be donner par cest that the more severe Censurers of their History, affirm that the Law Salick was not Phiramond fait framed by Pharamond, but invented by Philip the Long, to deprive his Niece the directions, to Daughter of Lewes Huin of the Inheritance of the Kingdom, which to obtain he gue ismuisi i a must strengthen that his Act by the precept and Observation of some Law or mira a Gaule must strengthen that his Act by the precept and Observation of some Law or mira as a constraint of the constraint of th other. Nay he says plainly, that although this Law be one of the bravest that pellee France fur ever was made in any Kingdom, yet it hath no power in France, but by Force or Hillstre de Fran ftrong hand, on which most Laws in all Dominions are founded. Of the same of tem to Opinion was Scipio Dupleix one of his Successions, both in the place of Councel-Franchis. lour and Historiographer, a Man who by his Writings and Collections, hath very well deserved of that Nation. He counts it gross Ignorance in those that imagine In Prolegom. Hithe Salick Law was made in favour of Males, to exclude the Females from the Suc-flor. France cession to the Crown, forasmuch as in the whole Book there is not one Law, nor Title, nor Article which makes mention of it, as neither of any Right of the Kingdom or Dominion of it; but onely of the Rights of Subjects, and Punishments ordained for Crimes: Nay the Prologue most manifesty declares, that these Laws

their Peace and quiet. 144. That there was fuch a Law as the Law Salick, before Philip the Long, we must confess, but that this Law concerned any place, but Austrasia or the Eastern Franks, we may with good reason utterly deny, as that it any way respected the Crown, or had any thing to doe with the Succession. As for Chiffletius he makes this use of all that has been said: This Western or Modern French use this Salick Law like a Ball, they strike it out of the Tennis Court, and again bring it in as

were made for no other purpose, than to provide for the Government of Subjects,

Sect. 4. they please, to delude Posterity. For the first nine Ages after it was made, they never took notice of it (in this Sense he means) in the fourteenth Age they defended it Tooth and Nail against Edward the third, King of England: Again in the fifteenth they forgot the same Law, in savour of the two Henries the fifth and fixth Kings also of England: In the fixteenth Francis the first renounced it's Decrees and Abdications, by the Treaties of Madrid, Cambray and Crespi, which Renunciation of his, afterward Henry the fecond tacitely confirmed by another Treaty at Cambray, and Henry the fourth by that of Veruin. Then presently again, though thus over and over rejected, they reduce it into Play again, giving it the Epithetes Ania. 1. of Eternal and Immutable, though it doth not at all concern them, but as Du Haillan witnefleth, is made use of by force and violence. Then follows something, wherewith we shall not meddle as unconcerned in either of the Parties, whether French or Spanish. Thus teadious, we have been to give the Reader satisfaction concerning that Law, which has made such a noise in the World, and about which our Forefathers fpent fo much Bloud and Treasure. 145. The Law Salick confifts of feventy and one Chapters. To it are added the

Agreement or Treaty of Peace, betwixt the Kings Childebert and Clothair, as also

an Edict or Decree of Clothair, together with certain Capitula or Chapters of Other Laws in Charles and Lodowick Emperours. There were other Laws of the Alemani, Bajoarii Alias Bajoarii

use amongst the and Ripuarii, composed by order of Theoderick King of the Franks. What was we in Police. wanting in the Laws of the Franks, Alemans and Bajoarii he added, what was amiss or favoured of Heathenism he repealed, and what he by reason of the long rivit ed Use and Custome, could not amend, afterward Childebert attempted, and Clotair fully performed. All these King Dagobert by affishence of the Illustrious men Claudius, Judomagus and Agilulfus revised, renewed, put into better Form, and delivered in Writing to every Nation. Of the Laws of the Ripuarii, here is not any mention, but Learned men believe them to be of the fame Original. These Ri- Hoc conflat ex mention, but Learned men beneve them to be of the fame Original. There have in puarit or Ribuarii (not Riparii) inhabited the Region Ripuaria lying upon the Chran. ad A.D. River Rura, whence the City of Ruremund took its Name, which flows betwixt 923 & Rhigh the Meuse and the Rhine. That they took their Name à Ripis, from the Banks of all 881. the Rivers, some have been of Opinion; but then they should have been rather called Riparii, which they never are in ancient Authours, and whereas the first Syllable in Ripa is long and also in Riparia, in the Word Ripuaria we reade it short. Of these Laws of the Ripuarii are extant, eighty nine Chapters. There are other Laws or Capitula, of Charles the Great, and other Christian Princes collected

by Anfogifus the Abbat, and Benedictus Levita in seven Books, certain new Capitula of Lothair, and Charles the Bald being added. All these Laws first by Tillius, and then by Francis and Peter Pithon, being published apart were afterward Collected into one Body, together with the Laws of the Wissons, Burgundians,

Saxons, Lombards, Angili and Werini and other Nations, by Frederick Lindebros

gius, and are now every where extant.

Allodium what.

Their punish-ments of Crimes.

146. Amongst them all this is observable, that what Tacitus tells us of the ancient Germans, counting the time not by Days but by Nights, as our Saxon Ance-Their counting stours used, and we at this day say Seven-night and a Fortnight, not a seventh day and a Fourteenth day, is by these ancient Writers practised. The same was in use in the time of Charles the Great, as appears by his Capitulary; where the Lege Glyffar. Lin-Reader meets with the word Allodium, he must by it understand an Inheritance, Allodia German which a Man might give or fell away as his own. In the punishment of Crimes they no valid for followed the same Course as our Saxon Ancestours, not to punish a Man with Death the sent long for Thest, and other Faults as at this day practised. To forsake the Prince or run memanasim to away from their Colours, was reckoned amongst Capital offences, which were conjuntations Crimes most infamous amongst the Germans, in the days of Tacitus. The Nation in the days of Tacitus. The Nation in the days of the Germans being known to be given to drink, it was severely prohibited that Andrea and the Communication of the Germans being known to be given to drink, it was severely prohibited that Andrea and the Communication of the Germans being known to be given to drink, it was severely prohibited that Andrea and the Communication of the Germans being known to be given to drink, it was severely prohibited that the Communication of the Germans being known to be given to drink, it was severely prohibited that the Communication of the Germans being known to be given to drink, it was severely prohibited that the Communication of the Germans being known to be given to drink, it was severely prohibited that the Communication of the Germans being known to be given to drink, it was severely prohibited that the Communication of the Germans being known to be given to drink, it was severely prohibited that the Communication of the Germans being known to be given to drink, it was severely prohibited that the Communication of the Germans being known to be given to drink, it was severely prohibited that the Communication of the Germans being known to be given to drink the Communication of the Germans that the Communication of the Communication of the Germans that the Communication of the Communication of the Germans that the Communication of the Germans that the Communication of the Communication of the Germans that the Communication of the Communication o none should invite their Fellow Souldier, or other to that diversion: If any were affaithment of the control of likewife prohibited, Familiarity used also by the old Germans. Beggars there were Hin of carrinone suffered, each Town being to maintain their Poor, or set them on work in Schools in all Cities were opened for Instruction of Youth. Usury was unlawfull as in the times whereof Tacitus wrote. Adultery was punished both by Gelding and Whipping. The ancient Franks used, the way of Tryal by cold and hot Water, and by Red hot Irons, as did the English Saxons and the Danes, a Custome of old much impugned by Religious men. They were wont also to decide their Controversies by Duells, as Agathias informs us; amongst the Lombards, NobleCHAP. II. Contemporary with the Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

men used this way, and Slaves hot Water to purge their Innocency. Sect. 1. Such were the Laws of the Franks in General, befides which we must not omit to tell the Reader, that the Law of Fefs or Fees in these times whereof we Write, feem to have been introduced, if not fetled and perfectly formed amongst them. for we reade in Gregory Turonensis and Aimoinus, of Grounds assigned to Dukes and Great men, and the later expresly writes, that Clodoneus did deliver a place Lib. 4. c. 39. called Milidunum Castrum to one Aurelian, together with the Dukedom of the Lib. 9. c. 14. whole Region Jure Beneficii. Hence hear we so often of the Leodes or Ludes. which the Age following called Vass, and thence Vassals came to be so named. which the Age following called Pajis, and thence Pajian Carne to be to harmed. Some contend, that from these our Franks the Tenures of Fees received their first diliginal ori-Rife and Original; but this is a Paradox, and the General apprehension being that gines Feadgran they came from the Lombards, concerning both the Original and Nature of these from mribus Gal-Fees, the Reader is to look for Satisfaction out of that part of our History, which respects Italy and the Kingdom of that People, we have dwelt too long upon this Subject; but that great part which this Nation hath acted, and still continues to act upon the Stage of the World, may excuse us: And here we dismiss the History of the Franks for this Period.

CHAP. II.

The Dominion of the Visigoths in Spain and Gall, Contemporary with the Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

SECT. I.

From the beginning of this Dominion to the Death of King Eurick. The space of fifty seven Years.

HE Roman Provinces every where being wasted, and the Empire going to Ruine, as we formerly shewed, on all sides and Quarters, one Marcus was by the legionary Souldiers faluted Emperour here in Britain, and presently again by the same light Humour removed out of the way, Gratian being substituted in his Room, who was also flain within four Months after his Election, and Constantine advanced to the Purple. Constantine being in much Favour with the People, rather for a Vide Oresium, Fancy and Inclination they had to his Name, than that his Actions much deferved, Caffedown of a great part of Gall and also of Spain was at his Devotion; the minds of the Provin- Properum is cials being much of late exasperated, by the heavy and daily increasing Tributes and Chronicis & Jo Impositions laid upon them by the Emperours. In Spain yet there were two Kins- de Rebus Hispamen of Honorius, by Name Didymus and Verinianus, who adhered to their Alle-nia, lib. 5. giance, and gathering together an Army confusedly, and as they could prepared to give stop to Constantine, who was reported to have a Design to pass the Pyrenæans out of Gall, but were by his Son Constans defeated and slain. The Army of this Constant consisted for the most part of those Nations, which having broken out of Germany into Gall, from the League and Agreement they had made with Honorius, were called Honoriani. By permission of Constans, they over-ran and spoiled Spain, as far as to Palentia, and when he returned back to his Father, were appointed to Watch and Guard the Straits of the Mountains, to the great Indignation of the Spaniards, who Grudged exceedingly that Strangers should be thus trusted before themselves, whose Fidelity to the Roman Name and Interest, was sufficiently known, and from inward Grudges they proceeded to contumelious Words and to Threats, that Spain would shortly provide it self of new Masters.

2. But new Matters were shortly provided to their hands. For the Honoriaci we lately mentioned, whom Nature it self obliged to be kind and Friendly to the

Vandals, Alans, Suevi and Silingi, not long before let by Stilico into Gall, privily made an Alliance with them; and opening this passage which hitherto had been at the units of that against them, brought them into Spain. The cause of these Nations, their changing their Habitations, was the great Fear they were in of the Goths, who by Virtue of the Agreement made with Honorius being to fetthe in Gall, they suspected their fufficiency to Grapple with them, and make good their Ground. Their Irruption into Spain was attended, as is usual, with the greatest Calamities. With all Barbariim and Cruelty, they invaded the Fortunes and Estates, both of Spa-

niards and Romans without any difference, the Towns they plundered and demolifled, and depopulated all the Countrey. Hence infued a Famine, and that fo great, that one Man was constrained to feed upon another, and Wild beasts on him. Famine by reason of such unnatural Feeding, seldom goes without a Plague, which was now fo grievous, that innumerable multitudes were destroyed, yet not at all payed but envied by the Survivers, who were to conflict with many Miferies worle than Death it felf. Spain therefore being left in a manner destitute of Inhabitants, the barbarous Invaders with all Freedom, might chuse out places to themavision of serves, wherein to fix. To the Suevi, and part of the Vandals, Galacia fell, begion a ing then much larger than afterward, for it comprehended within its bounds all the ol. Caltile. Lustania with the Province of Carthagena, fell to the share of the Herman-rink, Alans, the Carpetani and Celtiberians excepted, who continued in their Fidelity to iden god E. the Romans. To the Vandals and Silingi, Batica was assigned. The King of the manusch Gast Suevi was Hermenrick, the King of the Alans, Ataco, and Gunderick of the Vandals rick, Rich is

and Silingi. This Partition being made, they concluded a Peace with the Romans, the ancient Traffick returned, and the Cities began to be inhabited as formerly. For the Spaniards partly out of Novelty, partly provoked by the Burthens laid on them by the Romans, preferred their new Slavery before their old; although some refused earnestly to submit to the Barbarian Yoke, especially in Galaccia where the Suevi had to doe. This Irruption happened A.D. 409. or thereabouts in the fifteenth Year of Honorius, and the second of Theodosius Emperours, the same time that Alaricus besieged Rome, Honorius the eighth time, and Theodosius the third time be-

3. In the mean time one Maximus in the hithermost Spain is saluted Emperour

by the means of Gerontius, a Count, who thus ferved his ends of Envy and Malice against Constantius. He marched into Gall, but both he and all other Tyrants quickly milcarried, and that Countrey became fully again at the Dovotion of Ho. One Pringing norius, who for a Guard to both the Provinces, appoints the Goths to the Roots of a 121 Advin-Alaricus King of the Pyrenæan Mountain. By this time Alaricus their King was dead, and Athaulfus menfer at A.D. had succeeded him, who by the Allurements of his Wife Galla Placidia, was drawn 410. International had succeeded him, who by the Allurements of his Wife Galla Placidia, was drawn 410. International had succeeded him, who by the Allurements of his Wife Galla Placidia, was drawn 410. International had succeeded him, who by the Allurements of his Wife Galla Placidia, was drawn 410. International had succeeded him, who by the Allurements of his Wife Galla Placidia, was drawn 410. International had succeeded him, who by the Allurements of his Wife Galla Placidia, was drawn 410. International had succeeded him, who by the Allurements of his Wife Galla Placidia, was drawn 410. International had succeeded him, who had succeeded him the succeeded hi to make a Peace with Honorius, and by Virtue thereof drew his Forces out of Italy, Narbanafi five into these Confines of Gall and Spain, both which being by Honorius given to the Provincia Smili

Goths, he placed the Seat of his Kingdom at a Town known afterward, by the Asidii. Name of St. Ægidius in the Province of Narbon. Hence have we that part of Gall Lib. 7.6.43 sometimes signified to us by the Name of Gallia Gothica, and great Wars happened betwixt these Goths and the Romans, sometimes also with the Franks, as we have Athanis Just feen, who at length expelled them out of these Quarters. But at this time, neither the daily did they make any great stay in Gall, for as Orosius writes, they were expelled out this in Easth. of Narbon, and constrained to go into Spain by Constantius the Count; the Cause Outh, half to feeming to be this, that they had provoked the Romans, by fetting up again wif help

Attalus the Usurper in Gall, whom formerly they had compelled to quit the Relimination Title. Athaulfus was a Man not made for much opposition, being of a peaceable lida natural de Temper and Inclination, acted by which as he endeavoured to compose the different statement. rence lately rifen with the Romans, his Men conspired against his Life, and one Mails Rex Alas-

Who is Sab'd. Vernulfus some call him Debbius, a fellow of a Dwarfish stature, but pregnant Wir ships and took his opportunity and ran him thorough, to revenge the Death of his Master panal primar deformerly stain by the King's Command; with him perished some Sons, as appears senden is used. from his Epitaph at Barcetona, which some count Authentick, but others esteem it bantor mills made in much later times. It fignifies, that this Athaulfus was the first who dared to multa virum. descend down the Mountains into Spain. Which he did in or about the 414th. nator & trimi-Year of our Lord, the twentieth of Honorius, and the feventh of Theodofius, Con- Jinfa pere

flantius and Conflans, Father and Son being Conflue, as former reckon, who must not be accounted the fame with the Twent and his Son lately recognized. be accounted the same with the Tyrant, and his Son lately mentioned, but that magna general Constantius, to whom Honorius a little after gave the Title of Emperour.

CHAP. I.

Contemporary with the Conft. Roman Empire.

4. Into the place of Athaulfus was Sigerick promoted, a Man of approved Con-Sect. 4. duct both in Peace and War, and of beautifull Perfonage, onely a little lame, his Thigh having been bruiled by a fall from his Horfe. However his former demeanour misters and having been bruiled by a fall from his Horfe. might win upon the Souldiers when King, they now interpret all things in the in victories. worst sense, and lay the same things to his charge, which they had done to his Prede-

ceffours. He was blamed as lazy, at least as too much inclined to Rest and Peace, Date adde away, and as guilty of the same Crime they imposed on him the same Punishment, making him away, when he had not reigned one full year. The next they made

Choice of was for their turn, as unquiet and busie as any one living, his Name Walia. At his very beginning he attempted an expedition into Africk, some Wal-lia, konepathought out of Desperation, the Romans by Constantius pressing him hard on one tiens, well suitehand, and the Barbarians, which had already feated themselves in Spain on the other. Others ascribe it to his desire of Conquest; but however it was, his Fleet gathered together in the straits of Gibraltar, was broken so, and shattered by a Tempest, that he was forced to retreat into Spain, and there made a Peace and Alliance with Constantius upon these Terms: "That Placidia the Wife of Athaulfus, " promifed to Constantius by the Emperour her Brother should be restored; that " the Goths should prosecute with War these Barbarous Nations that had seized on "Spain, and what Places and Territories they could recover out of their hands,

" should fall to and be annexed to the Roman Empire; they retaining what they " had already got in Gall and Spain. In profecution of this League Walia made an Ex-

Who deftroys pedition against the Alans in Celtiberia, who now aspired after the Empire of whole Spain, and killing Attace their King, with many of his Followers in Battel, forced fuch as remained alive to forfake Lufitania (now Portugal) and to betake themfelves into Galatia, where being mingled amongst the Suevi, they lost both their Name and Nation. But see the vicissitude of success, and of Humane Affairs!

The Alans had not long before domineered over the Neighbouring Nations, con- *Ab Alanis Alanfiratining the Pandals and Silingi to forfake Butica, and to flie for Refuge into Ga-queen partian latia, to the Suevi, that joining their Forces with them, by their Affittence they include part and allian might recover their former Seats. With this fuccess they were so pussed up, that might a Geet our Alani fet upon the Romans, and recovered several Cities out of their hands dillam vero A-But now are they funk and buried in Oblivion by the means of Walia. Onely rapto windowle * Alanguer, a Town fituate not far from Lisbon (formerly called Ferabrica) and Ala-Pro Alan per nis, a Village in the Mountains of Hispalis or Sevil, are by some thought to have lawran Faram

taken their Names from them. 5. The defign of Walia was not completed with the Conquest of the Alans;

from them he converted his Victorious Arms against the Silingi, a fort of Vandals inhabiting Bætica, whom in like manner he subdued, and by their Example the Prosper in Chron. Drives out the other Vandals and the Suevi were perfuaded to truckle and give good words to the Sidmin And-Romans, the Hirelings of whom the Goths onely feemed to be in perfecution of the linaris.

Quarrel. Walia in reward for his good fervice had the fecond Aquitain beslowed on him, or rather restored by the Emperour, together with some Neighbouring Idatins ex Editi-Offities, viz. of Novempoulania, even all as far as from Toloufe to the Ocean. Here on semanti, he reigned in quiet, but would not fuffer the Vandals in Spain to enjoy their reft, framing this control. but so serreted them from one Receptacle to another that finding this Countrey too sedes possible in hot for them, they passed over into Africk, glad to accept of a slender Invitation, April and a Tob-where making great devaslations, they setled themselves for some years, till at his large large making and the same share the same length, as we shall see at large, they made Shipwreck of all their Fortunes. Walia Asunais Jean-died at Tolouse, the Royal Seat of the Goths, but at what time, or after how many plants. Set amyears we cannot certainly tell the Reader. Ifidore afcribes but three to his Reign, plines longe ince years we cannot certainly ten the research as now we reade him, and accordingly do most of the Modern Historians reckon, pans, figure though * John Valens pretendeth to have discovered an Errour in the Text of Islander, sent, figure that all oil Sigebert, where instead of two ought to be read two and twenty; for so Sono & Scaligo. many doth he affirm that Walia Reigned, strengthening himself as he alledgeth with Tyrkea & Royal the Testimonies of Prosper and Orosius, whom he would draw in as Patrons of his dam signe at Li-Opinion. Others give ten years to his Reign, so obscure are the Testimonies, we quite puisar have of these Ancient Times, that whereas also some place the attempt of Walia to continein utrainvade Africk at the beginning of his Reign; Others fix it at the end thereof, af primary (planta), firming that his Hatted against the Goths was not terminated with the bounds of fed one or the control of the contro Spain, but that had he not been prevented by death, it would also have pursued them # In Hills. Chow.

into that part of the World. 6. To Walia succeeded Theodored, as some call him, or Theodorick as others, to others known also by divers Names. His Predecessour had been so true to the Ro-

Ppp

Thurstle fue-

4. Into

Kerck Scotis

Sect. 1. Mans, that according to Agreement, he had put the Places Conquered by him into Graem Tay. mans, that according to Agreement, he had put the laws carried all before them, ment thanks, it their hands, and therefore in Spain, where the Suevi now carried all before them, day Thousands, their hands, and therefore in Spain, where the Suevi now carried all before them, day Thousands, their hands, and therefore in Spain, where the Suevi now carried all before them, day Thousands, the suevi now carried all before them, day Thousands, the suevi now carried all before them, day Thousands, the suevi now carried all before them, day Thousands, the suevi now carried all before them, day Thousands, the suevi now carried all before them, day Thousands, the suevi now carried all before them, day Thousands, the suevi now carried all before them, day Thousands, the suevi now carried all before them, day Thousands, the suevi now carried all before them, day Thousands, the suevi now carried all before them. the Dominion of the Goths was included within narrow bounds, where now inhabit Main Theatre. the Catalauni. But in Gall he became very formidable, taking now more delight to Theologica.

inlarge his Territories on this fide the Alps, where breaking the League with the Profeer, Ilaies. Romans, he laid fiege to Arles, one of the most noble Cities of the Countrey, which Island with all industry and resolution he attacked, but was by Aetius the Patritian forced After this he attempted Narbon but with the After this he attempted Narbon but with the is forced by As fame success, Actius still attending his motions and frustrating his designs. He tirs the Roman General to quir had better success against Littorius, a Roman Captain, who taking to his affistence the Hunns, with all Animofity made War upon the Goths. As he passed through the Countrey of the Arverni, Avitus met him, put his Forces to flight, and killed an Hunnish Trooper in a Duell, as Sidonius tells at large in the Panegyrick he wrote to him. By this Defeat Littorius was not discouraged, but confulting the Aruspices, he ventured to give Battel to Theodorick at Tolouse, and that with such Thenderlink P. Courage and Conduct, that he flew a great number of the Enemy, and the Victotraffithed party had been uncertain, but that being taken Prifoner, he reaped the due Fruits of Thanhu and his Credulity and Superstition. So write with one consent Prosper, Aquitanus, Ida-Guguitum. Si cius, Isidare, Sigebert, and Rodericus Toletanus. Onely fornandes relates that they streaming. came off on equal terms, and the Controversie was taken up by agreement, ma- De Rebus Ga. king no mention of the Case of Littorius, which considering he was a Goth, and a 634-

Friend to fuch, is very strange. 7. It appears from Salvian that Theodorick before the Battel had used all means De Galdralit.

for a Reconciliation, having fent feveral Bishops to Littorius to persuade him, and bring him unto terms. Moved now by the same Reasons, he made use of his late Victory to obtain an Honourable Peace, which was immediately clapt up betwixt the Goths and the Romans. This Peace was prudently concluded for the benefit and advantage of the Goths, though this their Society with the Romans, proved fatal to their King himself. Within three or four years Attila with an innumerable multi-An Invasion of tude of Hums breaks into Gall, where he takes and burns the Towns, spoils the Countrey, and kills the Bishops as well as other Lay-Persons at his pleasure. Avitus hereupon is by Valentinian dispatched on an Embassy to Theodorick to lay open the common danger, wherein all those that had any shares in Gall were involved. Anianus the Bishop of Orleance, being besieged in his City, betakes himself to him, and to Aetius, desiring that by a speedy succour they would prevent the ruine of the place. Theodorick then leaving four of his Sons at home, viz. Frede-Frid-rick him rick, Turick, Rotemir and Himmerit, takes his two eldest Thorismund and Theodo-Durable. Rev. rick along with him, and joins his Forces with those of Aetius, and Meroneus King min, Prince at rick along with him, and joins his Forces with those of Aetius, and Meroneus King min, Prince at rick along with him, of the Franks. Attila is obliged to raise his Siege, and into the Catalaunian Having Do-Fields they all draw off to diffute the Quarrel, where, as we have already hinted, method them. Therefore kill'd. Theodorick was wounded with a Dart, and falling from his Horfe, was by the stroaks the part of t

of his Heels dispatched, after he had Reigned two and twenty years, leaving be Thence Reigned hind him fix Vigorous and Courageous Sons, befides two Daughters, one Married a Kingla in to Humerick the Son of Generick, King of the Vandals, who out of jealousie that Durch on sifhe had a design to posson him, cut off her Nose, and sent her thus desormed back der not muchal to her Father, as Jornandes tells us. Another Married into Spain, to Recciarins King ered from her Company of the Company of t

8. Theodorick being flain, Thorifmund his Son was by Aetius craftily diverted Torifmund From pursuing the War against the Hunns, whom he desired not to have utterly Mouth, Sami overthrown, but to keep them as a Balance and Check upon the Goths and Franks. colinic Education By his advice he hasted to Tolouse, lest his Brother should attempt any thing contrary to his Interest, and there by universal consent was received as King. Being Journal 44 impatient of rest, or out of disdain that by Aetius he had been diverted from revenging his Father's death, he broke the League made with the Romans, and laid fiege to Arles, but by the persuasion of Ferreolus, the Governour, was so wrought upon, that he broke up his Camp and departed; which passage Sidonius mentions \$\overline{\pi}_{1.2}\$. \$\frac{15}{15}\$. \$\frac in an Epissle to the Governour, using this expression, That he removed this most fierce King from the Gates of Arles, by a Dinner, whom Aetius could not have stirred with an Army. From the same Sidonius we may learn that at this time the Dominions of the Goths reached as far as the River Rhodanus, the Guest of which he calls this Thorismund, who shortly after had an occasion offered him of shewing the Zeal he had for the revenging his Father's Death. Attila on a fresh invaded Gall,

and by Aetius his permission marched against the Alans, who had seated themselves

beyond the Loire. Therismend perceived the weight of the War would fall at Sect. 1. length upon himself, and therefore took the best Course to begin it, and drive it wen made are off, before it should come to his own Doors, which he did so effectually, that he exist drove it not onely from his own Doors but from a did so effectually, that he drove it not onely from his own Doors, but from Gall it felf, obliging Attila to

CHAP. II. Contemporary with the Coust. Rom. Empire. Theodorick II.

quit the Countrey.

Conntroy.

9. This fuccess he had abroad, made him Cruel and Tyrannical at home, as by * Scalello, ita come Authous he is represented, and that to such a Degree, that his Brothers and nim leaguest Subjects could not bear him. Being fallen into a Diftemper, and for that Let-bloud, he made Journal of the state of the was flain in his Chamber by fome, that the Conspiratours had perswaded to the Trea-net non name, ut fon; but to the Murtherers he fold his Life at a dear rate (as our Richard the second is Jamus Vafew, faid to have done) dispatching some of them in the Conslict with a Footstool, or An. D. 456. ex rather with his *Penknife. It fore tells us, that he Reigned one year, and carrying ** diff.

Touthing must himfelf infolently, was flain ** his Brothers Theodorick* and Frederick. Thus hap have destibilities. pens it, that when a Man is slain, whether Murthered or in a Duel, to preserve compensation the Life and Fame of the Living, the dead is usually killed over again in his Reput. Reput. Beaut. 13 to 12 to 13 to 14 to 15 to 1 tation: However Thorismund might in some Respects be to blame, we are informed cuiffer, Gladio by Gregory Turonensis, that the Goths having not yet shaken off Barbarism, had grad liberist by Gregory Involvini, that the control is a superior of their Kings difpleafed them, they made no animo bine fit difficulty to kill him, and appoint whom they pleafed to fucceed him. Therefore finance are control to the control in did the Fathers in feveral Councils affembled at Toledo by many Canons, provide Goneil. Toleran,

are that lengthen it to the fixth, though with much less probability.

10. To Thorifmund thus murthered succeeded Theodorick the second, his Bro-The during the, ther, a Prince whose Morals were stained by his Brother's bloud, and his Religion with the Arian Herefie, but otherwise of excellent Accomplishments both of Mind and Body, if we give Credit to an elegant Epiftle of Sidonius. He had a Agricular. Wife called Ragnachild, for whose use in bathing Euodius procured a filver Vessel to be made, and Sidonius fome ingenious Verses to be ingraven on it, which he left written amongst his Epistles; whence some Conjecture, that this is she which is Lib. 4. E. 8. meant by la Reyne Pedanque, which the vulgar of Tolouse have so often in their Mouths, as mightily delighted with Baths and Water. Not long after the Succession of Theodorick was Valentinian the Emperour murthered, and Maximus invaded the Purple and Government, who made Avitus formerly mentioned, an Arvernian by Birth, his Magister Militum. At this time Avitus was Ambassadour at Theodorick his Court about making a strict League and Alliance, who used such Arguments, and gave him fuch Incouragement, that he assumed the Title of Emperour at Toloufe; afterward was both by Goths and Romans, faluted Augustus at Arles, Idacius. or rather at a Castle called Ugernum near to that City, which done, he went to Rome and was kindly received. In Confideration of the affiltence afforded him at this time Sidonius Carm. by Theodorick, he gave him Liberty to enter Aquitain, which he did with a very great Isidorus. Army, and there demeaned himself, as he himself pleased. But the Gratitude of Avitus was not confined within the Bounds of Gall, but reached to Spain also, where he granted to the Goths whatever Territories could be recovered out of the

Who Haraifes Gall and Spain at Pleasure.

who dying at length of a tedious Disease, was succeeded by his Son Rechila, a Young man of extraordinary Courage and Activity. 11. Treading his Father's steps, he conceived the like hopes of bringing whole Spain to his obedience. Andebolus, who was fent by the Emperour to secure his Interest in the Countrey, he overthrew and killed at the River Singilis. Having by this Victory got much Riches, he fell upon and fubdued all Bætica, having defeated the Silingi, and got the City Hilpalis or Sevil, which had at this time been much distressed, and weakened by the Wars. Thence turned he his Victorious Arms upon Lustania where he took the City Emerita and destroyed quite the small remainders of the Alans, a great Advantage being given to the Increase of his Power by the departure of Sebastian the most valiant Roman General; who going into Africk, was there flain by the Vandals. Rochila that he might take off

hands of the Suevi. After the departure of the Vandals into Africk, the power of this People became very terrible under the Conduct of Hermenerick their King,

the Emperour and keep him quiet till fuch time as he had dispatched his other business, put into his hands Carpentania and the Province of Carthage or Carthagena, which he had lately Conquered, according to Agreement; then not long after was taken off in the middle of his Carriere, dying at Emerita a Pagan, as we have

Sect. 1.

it from St. Isidore, after he had Reigned about eight Years. His Son Recciarius succeeded him, the first Christian King of this Nation, who having obtained in Marriage the Daughter of Theodored, or Theodorick King of the Goths was thereby Daughter to Daughter to Paughter to Paughter to Paughter to Receiming King much elevated in his Hopes and Expectations. Some have delivered it for a Truth, Receiming King much elevated in his Hopes and Expectations. that he was present at the Battel fought with Attila, following therein the Example of his Father-in-Law. It's certain that he fell upon the Vascons, who lived under the Roman Obedience in that part of Spain, where now Navarre is fituated, and afterward going to visit Theodored procured from him such affistence, that invading the Tarraconensian Province subject to the Romans, he took the City Casar Augusta; he harassed the Province of Carthage, which his Father had resigned to the Emperour, and afterward returned home being Master of Bætica, Lustrania and

Galecia, and aspiring to the Dominion of the other parts of Spain.

12. But as the Alliance of Theodorick, gave him to portunity and advantage to raise such Hopes of Dominion, and Sovereignty to himself, so by a Change of Fortune came they to be blasted and overturned by Theodorick his means, not the Father but the Son, one who would not account himself obliged to stand to the same Terms of the Alliance. Avitus, as we said, had for the Assistance afforded him in obtaining the Imperial Dignity, passed over to him, whatsoever of Spain could be recovered from the Suevi. He resolved no link of Marriage or Alliance should divert his Inclinations to inlarge his Dominion; but some specious pretext must be found for making a War. Confidering the Temper of Recciarius, he takes this Course. "He admonishes him by a solemn Embassy, not to transcend the "bounds of Modesty, not by injuring and oppressing his Neighbours, to provoke the Indignation and Hatred of other Nations. He tells him, that Kingdoms "and Empires are best founded upon Equity and Justice, that by Ambition and "Cruelty they fall and dwindle to nothing, and in Conclusion, that if he did not defin from offering violence to the Subjects of the Roman Empire, he must not "be wanting to that Duty which he ought it, being so exceedingly obliged by "those great and many Favours he had received from those which now sate at the

13. The Device took according to his Withes, for Recciarius received the Message Ris-Art, Hessa with great Stomach and fcorn, returning for Answer, "that shortly he would be at diven " Tolouse and make Tryal whether the Nation of the Goths, or that of the Suevi was " more valiant, and decide the whole matter by dint of Sword. Theodorick hearing this resolved to prevent him, and joyning to his own Forces the Auxiliaries of the Burgundians and Franks passed the Pyrenwans. He marched on to the River Orbicus, which flows by the City Hiberia and Asturica, twelve miles from which in the Borders of Gallicia, he gave Battel to Recciarius, whom after a vast slaughter made of his Men, he compelled to run for his Life, and not daring to trust to any place

in Spain, to take Ship for Africk. The winds were fo contrary, and his approaching Fate fo prefling, that he was driven into the Port of Cale, where the River Ex January Durius talls into the Ocean (called by Writers the City Portugal, or Portugal) fine marine and there being taken, was put to Death by Command of Theodorick. The non me and there being taken, was put to Death by Confinant of International Alexander Police Conquerour after this Victory took the City Bracara supposed by some to have International International Confinence of the Exbdues Gallicia, been the Royal Seat of the Suevi: He subdued all Gallicia, and extending his Vi- que certa in ctorious Arms into Lustrania departed back into Gall, leaving one Acliulph Gover-marine aspail nour of his new Conquests in Gallicia, who being no Goth (as Jornandes is con- Cale. cerned to tell us) but descended of the Bloud of the Warni, and so neither regard- Hine numes set ing Faitth, nor Liberty, prefently began to usurp and set up for himself, drawing minima. Me the Suevi into the Conspiracy. Theodorick was now sufficiently busied in Gall, where de bas all aller, falling out with Majorianus the Successor of his Friend Avittu, he wasted the Ro principle of the street of the st

shereof revolts much defaced it with Fire. But he fent two Captains Nepotianus and Nericus into Galatia. Gallicia, against the Usurper, having ordered Ceurila into the Province of Batica. 14. To Ceurila, who on a sudden, and when they least imagined such a thing fell upon them, the Inhabitants of Bætica presently sent Messengers giving up themselves to the Dominion and Authority of the Goths. They deny that they had consented to the Practices of the rest of the Suevi, that they had conspired against the Romans; they offer to give Hostages and affist with Provisions the Gothick Army. So was Batica reduced without any Effusion of Bloud, while in Acidula, Sil Gallicia there was much opposition: But at length Acliulph was defeated in Battel, Acuilians

But at length is and being taken was put to Death. The Suevi thought now it was high time to derick the third, ask pardon, which they procured by the Intercession of certain Religious Persons,

and not onely that but which was fomething strange, Licence and Authority to Sect. 1. make choice of a King or Regulus to govern the remainders of their Nation. Coming to the Election they could not agree amongst themselves. Some chose Franta, for their Prince, but another Faction would have Masdra or Maldra. But within two years or thereabout Masdra was flain by his own People, and had for Successour Remismund (some call him Rechimund) his Son, who entring into League with Franta (yet some say Franta died before Masdra) with joynt Forces invaded Lu- Vide Joan. Vasitania now again, it's uncertain how, reduced to the obedience of the Romans. Seum Hisp. Chrom Franta dying not long after, Frumarius was chosen in his Room, betwixt whom ad Ann. 458, and Remismund fell out great Contentions about the Sovereignty. But Frumarius dying, he then with ease obtained the Monarchy, and with great Forces invading Lusitania, took Conimbrica by Treachery, and had Olisipo (Lisbon) delivered to into his Hands.

15. He now contemned the Power of the Romans in Spain, but that of the Goth's he dreaded from late experience. He fent to Theodorick, defiring to enter in-

West, reduced Narbon under his obedience, having by great Promises prevailed

CHAP. II. Contemporary with the Conft. Rom. Empire. Thedorick III.

to a strict Alliance with him, professing all Friendship and observance, as a tye and Link of which he defired his Daughter in Marriage. Theodorick shewed no Averseness to a Complyance, but sent him his Daughter under Conduct of Salunus third Marries Aversenses to a Complyance, but sent him his Daughter under Conduct of Salunus his Daughter to one of the chief of his Nobility, who at his return found the Affairs of the Gothy, in

a quite different posture from what they were at his departure: Theodorick having taken advantage at the Stirs and Diffurbances, which were ever and anon arifing amongst the Romans, whose Power was now almost dwindled to nothing in the

Takes Narbon

mund King of the Suevi, might be induced by his Wife, and the flatteries of his gain transfer prosperous Fortune, to attempt a revenge of his Father-in-Laws Death, thought it Eurin. English best to be before-hand with him. Being Ambitious also and Haughty, he burnt rick Legistar to be before-hand with him. with defire of expelling the Suevi out of Lustania, and by a clear removal of the Romans, to become Master of all Spain. 16. Spain was at this time cantonifed under three feveral Nations. Gallicia with part of Lustania obeyed the Suevi. Bætica and the Catalauni were subject already to the Goths; and the Carthaginian Traft with the Carpetani, and almost all the rest of Spain continued still in obedience to the Romans. Eurick having

Spain under a threefold Go-

first made an Alliance with Leo the Emperour, who Reigned in the East, with a Earlick King of great Power of his Goths invaded the farther Spain, where he over-ran Lustiania the Gaths diversity without any confiderable opposition, by his Lieutenants took Pompelona and Casaraugusta, then in the hands of the Romans, and in his retreat after a long Siege subdued the City Tarracon, which he levelled with the Ground. So were the Romans driven quite out of Spain, and their Empire there utterly overthrown and removed after well nigh feven hundred years Continuance, all this Countrey now remaining to the Goths, except Gallicia which as yet acknowledged the Suevi for Lords. Eurick his Appetite was the more Whetted by this Success, and having done so much in Spain, was unquiet to think that his Neighbours in Gall should not at all seel and acknowledge the effects of his Valour, but the facility of the Enterprize added to his Impatience, the Western parts of the Roman Empire being now all full of Confusion, while each barbarous Nation caught what it could, and being intent upon what it had fixed its Eyes, neglected what lay at a farther di- gut allis Arvanstance. The Roman power now expiring, Arvandus and Seronatus, who commanded die Caffidates the Forces in Gall, understanding his strength, to curry Favour with him, invited of Ardabenius biacons. him to feize on the adjoyning Provinces, while he might so easily accomplish what Et Signberto he should but undertake. The Treason of these two Ministers was discovered and Servandus. punished; that of Seronatus by Death, and that of Arvandus by exile, as it had Rem fuse narrai deserved; but a greater Instrument was now also at work, which moved with far sidential more Interest and Success.

17. This was Genferick the Vandal King in Africk, who, that he might keep what he had got in that Countrey indeavoured to make work enough for the Romans on this fide of the Sea. He propounded great matters, not onely to Eurick and his Western Goths, but to the Oftrogoths also, the Captain whereof Vindemir

with Ravennius the Governour to yield it up. But as his matters prospered in this manner, his Dominions being inlarged in Gall, and the greatest Potentates in Spain, In city remine He's murthered Courting him, Justice though it came fomething late, yet paid him home at last, variant Scripto He is murthered Courting mini, Junice though the had used toward his Brother, being murthered by Enricus his for the violence and Treachery he had used toward his Brother, being murthered lighter Enricus. for the violence and reactive the second of the violence and reactive second of the violence of the second of the

Sect. 2. having had ill fuccess in Italy came into Gall, and there joyned with Eurick, who was now wasting the Countrey far and wide with Fire and Sword. Epiphanius the Bishop of Pavia, in vain requesting him to hold his hand. The Cadurci, Lemonices and Gabalitani were forced to submit unto the Goths, and notwithstanding the aid which Riothimus the Regulus of the Aremorican Britains brought to the Romans at the Solicitation of Athemius their Emperour, yet he still proceeded in his Conquests. Arvernum (now Clarmont, not far from that Hill on which stood Gergonia) was delivered up after a tedious and fruitless Siege, the chief City of Aquitain, which had been the Rampart and Fence against his Fury: He had before Conquered the best part of Gallia Narbonensis, having made himself Master of Arles and Marseilles, the two most noble Cities, and now by Virtue of the Agreement made betwixt him and Nepos, all that lay betwixt the two Rivers, Rhodanus and Ligeris he was to enjoy, Writers observing that with this River he bounded Aquitain. Over the Arverni he made one Victorius Governour by Gregory Turonenfts called a Duke, and by Sidonius mentioned with the Title of Count. His principal Councellour and Minister of State was Leo born in the Province of Nar- Carm. 23. Enil. bon, a Man very learned amongst Barbarians, and celebrated by Sidonius for his La. 473, 5 Eloquence, and his excellent Skill both in Poetry and the Civil Law. As for 116. 9. 13. 13. Eurick, he died when he had Reigned seventeen Years, being the first King who Jindown, Sitzi-gave written Laws to the Goths, (so as his Name may seem given to him in m, his. a, a, way of Prophecy) who were formerly governed by Custome onely. In his Reign the Theodosian Roman Code was diminished in Reputation, and the Laws Lager Testistics. called Leges Theodoricianæ, were advanced and obtruded upon the Provincials, Se-dividantification ronatus the Roman Governour conniving at it, or rather furthering the defign, as sidental Sidental Complains of him. These Gotbick Laws were called Theodoricianæ from the 4.1. Theodoricks, Kings of that Nation, not that they were Authours of them, for Eurick published them, as Sidonius knew well enough, but by a Paronomasia he terms them Theodoriciana; because the other were called Theodosiana. Being now first published by Eurick, they were some Years after inlarged and amended by Lennegild, as we shall farther hint in due time and place.

SECT. II.

From the Death of Eurick to that of Roderick, and the Ruine of the Kingdom of the Goths in Spain and Gall.

The space of two hundred and forty years.

King of the

1. Vrick-being dead, Alarick his Son fucceeded by the universal Consent of the People, about the time that Theodorick the Oftrogoth had made himself Alviith, Omnimafter of Haly. This Prince having obtained the Dominion of that but rate plant. Since the country, was not wanting to himself by fit means and methods to secure his Interest. Considering that the Franks, Burgundians, and his Kinsmen the Visigoths were all powerfull Nations, who now had cantonifed Gall amongst them, he endeavoured by Alliances and Affinity to unite their minds, and prevent those Troubles, which he knew the fierceness of their Spirits, as yet half Barbarous, might else raise in the Western parts. Therefore did he marry the Daughter of Clodonæus King of the Franks, who was now made a Christian, and of two Daughters which he himself had by a Concubine, the one he gave in Marriage to Alarick, and the other to Gundibald the Burgundian. But these ties were too weak, to bound and restrain the Appetite of the Franks, whose King impatient of Rest, gladly caught hold of the advantage which the difference of Religion afforded. The Provincials, or the People which were subject to the Goths, being of the Orthodox party, were indeed much irritated by the Arian Zeal of their Kings, Eurick especially, which Transported him so far, as to raise a very great Persecution. Pagans they defired to submit to, rather than Hereticks, knowing that that Idolatry and Superstition were now become out of Fashion, the Derision of the World, and therefore there

CHAP. II. Contemporary with the Const. Roman Empire. Alarick.

could no inconvenience arise from thence, which in any Probability could be lasting. The sury of Eurick his Persecution drove many, especially, Religious Persons from their Habitations, who slying for refuge into those parts of Gall, that were subject to the Franks, earried the heat of Indignation along with them, which kindled the Desires of that People, and caused the Ambition of Clodoneus to break out at length into a mighty slame; Alaricus though otherwise an accomplish Prince, Gought not how toextinguish the Flame by withdrawing the matter that gave the first occasion, as he might have done, but suffered the great discontents about Religion to continue, either acted by an erronious Conscience, or being consident of his own strength, and glad to meet any occasion of Quarrelling with Clodoneus in the half way.

2. The difference was inlarged by another accident: Syagrius the Count, the Son of Ægidius, whom Clodonæus had defeated in Battel fled to Alarick, and was kindly entertained by him. Clodonæus thereat stormed exceedingly, and procured him to be delivered up into his hands, which feemed to restore them to a good understanding, and perfectly to make up the breach. But the Religious Zeal of Clodoncus, or rather his Envy and Ambition, quickly discovered that the Case of Syagrius ferved him but onely for a pretence and Colour to his defign. Not able to Air fais valide spag ras ervet and the state of the state of Gall, he perswaded his men to mall has called endure, that these Arians should hold any part of Gall, he perswaded his men to mall strong and undertake the War, to reduce their Territories under their own Power. To make it strain the undertake the War, to reduce their Territories under their own Power. his enterprise plausible at his setting forth, he Commanded by an Edict, that no Galliarum, es violence should be offered to Sacred, whether Persons or Places, which he signified mus cam Dei adviolence should be offered to Sacred, whether Persons or Places, which he signified justice to sacred whether Persons or Places, which he signified justice to sacred whether Persons or Places, which he signified justice to sacred whether Persons or Places, which he signified justice to sacred whether Persons or Places, which he signified justice to sacred whether Persons or Places, which he signified justice to sacred whether Persons or Places, which he signified justice to sacred whether Persons or Places, which he signified justice to sacred whether Persons or Places, which he signified justice to sacred whether Persons or Places, which he signified justice to sacred whether Persons or Places, which he signified justice to sacred whether Persons or Places, which he signified justice to sacred whether Persons or Places, which he signified justice to sacred whether Persons or Places which he significantly the sacred whether Persons or Places which he significantly sacred whether Persons or Places to the Bilhops then affembled in a Synod at Orleance; as appears by the Epistle it raits redigamus felf, prefixed before the Council. In his passage he spared the Territories of Tours serram in dition for the fake of St. Martin, whom confulting as the manner then was concerning Greg. Turners his expedition, being fatisfied that the iffue would be good, he proceeded on his c. 2. c. 20. way as far as the River Vigenna. Here the River overflowing by reason of abundance it. dance of Rain, he knew not what Course to take, where by an Hart which took the Water, and after her arrival at the other Bank, is faid to have disappeared, he was directed to a Ford, and fo got fafe over with his Army. Thence marched he streight to Poictiers where Alarick now resided, who appointed to give him Battel in the Plains called Campi Vogladenses, lying from Poiltiers about ten miles. There wanted no Animosity nor Valour on either side. Alarick performed all the parts both of a prudent General, and a Courageous Souldier, but had the fortune to be difmounted by Clodonæus, who then alighted and flew him, as he endeavoured to rife from the Ground. The Goths utterly discouraged by the Death of their King, were most of them cut in pieces: Engolesme which was held by a Garrison of Goths. quickly yielded to the Conquerour. Such of them as had not been at the Battel, met together at the Borders of Bourdeaux, to prevent the Ruine of their Dominions, but giving there Battel to the Franks, received fo great a defeat, that from them and their Religion, the place received the Name of the Arian Field. 3. Clodonæus pursuing his good Fortune took in Bourdeaux, after which the Gregor. Turon.

Velates, Cadwri, Rutbeni and Arverni, yielded themselves to his Son Theodorick. 12.

In the beginning of Spring he besteged Tolonse, which he took, and therein the Amainus, In the beginning of Spring he besteged Tolonse, which he took, and therein the Amainus, In the beginning of Spring he besteged Tolonse, which he took, and therein the Amainus, In Treasures of the Gothick Kings, which done, he removed to Engolesme, and having advised the open the Toronse of the Gothick Rings, which Gartison short to perform his Devotions at the Torons of St. Martin. So do the Historians of the Vipergessis, o-Franks, and generally all Latine Writers relate the Story. Procopius makes the bidden of Fringessis, and the Territories of the Goths, took up their Station about Carcasson. Alarick expecting succours from Theodorick his Father-in-Law kept himself at a distance, till his Men ready to Mutiny upbraided him with Lazines: Whereupon he gave Battel to the Franks, and therein perished with most of his followers. The Franks elevated with their good Success besieged the strong City of Carcasson, where they heard the Spoils of the Temple of Ferulalem lay, which Alarick the elder had transported from Rome into Gall. But Theodorick drawing toward the Siege with great Forces, they broke up their Camp, and departing seized on that part of Gall, which reacheth from the River Rhosse to the Ocean. Then Theodorick despairing to regain that which they had got into their hands, satisfied himself with keeping that part of Gallia

Narbonensis, which still remained to the Goths. But such was the end of Alarick, who did not end his Life by the Halter before the Gates of Tolouse, as one ridiculously has left written; for all ancient Authours agree, that he died in Battel, and permy Vallisters (Gregory Turonensis with others, by the hand of Clodonneus particularly. He Reigned note three and twenty years, and in his last but one, perceiving that the new Gothick bis. cap. 1.

Law

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But riving his

Dves with

Sect. 2. Laws futted not the Humour of the Provincials, who had been accustomed to the Roman, caused the Code of Theodosius to be abreviated by some prudent and learned Men, and then to be published by Aimoinus his Chancellour in a full Affembly of the Bithops and Nobility at Aduris a City of Novempopulania.

4. Alarick leit a Son of five years old, begotten on his Wife that died a little before him, called Amalarick, and another named Gefaleich which he had by Hone alii Gyl-

a Concubine. The Nobility despiting Amalarick, by reason of his Age, made Ge-laricum, aliago. faleich King. This could not but be highly displeasing to Theodorick the Oftrogoth, Polycum, dis Go. who to vindicate the cause of his Nephew, sent eighty thousand stout Men into pin Gaseline Gall under the Conduct of Ilba, the Count of the Gepidae, who had orders also to re- applia. Anal pref: the Infolence of the Franks. Gefaleich hearing of fo great an Army, and ride, hearing having lately lost Narkon, which Gundibald the King of the Burgundians intent lid, Smith. upon Booty at this time of Extremity had taken from him, fled Cowardly into Spain to Barcelona, where he could dare to be Cruel to those that were under his Power, though he durst not look an Enemy in the Face; for with his own hands he murthered Goerick in the Court. Ilba marched streight for Gall, where he gave Battel to the Franks, and by affishence of the Visigoths, killed twenty thousand of them, whereby Provence fell as a reward to the Oftrogoths, and to the Vifigoths Aquitain was recovered. He took in Narbon, and was now ready to march into Spain, when Gefaleich hearing the News, and despairing of the Fidelity of his Souldiers, whom he had disobliged by his Cruelty, passed over the Straits into Africk to Thrasimund, the Vandal King, who kindly entertained him, though he had married the Sifter of Theodorick, either pitying the Man's distressed condition, or thinking it seasonable to give a Check to the Power of the Offrogoth, which was now grown so high as to threaten all the Neighbour Nations: He affisted him with Money, wherewith repassing into Gall after a Years hiding himself, he hired Souldiers and re-entred Spain, where he was overthrown in Battel by Ilba twelve miles from Barcelona. Escaping himself he fled back into Gall, and there died of Grief at some place situate upon the River Druentius, in the fourth Year after he

had been declared King. 5. So he died, but who fucceeded him is not fully certain: Writers differing in their Opinions. Most hold that Theodorick the Offrogeth was now King of the Vifigoths in Spain, into which Countrey fome fay, that he passed. Indeed the Synods which at this time were held in Spain, have his Name before them, Amalaride Ring, and tell us of the very Years of his Reign. But others think, rather that Amalarick was King, and that his Grandfather governed onely as his Guardian, who having all the Power in his hands, thence he was also prefumed to have the Title.

To speak indifferently, this is more probable of the two; and as for the expedition of Theodorick into Spain, we can look at it no otherwise than as a mere Fable, for who can be fo prejudiced, as to imagine that fo remarkable a thing should be passed over in silence by Cassiodorus and other eminent Writers, who have transmitted the particular Acts of this King to Posterity? This is an Invention Lucan Telephone of Spanish Authours, some of whom tell you other fine tales hereon depending; as that Theodorick at Toledo married a Wife of the ancient Spanish Race, by the intreaties whereof being overcome, he restored to the ancient Spaniards their Liberty; and that of this Marriage was born Severianus, the Father of Leander and Isidore, a Story as unconfishent with the Course of time as repugnant to truth it self. It's more certain, that Theudas or Theudius Armour-bearer formerly to Theodorick, was by him made Governour of Spain, and Protectour of Amalarick in his Nonage; who when he came to the Government himself, it feems made use of such a Deputy, one Stephen being said to be Presect or Governour of Spain, Annotational library and in the third year of his Command, to have been discarded in a Council Amendment Amalarick married Clotilde or Crotilde, the Daughter of Clodonæus King of the pad Vision of Franks, and by this Alliance a firm Peace feemed to be made, which he himself 4.D. 55.

Daughter of Clodoness the through his Fury and Indifcretion caused to be broken.

6. His Wife being a Catholick, and he himself of the Arian perswasion, he could not at all bear with her Faith, but treated her with all Indignities imaginable. Green, Therest, As she went to Church, he caused filth to be cast upon her, and at length so lib 3.6.9 Cruelly beat her, that the Bloud gulhed out in abundance, wherewith she stained an Handkerchief and fent it to her Brother Childebert, defiring she might by some means be delivered from the milery she underwent. Childebert being naturally full of Activity and Courage, made no small hasteto her deliverance; which her Husband understanding prepared no Arms and Souldiers for resistence, but Ships for his Transportation, and was ready to go aboard, when he remembred he had left many Sect. 2. pretious Stones in his Closet of such value with him, that he could as easily part with his Life as loofe them. Returning into the Town to fetch them, before he could get back, the Army of the Franks was at the Gates, by which forced to return, he would have taken Sanctuary in a Church of the Orthodox Christians, but in his way one of Childebert his Souldiers, killed him with a Lance: He Reigned five years by himself, twenty in all if his Reign be computed from the Death of Gesaleich. His Wise Clotilde died before she reached Paris, and there she was buried near to the Monument of her Father.

CHAP. I.

He is killed by

Theudir cholen

7. Amalarick dying without iffue, the Royal Race of the Vifigoths failed. Being then elsewhere to provide themselves, the choice fell upon Theudu, he that had been Guardian to Amalarick, though an Offrogoth by descent, for his great Skill and Dexterity in Government. From Procopius it should seem that he Usurped, while Procopius, alib.

Theodorick King of Italy was yet alive, and that this King to provide for the Affairs Theodom, alibi Internative his Nephew, indeavoured by all means to get out of Spain; but to lat. Laini Scripno purpose. For during his Government he had provided himself sufficiently, best tree did Then purpose. of Wealth and Interest; and that especially, by a Marriage with one of the No- Populis im bleft and Richeft Ladies of the Spanish Nation. But the Kings of the Franks Towardish, Franch thought themselves not yet satisfied, for the Injury offered to their Sister. The latin.

Is invaded by the Franks.

year following, Childebert and Clotair invade Spain, and wasting all the Tarraconian Province, lay Siege to the City of Cafar Augusta, which the Devotion of the Inhabitants merely preserved from Ruine, for therewith Childebert was affected, that he is faid thereupon to have raifed his Siege. But in their retreat they were badly rewarded for their kindness, being in the Straits of the Mountains set upon by Theudislus, who Commanded a party of Goths for Theudis their King, a Prince fo flenderly provided, that he durft not ingage on even Terms. They loft many of their Men, and were forc'd with Gold to purchase the safety of the rest. This War was followed by a great Plague, which for two years so raged, that in Spain an innumerable multitude of poor Mortals perished.

8. Theudis, either to redeem his Credit, which seemed much impaired with the late Invasion, or to affift the Vandals in Africk, who seemed now to go down the wind. passed over the Straits, and there laid Siege to Septa, a City facing Spain as standing over against it upon the Water. His Siege he long continued, and was in good hope of carrying the Place, till refusing to use any Acts of Hostility on a Lords Day, the belieged took their opportunity, and making a Sally with such execution, that they killed all that then were in the Camp; Theudis himself with a fmall part of the Army, by benefit of his Ships escaped: This happened at such time. as Belifarius warred in Africk against Gelimer, who though as yet not reduced to great straits, sent shortly after to Theudis to desire Assistence. By reason of contrary Winds, or fome other Accident; the Ambassadours sailed very slowly, and made little Progress in their Voyage, so that e'er they could have Audience some other Ships were arrived, and brought News of the taking of Carthage, and the Destruction of the Vandal Kingdom there. When they came to make the demands, Theudis asked in what Condition their Masters Affairs now stood, to whom they replyed, that they were in a very good posture. Whereupon he told them, that they should return into Africk, and there they should have a pertinent Answer. Being entertained by the King at a Feast, where all both eat and drank plentifully. they imputed the strangeness of his Answer to the excess of Wine, and the next Morning demanded another Audience, which granted, they heard but the same Words repeated, and thereupon suspecting the matter, found their Suspicion not to have been ill founded at their return. Not long after, Theudis after he had Reigned feventeen Years and about four Months, was flain by one that Counterfeited madness for that purpose. Before he expired, he Commanded the Murtherer should not be punished, calling to mind that he himself had killed his Captain, to whom

he had when a young Man fworn Fidelity.
9. He being dead, Theadifelus his General was chosen King of the Vifigoths, a Theadifichus his General was chosen King of the Vifigoths, a Theadifichus this General was chosen King of the Vifigoths, a Theadifichus this General was chosen King of the Vifigoths, a Theadifichus this General was chosen King of the Vifigoths, a Theadifichus this General was chosen King of the Vifigoths, a Theadifichus this General was chosen King of the Vifigoths, a Theadifichus this General was chosen King of the Vifigoths, a Theadifichus this General was chosen King of the Vifigoths, a Theadifichus this General was chosen King of the Vifigoths, a Theadifichus this General was chosen King of the Vifigoths, a Theadifichus this General was chosen King of the Vifigoths, a Theadifichus this General was chosen King of the Vifigoths, a Theadifichus this General was chosen King of the Vifigoths, a Theadifichus this General was chosen King of the Vifigoths, a Theadifichus this General was chosen King of the Vifigoths, a Theadifichus this General was chosen King of the Vifigoths, a Theadifichus this General was chosen King of the Vifigoths, a Theadifichus this General was chosen King of the Vifigoths, a Theadifichus this General was chosen the Vifigoths the Vi Man that had got much Honour in the War against the Franks, and of good mandi, Thirdigital Esteem otherwise, as being the Nephew of Totilas, King of the Oftrogoths in Italy elg by his Sister. His good beginnings were within a little time quite blemished by his Hidron. Prodigious Lust which hurried him into Cruel and Treacherous Acts, procuring for feigned Crimes and otherwise, several of the Nobility to be made away, that with Freedom he might enjoy their Wives. This caused those that apprehended themselves in danger, and had otherwise reason to be concerned, to enter into a Con-

fportation,

spiracy for taking away his Life, which was done at Hispalis or Sevil, in the midst of his Cups and Jollity, after he had Reigned a year or feven months, though In his place A. others extend it beyond a year and an half continuance. Into his place was elected Agila, who all his whole Reign contended with adverse Fortune. At his first be- Agila, like, in. ginning the Inhabitants of Corduba denied obedience, which obliged him to lay vens. Gilling. Siege to their City, but they issued out upon him, and quite defeated him, killing sell, named his Son upon the place. As the merits of Men are measured merely by Success. he began prefently to be despised, which incouraged one Athanagild to rebell, Atta-gild, co. who to strengthen himself sent to Justinian the Emperour, desiring aid for to accomplish his revolt, and promising to reduce a good part of Spain to the obedience of the Roman Empire. Liberius a Patritian was accordingly ordered to march out of Spain, who about Sevil gave Battel to Agila, where the King being overthrown

The Kingdom of the Western Goths in Spain and Gall,

And dyes.

fled to Emerita and there was flain by the Nobility, after he had Reigned fome fav But is thim by five Years and fix Months, others five and three Months, and Sigebert with lefs Alkanagild, who Probability nine Years. Athanagild fucceeded in the Kingdom, but had work enough to find him doing all his Life, made by the Army of Justinian, which he had called in to his affiftence. For now having obtained what he defigned, he resolved to forget his Promise, and indeed he must either break it, or loose that which was the end he proposed; the Gothick Nobility being highly concerned, that the Romans had once again got footing in Spain, of which a very confiderable part by Virtue of the League with him, and by force of Arms they had recovered. their Dominions being terminated by both the Seas. He had by his Wife Galfuinda two Daughters, Galfuinda married to Chilperick King of Soiffons, and Brunichild the famed Wife of Sigebert his Brother, King of the Mediomatrices or Austrasia, of which we hear enough in another place. He died at length at Toledo, after he had Reigned some say sourteen, others fifteen Years with six Months. In the Kingdom of Portugal, fixteen miles from the City Guimarane, (by the Ancients called Idania) is a Village yet extant, that bears his Name, possibly built in his time, where are to be seen Ruines of buildings, which persectly shew they were of Gothick work.

10. After the death of Athanagild, followed an Interregnum for fix Months, though in Lucas Tudensis, we find seven Years and as many Months, which place

is doubtlefs corrupted. The state of the Kingdom could very ill bear the want of a Governour for fo many days, but fo long the Factions of the Nobility continued. At length they agreed to promote Linva (so he is called in ancient Coins) Lina, Len who then at Narbon Commanded those parts of Gall, which still remained subject to the Western Goths. Having been accustomed to these parts for seven Years, he had no Inclination to move into Spain, and therefore in the fecond Year of his Reign he made Leunigild his Brother Partner with him in the Kingdom, commit-Lewigild, Len ting to his Care and Government the other Provinces that were subject to the Par-

Leunieild his

Governour of the Carthaginian Province, had two Sons, Ermenigild and Reccared. but she being dead about the time that his Brother was made King, he had married Goluinda the Wife of Athanagild his Predecessour. Being a man of great Courage who drives the and Conduct, and feeing what danger lay from the Romans, who had got fo much Romans out of of the Countrey into their Power, he could not forbear but presently led against them; and in the Region of the Bastetani gave them Battel, with such Success *Ubi suita State that he heat them out of this whole Countrey: The Territories of Malaca he wa- baria plant not cimus. fastow fled with Fire and Sword, had Affidonia a Town standing upon the Straits, betrayed Mariana; an Str to him by Framidanius the Governour, reduced Corduba to obedience, which ever banden to build build to obedience, which ever banden leaders

Goths. This Leunigild by Theodofia his former Wife, the Daughter of Severianus

and all the Tract of * Sabaria. While he thus employed himself in Spain, his hear videous Brother Linva or Linba as others call him, died in Gall after he had Reigned five Jacobs them. Linua dyes. Years, or as others but three, of this Opinion being Isidore.

II. Leunigild having setled the Affairs of Batica, and driven the Romans out of Leunigild makes all the Province, turned the War upon Cantabria, where he took the City Amaia, war upon can- (by others called Aregia and Varegia) having wasted all the Country to the Gates, and killed many that denied Submission. From Cantabria he moved into Aquitain, where he forced Aspidius to submit, and put himself his Wife and Children

into his hands, who had held the City Agen against him. We are told by a certain Authour, that this Aspidius was a Senior in this Countrey, using this word as a Note Bidampia spate of Dominion and Principality. A Senate was fo called from Senes, or Seniores; for rebus Hilly likes that fuch Confult and govern is most proper and wholesome for a State. Therefore a the

after the defeat given to Agila, had refused to submit, with several other Towns, fit haintedigne

PART III

Ariamyrus succeeded his Father Theodomir in his Reign over the Suevi, who died two years before. We have heard nothing of a long time of these Kings since Remismund, of whose Successours either as to their Names or Actions we know little or nothing, those Monuments which should have transmitted them to us having perished. 12. But Isidore puts us off with this scantling account, after he had told us some in Chronic. at small matters concerning Remissioned, and how the Hereste of the Arians was pro- Eram 402. pagated amongst the Suevi by one Ajax, that many Kings of the Suevi afterwards remaining in the profession of that Herefie, at length Theodomir came to be King, who by the affiftence of Martin a famous Bishop, restored the Catholick Religion. After Theodomir reigned Miro, who reigned thirteen years, and in his second made War, as the Copy now hath it, upon the Roman Roccones. Another Authour tells Jeannes Abban. us it was against the Aragones, and a third calls them Vascones, with more reason Luca Tudosia the same with those that now inhabit part of Navarre, Leunigild being returned out of Aquitain into Spain, began every day more and more to grudge and difdain, that the Suevi or any others besides himself should have any thing of that Countrey. He could not forbear attempting fomething upon their Borders, which

in succeeding times, as well in the Monuments of Spain, as in the Acts of such Coun- Sect. 2.

cils as were held about the time of Charles the Great in Gall, Lords and Pringes are termed Sevieres, which custome being derived into the Bastard Latine Tongues of

Spain, Gall and Italy, thence the Titles of Sennor, Signior and Signeur in those Mo-

dern Languages received their Original. The same year that Linua died, Mire or

Mire sensible of, and knowing his own strength, took the best course to send a fubmissive Message, but he could not prevail for any thing more than a Truce. Then turned he his Arms upon the Roman Forces, which Jullin the Emperour had fent to protect the Limits of Spain. Their cheif residence was upon the Mountains called Orospedæ, which rising at the roots of the Hill Counts, run through Molina Coucha to Segura, and the Borders of Granado as far as the Straits of Gibraltar. Trufting to the Steepnels and Craggines of the place, they refused to submit, but he reduced all the Forts and Castles, and the whole Province under his Dominion, whereby it came to pass that the Romans were in a manner driven out

of Spain, little now being left them but a small tract of Ground upon the Medi-13. His matters being in to hopefull a posture, in reference to Foreign Potentates, he was the more concerned to think how they stood at Home in relation to

his own Family, for whether it or some that never had taken any care and pains,

should reap the fruit of his Labours was utterly uncertain, Kings being wont to be chosen by the suffrages of the Nobility, and no way of Succession at all Establi-Longitt makes filed. To preyent this, he declares his two Sons Ermenigid and Recearde his Emmangild and Partners in the Kingdom, the former being to reign at Sevil, as fome, or as others little without the Receard Partners in the Kingdom, the former being to reign at Sevil, as fome, or as others little without the contribution of the contributi Recentle Part ratiners in the ranguous, the former being as reign as often, as often, or a others and Respected, alor seasish him a fay at Emerica, and the latter at the confinence of the two Rivers Tagus and Gua-com ration, the Kingdom. diela near Paterniana or Palirana, Leunigild building a City which after him he To wicked read called Recepels (vulgarly Ripel.) as some imagine, in Celtiberia. He himself pla- his car, ced the Seat of his Kingdom at Toledo, whereupon it began to be called the Royal Council. City, and to be the Seat of the Kingdom, as formerly had been Hifpalis or Sevil. Rede thism Ermenigild Married Ingundu the Daughten of Sigebert King of the Mediomatrices by ms. ha Reastern Brunichild, a device as twas thought very proper for irrengthing his Interests, dom interests for the being the Grand-daughter of Athanagild and Cossinada hereby the Bloud and damp minus the power of both these Royal Families were conjoyned. The Maid being brought mate. Asserted to her Grandmother, she soothed her up with extraordinary flatteries, to win her asserted to the straordinary flatteries, to win her asserted to the straordinary flatteries, to win her asserted to the straordinary flatteries. to imbrace drianism; but when this would not doe, treated her with as great in-Vacur enim Ridignities, not onely with words, but blows, and once tumbled her down into a Fish-are date see pond, to the great danger of her life; which notwithstanding she not onely kept Emenigild con- her Religion, but is thought to have brought Ermenigild, now her Husband, to the imbracement of the truth, to which the long distance of King Leunigild gave a good opportunity, who had now taken a Journey to the Carpentani in the hithermost Spain; at what time Ringundu the daughter of Chilperick and Fredegund was

coming to be married, according to Covenant, to Reccarde the other Son. But ha-

ving reach't Toloufe, the heard of her Father's death, procured, as was thought, by

Laudrey, and so returned again to her own Countrey; which known, Reccarde

married one Bada, the Genealogy of which Woman cannot be drawn by any mor-

verturned.

14. But the Grandmother fo plied Leunigild with Solicitations and Arguments drawn from Piety and Religion, that he must needs chastife his Son with War, if his Father with " of ingratitude and disobedience, arguing him of folly for renouncing such a Faith "as the Goths had hitherto professed with great prosperity and success; and tells "him, that if now he did not comply, he must expect no paternal compassion for "the time to come. The Son returns a modest, but resolute Answer, "That "there was one higher than him, whom he must needs obey, if their Commands "were contrary, and praying him to doe nothing whereof he might have occa-" fion to repent him all his life, and which would bring a perpetual Infamy upon "their family. But the Father not remaining fatisfied with his Son's answer, they both provide for War. The Son gets the Romans on his fide, but they presently again for money renounce the Alliance made with him, and promife their affiftence to the Father. They spent three years in seeking Friends and making Alliances, till at length Leunigild in an Hostile manner invades Bætica, and lays Siege to Hispalu, for Harving of which he consulted how he might divert the Course of the River Bets upon which it flands, and fortified a place four miles off, where the Walls of the Johanne Alia. Ancient City Italica formerly flood, where now is to be seen a Monastery of St. Isidore, the Moors, it's probable, after the times of the Goths having destroyed the City. Miro, King of the Suevi, though of the contrary persuasion as to Religion, joyned with Leu- Turmensu auton migild; and was (as a punishment for so great a crime as some believed) taken a ferilit man in way by Death in the time of the Siege. Ebarick, or Eborick his Son, succeeded template this him in the Kingdom of Gallicia, whom not long after Audeca, a wealthy man, de-um Lewighth prived of his Kingdom, and thrust into a Monastery, having married Sifegatia, the Relique of Miro. But see the justice that attended the Usurper. Leunigild within a year or two disdaining that the Son of his Friend and Ally should be so spoiled of his Inheritance, invaded Gallicia, took Audeca alive, and caufing him to be shaven, put him also into a Monastery, and made him receive Orders. He seized on all the treasure, and reduced Gallicia into the form of a Province; the Kingdom of the Suevi being thus overturned after it had continued one hundred and leventy four (fome fay feventy feven) years:

15. But to return to Hispalis, the drawing of the River away from it brought it into extreme necessity, which Hermengild not able any longer to struggle with, secretly stole away to the Romans, not knowing they had dealt so perfidiously with him already as to join with his Father. Leunigild quickly got the Town into his possession, and not long after his Son into his hands. Some think he was betrayed by the Inhabitants of Corduba, whither he had retired upon notice how matters stood betwixt his Father and the Romans. Others say it was at a place called Offetum, which being strong, he seized with three hundred stout men, hoping to make fome opposition, but the Town was taken, and he fled into a Church for Sanctuary, whence being by the kind words of his Father drawn out, he was afterward put to Ermingila stain death, one Subert being Executioner, when he refused to receive the Communion

at the hands of an Arian Bishop. But Authours differ about the place of his death, fome affirming he was made away by Subert at Tarracon, and that before that he 3um fome affirming he was made away by Subere at Tarracon, and that before that he James Alia, had been banished to Valentia. Others, that he was Martyred at Sevil, where his a set they shewed a Tower near to the Gate of Cordova, wherein they say he was kept Balanthion. Prisoner, horrible for straitness and darkness, and they honour him as a great Saint, going Dialog. celebrating his Festival on the thirteenth of April, by virtue of a Bull of Sixtus Quin- Ib. 3. 6 31 tur. Ingundis his Wife full of tears and forrow, with her young Son, fled into Africk, the Roman Captains, to whose Custody she was committed, purposing to convey her to Mauricius the Emperour as some notable booty taken in War.

16: Childebert her Brother, and Guntran her Uncle, Kings of the Franks, were ready to plead her Cause by dint of Sword, when Reccarede the younger Son of Leunigild diverted them from Spain by making an Inroad into their Territories in Gall, where he took a strong Cassle called Zeernum in those belonging to Arles, and wassled the Countrey in a dreadfull manner. This brought both Parties to listen after an Accommodation, when other things happened which incenfed the Franks to an higher degree of Indignation. Some of their Ships as they were Trading to Gallicia, were intercepted by those of the Goths, and as well the Men as the Vessels and Goods belonging to them were made prize. This made the two Kings give deaf Ears to what was pleaded by Lennigild his Ambassadours; and Mariana tells us he has an Authour which affirms that Reccarede, now again from Narbon, made an Incursion into the French Dominions, wasting many fruitfull and pleasant places of

Gall. It's certain that Childebert was so moved as to enter into a League and Alli- Sect. 2. ance with Mauricius the Emperour, whose friendship he had formerly despised for driving the Lombards and Goths out of Italy and Spain. And being, it feems, obliged first to begin with Italy, he sent thither a considerable Army, which was defeated with fo much lofs, that Childebert was much cooled in his defign of making the same Attempts upon the Goths, especially when he heard that she, for whose fake he had imbraced the quarrel, was dead, either in Africk or Sicily, and perceived that the Emperour would lend his Name and Reputation, but not his helping hand to any enterprize confiderable. Her Son, we are told, was carried to Conftantinople, where what became of him, is utterly unknown, but probably he had the happiness not to stay long behind his Mother. Much about the same time died also Leunigild in the eighteenth year after he had began to reign with his Brother. He had the happiness before his death to reduce and take Pritoner Malarick or Amalarick, who had the confidence to Usurp in Gallicia, and set up again the Kingdom of the Snevi. He was cruel in his disposition, having, besides his Son, put several other Noble men to death. He first of all those Gothick Kings filled his Treasury with the Goods of the Church, and the Estates of private men as well as Enemies. He first used a Throne and Royal Robes, whereas those before him sate and were stidow Luca habited like the Nobility. The Laws made by Eurick, he mended, taking away India

and adding as to him feemed most convenient. 17. Reccardus, or Ricared, succeeding his Father, set himself to reform Reli-

gion, abolishing Arianism, and establishing the Catholick Faith, and that with as little noise and trouble as could be expected in a matter of such concernment. For establishing a firm and lasting Peace to his Dominions, he defired to be friends with the Kings of the Franks, and as a more powerfull way to effect it, his Wife Bada being dead, he defired in Marriage Clodofinda, the other Sifter of Childebert, King of Austrasia, utterly denying that he was of Council with his Father, or had any hand in the misfortunes of his Brother, his Wife and Son. The thing could not presently be accomplished; for Guntran the Uncle had not yet digested the affronce offered to his Family, but would by Arms be revenged, fending Defiderius with confiderable Forces to waste the Territories of the Gothick Gall, where the Goths at The French wor- first had the worst, and shut up themselves within the City Carcasson, but afterward fled in two Ex-politions against took their opportunity, and made such a fally upon the triumphing and secure be-the Gath. In secure, that they slew their Captain, and killing most of them, the reft secured fiegers, that they flew their Captain, and killing most of them, the rest secured themselves by shamefull slight. This Defeat did but more exasperate the spirit of Guntran, who to recover his credit, the year following fent no fewer than fixty thousand men under Command of Boso into the Gothick Borders. News being brought into Spain that fuch a storm was approaching, Claudius the Governour of Lustania descended of Roman Bloud, was sent away to protect the Borders, who finding the Franks near Carcasson, the happy place of their late defeat, resolved there again to fall upon them, and with the like fuccess. For he defeated them in Battel, killed many in the fight, and not a few in the pursuit, took their Camp with all their Baggage, and obtained fuch a victory, that if Indore be not partial, a more eminent one never had happened in Spain, the glory whereof was increased by the fmallness of the number of those that fell on the Gothick side. For you must know this defeat of threescore thousand Franks was effected by the Valour of three hundred Goths, so powerfull was the Tongue, sharp the Sword, and prevalent the Example of Claudius their Captain.

18. Ricared having the good fortune to be Victour both in the field against his publick Enemies, and at home against such Conspiratours, as out of hatred to his A Legge and Religion had contrived his deltruction, obtained to much repute in the world, that his first was admitted, and Antharis the Lombard being put off, to whom the contribution of the state of Religion had contrived his destruction, obtained so much repute in the World, that up twirt thefe the had been as good as promifed, Clodofinda was fent to him, and a strict Alliance and League was made betwixt the Nations. What time the Marriage was Confummated, Authours do not agree amongst themselves; but evident enough it is, that toward the latter end of his Reign the League was made betwixt the Franks and him. This farther added to his Glory, That the Romans which still remained in Spain, were by his endeavours reduced to an inconfiderable Number and Power. By the same good fortune he reduced the Vascons to obedience, when they had entertained Councils of dangerous consequence. He was a Man of great goodness as well as felicity, being fingularly good natur'd, and very pious, to which being added excellent wit, and great endowments both of body and mind; he left a great miss of him behind him, dying at Toledo after he had reigned fifteen years, one

CHAP. II.

month and ten days. He had two Wifes, as we have feen, viz. Bada; Daughter, Ignibili quiten as they fay, to Arthur our famed King of Britain, and the French Lady lately men fed virtuality tioned; and he left three Sons, but by what Mother or Mothers, cannot be deter- det infignitus. tioned; and he left three sons, but by what indicate the form will have the Son of Emmiss.

The eldest was Linua (Luiba or Loiba) whom some will have the Son of Emmiss. Bada; but Isidore writes that he was begotten of an Ignoble Mother, so that some Swin-lat, P.

Baaa; but spaore writes that he was begotten two, viz. Suinthila and Geila, tenia erana. conjecture he was base born. And as for the other two, viz. Suinthila and Geila, tenia erana.

their Original as to the Mother's fide is rather more obscure. 19. Linva his eldeft Son fucceeded him, and being very young (not twenty years paties option old, some say hardly fifteen) was so obnoxious to the plots and devices of bad men, Linux the Se-cond fucceeds. his Pather's great Merits could not protect him, although he gave to all men very

good hopes that he would not tread but in his steps. He was circumvented and But is thin by thain by the treachery of one Witterick, accustomed to such Villanies, when he had alin Vinerica, but is that by sealth by the treathers of fearestly reigned two years. Being a goodly person, and taken away in the flour Bitterials, which is the properties of the propertie of his youth, he was exceedingly lamented by his Subjects. In Spain there were of Transien. not long since extant some Golden Coins stamped with his Image, and words which argued his eminent picty; in which Coins, lest he be thought the same with Linva the First, his great Uncle, he has on his Head a Royal Crown, a thing not used by

any of those Gothick Kings till the time of Leunegild, as we before hinted. Witte- With Right Roll and Witte- With who feize on rick having feized on the Kingdom, held it for the space of fix years and ten months, dere diven the Kingdom or thereabout, being a Souldier good enough, which he testified by the Wars he managed with the Romans; though the success he had against them was not answer-

able to that great Ambition he had to drive them quite out of Spain. He was moreover ingaged against Theodorick King of Burgundy, to whom having married Hermenberge his Daughter, the was diffracefully fent back to him, for what reason, and upon what account, we confider in the History of that Kingdom. Whatever the Cattle of the Separation was, it could not, in his opinion, take off the injuffice of the Fact, and the affront was so intolerable, as nothing could expiate it but the Ruine of him that had given the offence. And he fo plied his bufiness, that he made a very promiting League and Alliance betwixt himself Agilulf King of the Lombards, Clotair the inveterate Enemy of Theodorick and Theodebers the King of Australia his Brother, for the Conquering of the Kingdom of Burgundy. But Theoderick had at this time the good fortune to draw off his Brother, and thereby it came to pass that this terrible Conjunction and Confederacy dwindled by degrees to nothing. This brought the Usurper into such difgrace with his People, that calling to mind his ill title, and the means he had used to advance himself, the Multitude rushed into his Court, and slew him as he sate at meat, having performed nothing sutable to his pretences, nothing memorable, but that his Captains took Seguntia from the Romans.

20. He being slain, one Gundemar obtained to be King, whether as a reward of

what he had performed against Witterick, or by the suffrages of the Nobility, is is dealed King uncertain; fome do very probably conjecture, that it was not without the affiftence of the Franks; for they owed malice to Witterick, and it appears that Gundemar Argumens Verpaid them an Annual Tribute from some ancient Records which were extant but infiliation in the days of Mariana. We find farther, that the Ambassadours of Gundemar, mare skyl code. though facred by the Law of Nations; yet were violated or abused by them; and the law of Nations were violated or abused by them; and the law of Nations were violated or abused by them; and the law of Nations were violated or abused by the law of Nations were violated by the law of although just occasion of War was thence afforded, yet he sent others who neither ex B although just occasion of War was thence afforded, yet he sent others who neither account of the Kings. Herewith Bulgaranus the Count, who go Gabbern pr verned the Gothick Gall as Lieutenant to Gundemar, found himself fo concerned as Rege as and to stop the Ambassadours of Theodorick, and deny them access into Spain, and was guirmantille feeming to be now coming on, to be before hand with the Franks, he took by dim complete ftorm two Towns in Gallia Narbonensis, which by virtue of an Agreement made or resisted that by Ricared, were affigued to the use and service of Brimichild the Queen, who are framed dying not long after, they never were re-demanded of the Goths. Gundemar in 18.6.2.2 the mean time reduced the Vascons which had rebelled in Spain, and had good fuccels against the Captains and Forces which were set to protect the limits of the Roman Empire in that Countrey. This having done, he fell fick and died at Toledo. having reigned no more than one year, ten months and thirteen days, leaving no iffue behind him by his Wife Hilduard, at least that is known to us. He was an Excellent Prince and much bewailed, Fortune having but shewn him and his Vertues to the World, and then as envying his People fo great an happiness, having again

fuddenly withdrawn him from their fight.

Who reduces the Vascons to Obedience,

And dyes.

CHAP. II. Contemporary with the Conft. Roman Empire. Seccared. 21. The grief that all good men conceived for the loss of him was mitigated by Sect. 2.

chosen by the Suffrages of the Nobility. And their expectations he both confirm. Suffe Butte, dul-Reduces the A- ed and increased by the Course of his Actions. The Astures and Ruccones who had the cupa, labrume flures and Ruc-emes to obedi. rebelled, trusting to the places they inhabited, which were very difficult of Access. he speedily reduced to Obedience. The Remainders of the Roman Power being now driven up to the Straits of Gibraltar, and the Shore of the Ocean he profecuted and lessened, giving them two notable defeats, and taking not a few Towns Weakens the from them in Batica and Lustania, part of which Province they still held, but Roman Power were now reduced to fuch a low condition, that they were ready to pack up and to depart: "The Glory of his Arms he increased by the Fame of his Clemency and good Nature; for fuch Prisoners as he took, he would often dismis without Ranfome, and pay the price of the Redemption of Souldiers out of his own Treasury. While he behaved himself in this manner, and discharged all Offices of a good and pious Prince, he was taken away by Death, after he had reigned eight years, fix months and fixteen days; but how he came to his end, is utterly uncertain, fome reported that he died of an Hypercatharsis, or too violent a purgation by Physick he took, others faid that he was poisoned by his Physicians, as happens usually in

sifebatus chosen the good hopes of the Vertues of his Successiour, one Sifebatus upon that account

and admired by the People. 22. There are two Laws of this Sifebate mentioned in the twelfth Council of Toledo, "One prohibiting his Successours under an heavy Curse to suffer a Chri-" stian to be a Slave to a Jew, or to serve him. The other depriving him of all "Enligns of Honour, who in time of War should either refuse to go out in Person, " or for fake his Colours, which as too fevere, was mitigated by Flavius Eringius. To Vide James. V.: this same Sifebate is also ascribed the beginning of Naval preparations, whereas the sei Chronic, ad

the death of Princes, especially if their departure be sudden, or if they be loved

Goths had heretofore been strangers to the Sea; but now the Roman Power in Ann. 621. Spain, being even quite extinguished, there was means and opportunity enough to Recurred his Son apply themselves to Sea matters. Sifebatus being dead? Receared his Son succee- Hunc Hidray Pa-

ded, an Infant, who bearing the Title of King but for three months, after which tenum menter time he died, or was deposed, thereupon it came to pass that by several Authours regnasse. Roderihe is not put in the Catalogue of Kings. Both Father and Son being removed, cus Toleranus fepmade away, Su- one Suinthila who had Commanded the Army of Sifebate, and by Arms obtained tur Alfanfar. great esteem, was chosen King by the Nobility. Some write that he was the Son A. S. Ilidoro for

of Recared the First, and married Theodora the Daughter of Sifebate. He was a Luca Tudensi in man of great Courage, and indefatigable Industry; very prudent in Consultation, non penium. and of a mind to propense to all Acts of Munificence, that he was ordinarily "mponius called the Father of the Poor. In his time the Vascous forgetting the smart of that all in Manaria." chastisfement he had formerly when a Subject inflicted on them, again rebelled, and dicum esse eam with Fire and Sword invaded the Tarraconian Province, but he marching against que vuleo dicina Calific in Ca-

them, they were by his very prefence affrighted into good manners, and fubmit-fielt were, que ting themselves as a punishment or expiation of their offence, he caused them to vernents nomine build a *City called Oligitus, or Oligitus, as a Rod for their own back, to be a curb capatur. Subjuand a check to their Rebellious humour for the time to come.

Is fole Monarch of all Spain. 23. Suinthila had farther the good fortune to make himself Monarch of all Spain, a thing which had not happened to any of the Gothick Kings. For now was the time of Dominion of the Romans in this Countrey expired, one of the Patritians or Governours being drawn off to the King's party, and the other overcome by force, after they had for seventy years held part of Lustania and Bætica with various fortune; and a wonder it is they should so long hold out and keep their possession of

those parts lying upon both the Seas so long as they did; but as some very well conjecture, that which maintained their Power, was the fupply they constantly had out of Africk, for which they lay so convenient; which when it came to be subdued by the Saracens, the Intercourse ceased, and consequently for want of maintenance their strength and interest quickly fell into irreparable decay. These things were atchieved by Suinthila within five years compais of his Reign, whereby having so well provided for his Kingdom, he thought he might now make provision He makes Rechi also for his family. The Kingdom, as we have seen, was Elective, or in the dif-Partier in the posal of the Nobility; but he to establish it in his own House, made Rechimir his slington.

Son his Fe low of Copartner in the Title and Government. This was plainly an alteration of the Political frame, which the Goths would not endure, but were fo alienated in their minds and affections from him, that falling into most grievous dif-

orders, they drew confusion upon themselves, and forced him to quit the Title.

21. The

24. As there never wants fome, who make their Markets out of publick Ca-Sect. 2.

lamities, and raise themselves out of the Ruines of others, there was one Sisenand a very good Souldier, who took the opportunity to fet up for himself. His Ambition carried him into France, where by reviling Suinthila, and urging the easiness of the Enterprize, he obtained Forces of Dagobert for outing him of his Power, under the Command of Abundantius and Venerandus. These Forces appearing be-For which he is fore Cafar Augusta, the Nobility forfook Suinthila and his Son and received Sifenand for their Prince, which Renunciation was afterward confirmed by the Fathers of the fourth Council of Toledo, adding thereto an Excommunication and Deprivation of all his Estate, other than what it should please his Successiour, their most Pious Prince as they call him out of his Piety to bestow upon him and his. What ground there was for this heavy censure cannot be understood, for that he was a very good Prince at least at his beginning, we must believe from Isidore. Indeed there are that lay Vice to his Charge, and it is not a thing strange to the Nature of man, to be puffed up and enervated by Prosperity. After his Success against the publick Enemies, some say, he gave up himself to be governed by Theodora his Wife, and Agilan his Brother, which procured him the Indignation and Hatred of his Subjects. The Fathers in Council affembled may a little be suspected of Partiality, not to fay injustice, for cutting off from the Communion of their Body, a Prince who could not offend in feeking to maintain that power, to which he had been legally Elected. But hence feems the mischief to have proceeded: He indeavoured to fettle it upon his own Family by the affociating of his Son, without the Authority of the usual Election interposed. Isidore here makes a stop of his History, as unwilling to relate the difgrace and Miferies of a King formerly very famous, and whom he had commended to Posterity for his Vertues, being also his Kinsman. He Reigned ten Years: His Son Rechimir dying much about the same time, or rather being deposed with him, is not reckoned amongst the Kings (as neither Rederica Tale ratner pening depoted whith him, is and, because he died before his Father) but is tame. Middle Henry the Son of our Henry the second, because he died before his Father) but is tame. Middle Henry the Son of our Henry the second him. confounded with him, as some of the Spanish Writers have observed.

And Sifenand obtains the Kingdom.

25. Sifenand having obtained his Defires as to the Succession, was solicitous to keep what he had got how justly or unjustly soever, as knowing that some other might write against him after the Copy, which he himself had set. Sufficiently assured, that no pretence is so plausible and effectual as that of Religion, in the third Year of his Reign he summons the Bishops to meet in Council, making shew of Zeal for having the Ecclesiastical Discipline restored, which through the iniquity of the times had much gone to decay, but intending to procure the Acts of Suinthila to be condemned by the Fathers, and confequently bring those of his party to acquiesce in the Alteration lately made. Accordingly his Posture, Habit and Gestures were sitted, in mean Clothes, presenting himself to the Synod, where kneeling on his Knees with Tears which he had at Command, he defired their Prayers to Almighty God in his behalf. Here now amongst other things of Ecclesiastical Concernment, it was decreed, that none should be King, but he that was admitted by the free choice of the Nobility and Prelates, and Suinthila, as we hinted, his Wife, Sons and Brother were cursed after the Christian manner, for what they had impioufly and Cruelly committed in the abuse of the Royal power. Another thing is faid to have been done in this Synod, respecting the Civil as well as the Ecclefiaftical state of the Kingdom, and that was the publishing of that Volume of Gothick Laws, which hath been wont to be called Forum Judicum. Many learned Men and very good Antiquaries have been of this opinion. But others chuse rather to ascribe the thing to Egica, one of the least of the Gothick Kings; for as fundament as many are therein extant, which have the Names of following Princes. As for Sifenand there is nothing now that is memorable of him; but that there's a difference about the length of his Reign, some counting it to have consisted of three Years, eleven Months and fixteen days; but others extend it to the space of five

26. Into his Place according to the method prescribed by the Council, was one Chintila elected, who thought it a very wife Course to follow his example, of fummoning the Fathers together by their Reputation to gain farther strength unto his Title. The state of the Church being of Course in the first place provided for, the last in Execution, but the first and principal in his Intention and Design was accomplished as much as in them lay, the fafety and Prosperity of his Person and Government. His election is confirmed, and Care is taken of his Sons, that after his Death they be no way injured nor molested. The Curse is renewed upon him, who should arrive at the Sovereign power, by any other means than that of E- Sect. 2. lection, which is also restrained to the ancient Nobility of the Gaths: And it is made utterly unlawfull to attempt it, during the Life of the prefent King, as that which would open a Door to all forts of Tumults, Seditions and Treasons. This Synod being held in the first Year of his Reign, consisted but of two and twenty Bishops, in such great haste he was to have his matters settled, and therefore in that following, he affembled another Council confisting of above fifty, called the fixth Council of Toledo, wherein the Decrees of the former Synod were confirmed. And by this Political course he attained his end, the People being kept in order by this shew and pretence of Religion. For nothing else is he memorable. He died after he had Reigned three Years eight Months and nine days.

CHAP. II. Contemporary with the Conft. Rom. Emp. Chindafuinthus.

Then is Tulga chosen King-

27. His empty place was foon filled by one Tulga, who was no whit unworthy Alii Tulcam es of the place, nor of the Suffrages of those that elected him. He was a Man young Tuleman applications of the place, nor of the Suffrages of those that elected him. He was a Man young Tuleman applications of the place, nor of the Suffrages of those that elected him. in years, but old in prudence, Valour, and in all well grounded Principles of Vertue

and Honour, furnished with all Abilities requisite to so high a Calling, which no way pussed him up, nor made him forget such as misery and want had plunged His Character. to the lowest condition of Mortals, whom by his extraordinary Clemency and Munificence he raifed and refreshed, esteeming his Royal Treasures to be in this way best employed. He was extraordinary belov'd by the People, and their love being fo great, the greater was their forrow that they could not any longer enjoy him. for he continued with them but two years and four months, dying then of fickness at Toledo. So write and confent the Spanish Writers generally, onely Sigebert the Abbat hath published another Doctrine, as that he was a young man of a light and frivolous disposition, and by his Licentious Course of Life, so provoked his Subjects that they deposed and forced him to take Orders; but a certain Bishop who lived in those very times, who both heard and saw, and accordingly made Relation as we have no reason otherwise to judge, is in this matter of Report to be preserved before a stranger, who either out of prejudice against the Nation, (so the Spaniards imagine) feigned this story, or received it from other hands, which e'er it could reach the true History through the distance of place was quite altered, as in other Cases is too usual.

28. The Commonwealth upon his Decease, being tossed by the Waves of Tumult and Ambition, and ready to perish, one Flavius Chindasuinthus by force of Arms made himself Master of the Helm, for it's safety and Preservation as it happened. Having illegally and Tyranically invaded the Kingdom, he governed it in a quite different manner, as one that defired to abolish the Memory of his coming in, by a constant Tenour of Justice and Moderation. He knew sufficiently how much the Countenance of a Synod would contribute to the Settlement of his Interest, and refolved as foon as things were ripe, as speedily as the Temper of the Nation would bear it, to call together such an assembly. But he durst not attempt it at first, he could not trust the Bishops, whom he knew much averse to what he had practifed about the Kingdom, till by his Acts of kindness and good Government, he had taken off the edge of their prejudice, and had at least laid the Foundations of their good Opinion towards him. Having done this, in the fixth Year of his Reign, fome tay the fifth, he fummoned the feventh Council to Toledo. He fo ferenth Council effectually did his business by this and other Expedients, that what had proved fatal not long fince to one of his Predecessours, he durst Attempt with all Confidence and Alacrity. After he had governed alone for the space of fix Years eight Months and twenty Days, as some compute, he declared Flavius Reccessionathus his De tempore 18

Make his son Son his Affociate in the Kingdom. After this he lived three Years four Months dura Paently, Puner with and eleven Days, which time is reckoned to his Sons Reign, (by reason that he did different found to the property of his Father) and died at Toledo, the did different form for me fay of a garner Different by Poston. His Body together with that of Remainsha. fome fay of a natural Disease, others by Posson. His Body together with that of Recentioribus his Wife Richerga was buried in the Monastery of St. Romain, upon the River Du- Mariana.

rius betwixt Taurus and Tordefylla.

29. Reccession by Succession, was the more concerned to take Care how to keep it in the Possession of his Family. He used the same means his Predecessours had done, assembling the Bishops and Nobility for the Settlement both of Church and State. For the Reader must take Notice, that these Councils, though commonly they be esteemed merely Religious meetings, were indeed the Comitia or General affembly of the Nation, Lay-Persons meeting and Voting in them as well as Ecclefiafticks, as in the first which this King called together commonly known by the Name of the Eighth Council of Toledo, we reade of

Sect. 2.

And ninth at

Subdues the

And dyes.

fifteen Counts; and illustrious Persons, thate joyned, with the Bishops and Abbats. Whereas other Princes had usually got some Decrees in their own behalf for the in-Who calls the larging optivengthering of their Authority, he to please the People and preserve cighth Council, his Title, which he was conficious was: lilegal, parted with fomething whereof his Father had; flood pofferfed, a Regulation of Tributes, and Exactions being made for the case of the Subject, who in times of diffurbance had been oppressed, and not eafed in time of Peace; Impolitions of calaid on being very feldom taken off in any Government. Two years after another meeting was held, called in Books the ninth Council of Toledo, upon the like occasion; and for the fame reasons as the former, as allow the year that followed another meeting which hears the Name of the tenth. Not onely did Reccessionthus provides for making of new Laws; but revised

the old ones which had been depraved by the Injury of time, repealing many and adding mate as appears from the Volume on fell, wherein the Laws made by this Prince, excess in number all the Sanctions of the other Kings. All these matters related to Peace, but he fliewed himfelf as fit for Military Affairs ... For he repref- caludi form fed the Infolence of the Valcons, who again made Incurtions into the Neighbouring brit at faith Provinces and obliged them to rest in obedience, and duty as before. He died after tanser.

he had Reigned awenty three Years fix Months and cleven Days, the time he Reigned with his Father being computed, and was buried as some write in his Vil- lening. lage then called Garticos and now Bamban 1; 30. The Kingdom of the Goths which exceedingly flourished in his time, was

by his Death reduced into a very tottering Condition, the effect of its Conflitution for being not fetled upon any Family, but still Elective as it feems they would have it, notwithstanding the late precedent of Reccessionshus, the hopes and Ambitions of the feveral Competitours drove all into Faction and Disturbance. To put But against his an end to these mischiess, the Nobility made choice of one Bamba or Wamba, a will be man very well accomplished for the place when the complete the place when the man very well accomplished for the place; but so prudent as to foresee the danger of it, .. He earnestly defired to be spared; and so long till a certain Nobleman drew his Sword and vowed if he would not be King, he should be no more a man: Yielding to the Threats, rather than the Prayers and Defires of the Nobility, he vet refused to be Crowned before he came at Toledo, hoping in the mean time their minds might change, or so to compose differences, that he might take the Diadem with universal affent and security. After he had taken the usual Oath to maintain the Laws and Liberties, and was anointed by Quiricus the Bishop of the place, a Vapour is reported to have rifen from his Head, and a Bee to have flown up aloft, which passage might have more seemed fabulous, if Julian the Bishop of Toledo had not affirmed it in the Book he wrote of the War of Narbon. He was born in that part of Lustania, which to the ancients was known by the Name of Igeditavia, where there's yet a Town extant and called Idavia, and a piece of Ground wherein is to be feen a Rountain inclosed with square stone, which bears also the Name of Wamba; the Inhabitants believing, that the Ground was formerly in the Pollession of this King. Some reported, that he was an Husband-man, and by extraordinany Defignment and Revelation was drawn rather than led to be King, but this feems no other than a Fable, none of the ancient Writers making mention of any such matter, which being so remarkable, they would not have passed over in filence. had had a held of

A Conspiracy in the Gothick Gall against him.

31. No fooner was Wamba fixed in his Seat, but News was brought him which shewed his apprehensions of trouble and danger not to have been vain or frivolous. The Values Tee The Valcons incouraged by the differences raifed about the Succession renewed their new their He. Hoshilities, which caused him to raise an Army with all speed, and suppress the mischief e'en it too far proceeded. 'As he employed himself herein on the Borders of Cantabria, a matter of more dangerous Consequence was brought to his Ear, that a great Conspiracy, was made against .him in the Gotbick Gall, by such as envied him the Royalty. The Head of this Compiracy was Hilderick the Count of Nemanfus, who prefuming upon the great diffance of place, and his great power in these parts, drew in Gumild the Bishop of Magalona and Remigius, an Abbat, both his Neighbours. Aregius the Bilhop of Nemansus refuling to joyn with them, was removed and banished into Gall, and Remigius put into his place. They turn now all things into Confusion : The Jews who had been banished they recall, conceiving they would not a little strengthen their Interest. Wamba as soon as he could conveniently sent one Paul against them, a Grecian as they say, both as to Birth and Fidelity, though a man of good Conduct, both in matters relating to Peace and War. He instead of extinguishing added Fuel to the Flame; entring speedily into Confederacy

Confederacy with the Rebellious Goths, and drawing to his party Ranofindus the Sect. 2. Tarraconian Duke and Hildigifus called also Gardingus, a word denoting Magistracy and Power. By their Council and Affistence Barcelona, Gerunda and Ausa are feized in the entrance into Spain; and now they are for Gall, where they doubt not to be too firong for the King's Friends.

32. Being come to the City of Narbon, Paul calls both the Citizens and the Souldiers together, to whom he accuses Agebandus the Bishop of the place, for having caused the Gates to be shut against him and his followers, as indeed at first he did till satisfied more of his own inability to contend with them, than of the righteousness and Justice of their Cause, he commanded that they should be admitted. He indeavoured to prove it Lawfull; to renounce obedience unto Wamba; who he affirmed was not legally chosen, but onely by the rash adventure of a few Persons. and at length came to the point, that they should make choice of another, whom being legally Elected, they might as legally and Chearfully obey, and follow, to suppress the Faction of the Usurper Wamba. Hereat Ranosindus not by chance, nor on a sudden, doubtless with a loud Voice and much Earnestness affirmed, that a more worthy Person than Paul himself could not be found, which was received and approved by divers that were there fet on purpose; the confused multitude embraced it, and the Wifer fort in such Consusion and Danger thought it best for them to be filent. Then was Paul pronounced King, and the Crown fet on his Head, which formerly Reccared had dedicated to Falix the Martyr, for the Rabble that promoted him, spared nothing, either sacred or prophane. Hilderick the first Authour of the revolt was easily drawn in to own him, though he could have wished himself the Man; and so all the Cities of the Gothick Gall readily submitted, as also did no small part of the Tarraconian Spain, drawn by the Authority of Ranosindus. Paul now thinking himself secure, and swelling with the Pride of his high preferment, wrote Letters to Wamba full of opprobrious Language; and from them and the great Faction which now prevailed, some very rationally think, that the Fable proceeded of his being an Husbandman, and taken from the Plow-tail to wear a Crown, whereas he was of the prime Nobility of the Goths, and of highest place and Esteem with the former Kings. 33. Wamba upon notice of the Treason of Paul, called the Nobility, together to

consult what was to be done. Some were for marching presently against the Rebels, to prevent the farther strengthening of themselves, urging that Expedition in War doeth the greatest wonders. Others were for deferring the Expedition, till he could gather more strength by setling his Affairs, and increasing his Army, the weakness whereof was syndently feen in this, that as yet the Vascons were not fully reduced to obedience. He made choice of the former Courie as the fafer, both in respect of the Enemy, who if let alone might grow too formidable, and the minds of his own Men who being now full of Anger and Defire of revenge, he thought it not fit to let them cool; but incense them farther as he did, by laying before them as well the Horridness of the Rebellion it lelf, as the Mileries which their Friends underwent, that lived within the reach of the Universe. By his words the Souldiers were fo confirmed and animated to fight; that within feven days they quite subdued the Vascons, a fierce and warlike Nation, as a good beginhing and Omen of future Victory. As fuch receiving it, with incredible Alacrity and speed they marched through Calagunis and Osca, into the Borders of Catalannia, where they were divided into three parts; whereof one had Orders to make for Caffrelibya, the Metropolis of the Ceretani, another was fent against the Aufetani, and a third was Commanded to waste the Countrey lying by the Sea, the King himfelf marching after with a strong party, and executing Dicipline; severely against such as ravished Virgins, and made Depredations contrary to Command.

34. Coming to Barcelona, he took it with much eale, and relerved the Authours of the Revolt to punishment. Gerunda was delivered up by Amator the Bilhop, who had received Letters from Paul, bragging that he would speedily be with him, and advising him to receive and own him as King, who should first be there, which having read, Wamba not improperly faid, He has Prophefied concerning us and our coming. Thence after two days, they entred and passed the Straits of the fareneans without any Lett of Molefation, having taken by from Canceliberts, Culturaria and Castrumlibya, the plunder of which was given to the Souldiers, besides Clausara a Town, as the Name declares, situate in the very Strait it self, wherein were taken Ranofindus, Ildigifus and others of the chief Conspiratours. From Sordonia Wittimir fled, leaving it to the Conquerour, to bring News to Paul,

Wanda (ubdues the Valcons.

Takes several

CHAP. II.

S. Ct. 2. who was all this while making Preparations at Narbon, and first thought to meet Wamba and give him Battel, but afterwards changing his Opinion, left that City to the Care of Wittimir, and betook himself to Nemansus there to receive the Succours he expected from the Galls and Germans. The King being descended into the plain, flaid two days to Rendesvouz his men, who were to come several ways over the Mountains. Then did he dispatch away four of his best Captains to reduce Narbon with Competent Forces, furnishing out moreover a Navy to block it up by Sea. The Land Army got first thither, and having in vain solicited the Inhabitante to return to obedience, took it by plain Force, and therein Wittimir who to their Summons had returned nothing but reviling words. The taking of this Town quite ruined the Faction, the People now beginning to reflect upon Paul and his Title. and to talk of the mild and peaceable Temper of Wamba. In the same Course of Victory were also taken by force Magalona, Agatha and Biterris, and therein se-

veral of the principal Conspiratours.

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35. Paul still kept himself within Nemansu, a City in those times much slourishing with multitudes of Inhabitants, stately Buildings, and the strength of the Walls, as confiderable as any other in Gallia Norbonensis; having many Monuments in it of the Roman Empire, and amongst the rest a spacious Theatre, which adjoyning to the Wall ferved very well in the room of a Caftle. Four Captains were fent before by Wamba, who being elevated with the late Success and good Souldiers, though not much skilled in what concerned Sieges, impatient of delay fell upon the Town as foon as they faw it, with the Force of thirty thousand Men, they brought along with them. No Courage, no Animofity sutable to their several Concernments was wanting to either party, Night onely parting them for the pre-fent. But the beliegers retiring, those within thought themselves Victours, and one of them in the heat of the fight infulting over the Kings Souldiers boafted, that thortly would arrive to their Relief, such multitudes of Germans and Franks, as would drive them up like Deer and cut their Throats. A small matter oftentimes in War administers occasion to some extraordinary Occurrence. The News hereof was fent to Waniba with Defire of speedy supplies, forasmuch as all hope of Victory was placed in expedition. He dispatches away ten thousand Men more, under the Command of Wandemir, who marching all Night reached the place the next day, before the Affault was renewed. At the fight of them Paul was quite out of heart, yet made a Speech to his men full of Words, fignifying Confidence and resolution; and the storm was renewed with great fury, which pertinaciously continued till the day was far spent, and the besieged were quite tired out. Then did the beliegers scale the Walls, set fire to the Gates, and batter the Walls. At fit, wherein the the entry, the Citizens and Franks imagining, that the Town was betrayed by there was. fitch Spaniards as Paul had brought along with him. to gain pardon from the King. fuch Spaniards as Paul had brought along with him, to gain pardon from the King, fell upon and killed many of them. Being therefore beaten down and flain before by the King's Souldiers, and behind by their late Friends within; this pro-mifetious flaughter afforded a miferable Spectacle, nothing being to be feen but Bodies weltring in their Bloud, to be heard, but the Groans of dying Men, the shricks of Women, and the miserable crying of Children in all places.

96. Pail who had been the Caufe and Authour of fo great a Calamity, putting off his Robe retired with a felect Company to the Theatre, where truling to the Arength of the place, he resolved to obtain honourable Terms, or to dye Courageously upon the spot. It's observed of him, that he put off the Royal Enfights the very day of the Year, namely the first of September, whereon Wamba at the instance of the Nobility had put them on. Part of the City being taken, the Officers would not proceed till the King came, that he might have the Honour of the Conquest. The Townsmen thought sit to send out Arbegundas their Bishop to mediate for their pardon, who meeting him four miles off from the City, on his bended Knees with Tears and Lamentations, indeavoured to mitigate his Anger, which in great measure he effected. For Wamba triumphantly entring the City, which now yielded wholly to him, Paul himself and above twenty other Officers, notwithstanding his former resolution submitted to his Mercy. He pardoned the multitude, and took three days time to confider how to punish Pasl, and his chief Adherents, in the mean time taking Care for the cleanfing of the City, and the repairing of the Fortifications on that side, that lay toward the Franks, who were reported to be on their way, with a delign to have raifed the Siege. Some of that Nation and of the Saxons, who had either remained there as Hostages, or had been drawn in to side with the Rebels at the beginning,

he fent away not empty handed. The three days being past, he mounts a Throne Sect. 2. more elevated than usual, and the Prisoners are brought before him. He first trod upon all their Necks, and then demands of Paul, whether by any Injury he had been provoked to contrive this wicked delign against his King and Countrey. He denied he was at all injured, on the contrary affirmed he had received much kindness from the King. Then was his oath of Allegiance to Wamba recited, and the oath which he exacted from the People at his Usurpation. Then was pronounced the Sentence against Rebels, according to the Laws of the Councils, viz. "Ignominious "Death, with the Confiscation of all their Estates, with this Promise, that in Case " the King had pardoned them their Lives, yet they should at least be deprived of "their fight. Yet did the King out of his innate Clemency and defire to win the affection of the People, inflict no other Punishment upon them, than to cause their Hair to be cut off, which in those times was taken for the chief Mark and token

of Nobility.

37. All this while Chilperick King of the Franks, was reported to be at hand with a confiderable Army. He thought fit therefore, to stay and expect him for fome time; but having staid four days to no purpose, he concluded he had done enough, both for the reaping the Fruit of the late Victory, and his own Reputation, and lest by provoking the Franks he should seem first himself to have broken the League, he resolved to prepare for his removal out of Gall. But while this was in hand, News was brought him, that one Lupus a Captain of the Franks wasted the Countrey about Biterris, which obliged him to move towards him with his Army, although it did not much retard his Journey. For the Rovers hearing of his coming in a confused manner fled to the Mountains, leaving their plunder behind them, so that the Gothick Army had nothing to doe, but to kill and take pillage, wherewith inriched, it marched back to Narbon without having received any wound. Hence part of it was sent to re-inforce the several Garrisons of the Countrey, and the Wands returns at Canaba, a Town belonging to Narbon. The King returned into Spain, and in Visionally to great Triumph entred Toledo, the fixth month after he had thence departed, floids with his with mighty Honour for his late Atchievements. The Rebels went before upon the who are Camels, with their Heads and Beards shaven, in ragged Clothes: Paul in greater contenned to derifion wearing a Crown of black Leather. The King's Contlained Entered rest of it being commended much for Valour in a Military Oration, was disbanded very well clad, and carrying Joy and Triumph in their Countenances, the King himself bringing up the Rere, and by his reverend gray Hairs, and the Reputation of his late Actions increasing the Majesty of his Royal Office. The whole City ran out of the Gates to meet him, and aftonished at the Spectacle followed him with their lucky Acclamation; and the Solemnity ended by conducting the Criminals to perpetual Prison.

He fortifies

38. Wamba being now at rest and secure as to Foreign matters, applied himself to the inriching and adorning his Kingdom, that it might reap the Fruits of that Peace which at prefent it enjoyed. His Royal feat of Toledo he inlarged and compafied, With a perpetual Wall, as one terms it, reaching from the Suburbs of St. Isidore to both the Bridges. For this City is more than three parts of it washed by the River, which betwirt exceeding high Banks runs headlong amongst the Rocks and Stones. The other part of it has a most difficult access from the Plain, being before the time whereof we write, Fenced with a narrower Wall, the remains of which were to be seen in the time of Mariana. Now by the diligence of Wamba, were the Suburbs taken in, and to make it more fure, a lower Wall was added to the former, Marbles which were taken out of the Roman buildings, being to be seen in it, wherein are ingraven Images representing Wheels or Roses, * Erexit fauthought by the Vulgar to have been Wamba his Arms, but erroniously, forasmuch tore Deo Rex inas they are placed in no Order at all, but confusedly as they happened to be Wamba, size brought to hand. But in a certain Tower he caused some *Verses to be ingraved, as celebrem pro a Testimony of his publick Spirit, and as his Monument to posterity, and on the dens gentlis Hotops of Towers erected statues to some of the Saints, of white Marble, to which + Vas Domini as Tutelaries or Patrons, by other † Verses, he recommended the City, which Verses prasmia fulger, being obliterated, and the statues decayed and fallen down by the force of that, Hanc wifen which brings to a Period all sublustary things, Phillip the fecond King of Spain, in & Pleten falto the last Age commanded to be repaired.

39. Wamba his delight in things of this Nature, was at last interrupted by a report of a mighty Fleet of Saracens, coming out of Africk: For this People having in a manner Conquered all that Countrey, with no fewer than two

Sect. 2 hundred and feventy Ships infeffed the opposite Coasts of Spain, against which Wam-La making as early opposition as he might, rigged up his own Fleet, and manned it Defeats the Sa- out with fo resolute Souldiers and Seamen, that they quite defeated the Saracens, and either took or burnt all their Ships. Some, and not without reason, suspect, that by the ambitious practices of Count Ernigius this Fleet was brought against Spain, to make way for his promotion, by the destruction of Wamba. In the Reign of Cindasuinthus one Ardanastus being banished by the Emperour his Master, came out of Greece into Spain, and committed himself into the hands of the King, who kindly entertained him, and gave him to Wife his own Kinfwoman. Of this Marriage was born Ernigius (or Eringius as some call him) who being brought up at Court, could not content himself with the Title of Count, but aspired after the Regal Diadem; of compassing which, he was not without advantages, being *Ina quidem crothe Regal Diadem; of compating which, he was not without advantages, being "hapidam or in great favour with the Nobility, which he both got and preferved by his affable diliability carriage and humour, well accommodated to the temper and disposition of the spatial commodated to the temper and disposition of the spatial commodated to the temper and disposition of the spatial commodated to the temper and disposition of the spatial commodated to the temper and disposition of the spatial committee the spa

Theodefred, the Brother of Reccesuintha was still living, who had at the last Assem- just capite prims bly been onely omitted for his tender Age, he refolved in some extraordinary manner to attempt it. The business of the Saracesian Navy having micarried, he pro-inject swine-cured poison to be given to the King, who falling thereby into great torments and fall synday the danger, when he now feemed ready to give up the ghost, had his Hair cut off, and the fall inside the fall in the fall inside the fall in the fall inside the fa put on the habit of a Monk by the perfuation of Ernigius, who when his head online the additional wind a Wanter was light and intoxicated by the force of the poilon, eafily * procured him to nome in the man was light and intoxicated by the force of the poilon, eafily * procured him to nome in the man had been a Writing fealed with the King's Seal. [47] delian its the man was a way of the way of the man was a way of the man was a way of the way o Ernigius persuaded him to take the Habit, hoping by that means to unking him, manastra the though he should recover. And he was not mistaken in his Apprehensions, for Conference of Wamba the next day coming to himself, yet resolved to accept of the Religious issue as the next day coming to himself. kind of life, either through his greatness of mind or despairing to resettle himself; Rege Julian Ernigius having in this time, in a manner, feized on the Sovereignty. Therefore Com did he betake himself to a Monastery in a Village called Pampliga, where he most did no perake nimer to a information in a vinage cancer a improgram, where no most in Magnetical devoutly spent the remaining part of his life, viz. seven years and three months, le strong many or as others fay above. He reigned eight years, one month and fourteen days. 40. Flavius Ernigius thus by indirect means obtained the Kingdom of the Goths, estatem to the Kingdom of the Kingdom of the Goths, estatem to the Kingdom of the Kingdom of the Goths, estatem to the Kingdom of the Goths, estatem to the Kingdom of the K

and knowing that things ill got feldom prosper, set himself with the greater care

and industry to the preservation of it. He remembred that in such cases as his, and at a dead lift Religious Pretences had done wonders, and therefore he will be as zealous as any of his Predecessours, the Cause of Religion and Privileges of the Church are now much in his mouth, as most dear unto him, for which purpose he must also call the Fathers together. The Fathers loved to meet one another often, and being eafily made to believe that Wamba refigned his Crown to Ernigius, confirmed out of gratitude and prudence the possession of it to him, for they wisely concluded that it was good fleeping in a whole skin; and why should not they fubmit to Providence, and own him that was in possession? To this they were more induced, or as we may fay, hired by a privilege granted by this Usurper from the Crown, that whereas heretofore it belonged to the King alone to make Bishops, he granted it to the Archbishop of Toledo. Scarcely were two years passed and gone when he calls them together the fecond time to make farther provision for his good Government. In this Meeting of Ecclefiafticks and Seculars, which is called And thirteenth the Thirteenth Council of Toledo, an Act of Oblivion passeth for such as had taken Council of Ite- part with Paul the Usurper, and because little money was stirring, and too heavy burthens lay on the People, certain Impositions are taken away, and the Arrears forgiven. For now (as in all fuch cases of Usurpation, Usurpers ever making best Laws) not the King, but Ernigius was concerned, the Controversie was not whether the Privileges of the Crown be maintained, but whether the House and Family of him that wore it was to be preserved. Whereas men of mean Parentage, had by indirect practices crept into places of Dignity and Honour, and the Bloud of the ancient Nobility of the Goths was even quite imbased by promiseuous and unequal Marriages, care is taken for prevention hereof for the time to come. To these was another Law added in favour of Linbigorona the Queen and her Children, to protest their Persons and their Estates; that they might not feel the effects of that Popular Scorn and Indignation which they had too good ground to fear might fall The second secon upon them after his death.

41. All this Provision yet did not satisfie the mind of Ernigius, but the following Sect. 2. And fourteenth year he must Summon another Assembly, which is called the Fourteenth Council of Council of 16- Ioledo, a good occasion being presented of confirming the Acts of the Sixth General Council held at Constantinople. Besides the trade of Councils whereby he knew that he obliged the Ecclesiasticks (the best part of the State) more than by any course he could take, he resolved to provide farther for his Family by an Alliance And as much as with the Family of Wamba, Marrying his Daughter Cixilo to Egica, the Kinfman of with for his fahe should by all means possible procure the quiet and safety of the Queen his Mother in-law and her Children, not fuffering any one to invade the Rights or Estates of the Orphans. His Family being fetled, as well as in prudence he could devife. he fet himself to the amendment of the Laws, repealing several made by Wamba as too fevere, especially that concerning the Raising of Souldiers. And so at length he died of Sickness at Toledo on the thirteenth day of November, being Friday, A. D. 687. after he had reigned feven years and five and twenty days, notwithstanding all his endeavours bearing the Title of Famous, rather than Honest (or

of Good Report) to posterity, although the Commendation of Clemency and

Liberality much practifed by him are wont to cover very great faults. In his days Spain was forely vexed with Famine, which gave him a very fit occasion to be Popular for his liberality. The Walls and Bridge of Emerita were Magnificently re-

Contemporary with the Conft. Roman Empire.

CHAP. II.

42. The day preceding his Death he declared Egica his Successiour, absolving the Egica facceeds. Nobility from the Oaths they had taken in his own behalf. Egica being anointed and confirmed in his feat, could not perfuade himfelf that his Predeceffour and Father-in-law had by his late Acts of kindness to him in particular made amends for the grand injury offered to his Family; but thinking it most just and auspicious to begin with revenging its Cause, put away Cixilo his Wife, though he had a Son already by her named Witiza. Some have believed that Wamba, being yet living, perfuaded him to doe the thing, having fome sparks of Malice and Revenge yet covered under his Religious Zeal. Some of the Nobility also, by the means of whom Wamba had been so handled at his Imprisonment, were punished as they had deferved. Except this leachery of Revenge be accounted a flain in his Eschutcheon, Bgica may pass for one of the best, wifest and most moderate Princes, being a Person very well accomplished both for the Arts of Peace and War. He was who Summons men, but Summoned the Fifteenth Council of Toledo. Here he propounded a great the filteenth Cafe of Conficience, and prayed he might be effectivally velocities. an Oath to protell the Wife and Children of Ernigius in their Lives and Fortunes; but so the case stood, that much of their Estates had been unjustly got; whether then might he not dispence with his Oath in relieving such as had been unjustly oppressed ? To this it was gravely answered, That the ties of his Oath ought not to be so sacred as to binder the execution of Justice; he being doubtless left Judge to determine

matters of Fact and Right in things respecting Persons he so greatly hated.

43. Against him conspired Subers, the Archbishop of Toledo, a man of an haugh-The Archbishop ty and aspiring humour, nothing besitting the Place or Dignity which he bore in the Church. To his Ambition was not wanting the necessary Concomitants, viz. Diligence and Courage, which he employed to fuch purpose, that the Kingdom being by reason of the difference about Succession full of discontents and factions, he drew into the Conspiracy both a great Number of the Nobility and others. He drew to his Affiltence the Franks also, with whom the Loyal Goths fought three Ex Luca Tudens Battels, and every time came off with lofs, though by the injury of time we are follow deprived of the Account of the Number of the flain, and the particular Accidents on both fides. This we know, that the External difficulties Egica removed, by applying an effectual remedy to the inward distempers. Subert had not cajolled his Brethren the Bishops, either out of his pride distaining to stoop to his Inferiours, or because they emulated and scorned his towning Imaginations. The King therefore calls them together the fecond time to that Affembly which bears the But in the fix. Name of the Sixteenth Council of Toledo, by the Decree of which Subert is depo-

tenth council fed, banished his Countrey, deprived of all his Estate, and so excommunicated as supported by not to be Absolved, except in articulo mortis, according to the Provision of the Annihad acordinate of the Carons. For greater security of the King and his Successours, it is farther cient Canons. For greater fecurity of the King and his Successours, it is farther ordained, "That what Religious Persons soever, of any Religion, Order or De-"gree, should be guilty of such a crime, should be subject to the same penalties.

Sect. 2. In this Synod the Gothick Laws were more diligently revised than formerly, and Prayers were ordered to be made every day in all Churches for the King's Person and Issue, which we may perhaps exemplifie in a more proper place.

He calls the fecil of Toledo.

44. The year following was held at Toledo the seventeenth Council, wherein the venteenthCoan- Jews being faid to have conspired with their Brethren of Africk for the destruction of the Kingdom of the Goths, were condemned to perpetual flavery, and their Children, when seven years old, ordered to be taken from them, and brought up in the Christian Religion. Provision was made for Cixilo, though put from her Husband, as indeed care had formerly been taken for all Queen-Mothers, that after the death of their Husbands they might enter into a Monastery. Egica ha-And makes his ving reigned ten years by himself, took his and her Son Witiza to be his Partner Son White Part- in the Kingdom; but left a continual fociety should beget unkindness and differenner in the Kingces betwixt them, fent him to govern the Kingdom of the Suevi in Gallicia. In Spain were extant not long fince Coins stamped with both their Names, and in that Countrey in a pleasant Valley near to the City Tuda, abounding with Oranges and Limons, was lately to be seen the Ruins of his House of Pleasure, that City being appointed the feat of his Kingdom by his Father. To this place was Banished Fafila, the Duke of Cantabria, the Son of Cindasuinth, for fear of Commotions upon his Account. Witiza was no fooner come, but he fell into a liking of his Wife, as she also did of him, and amid their impure imbraces it's resolved that Fasila dye, which he did by a blow on the Head given him by Witiza, near the River Urbicus, Lucas Tudosfu.

in a Town called then Duodecim Manus, now Palatium. This Fafila was Father to Rederican Tile.

PART III

Pelagius, the Restorer of Spain, as we shall see anon. 45. Five years after his being made King of Gallicia, Witiza succeeded his decealed Father in the entire Kingdom of Spain and the Gothick Gall. At the beginning of his Reign he notably covered his vitious inclinations, and diffembled that Humour which in time came to rage in him. He recalled such as had been banished, and restored them to their former Interests: He commanded the Records of Offences committed in turbulent times to be burnt, that no memory might remain of them, that no Infamy or other punishment might follow them. But by his following Actions he endeavoured to render all Acts of Sobriety and Clemency ridiculous, fully giving himfelf up to the Power and Sovereignty of those temptations, which accompany a youthfull Age, backed with Supreme power and affluence of all things. He delivered up himself, as all such doe in this case, into the hands of Parasites, by whom being incouraged, nay thrust forward into all sorts of Lusts, he left nothing of extravagancy unpractifed, and openly shewed that a fear of his Father, and not dictates of his own Conscience had kept him from running hitherto into all excess of Riot. He took many Wives, and more Concu-He allows Poly. bines; and to propagate the mischief, made a Law, "That it should not onely be " lawfull for the Common people and Nobility to doe the like, but for Church-" men also; which liberty, fuiting with the corrupt inclinations of man's nature, was taken by many. As in his Father's time he had begun to root out the Race and Posterity of Chindasuinthus, so now he thought he had much more reason to accomplish it, because that those who could not like his courses, cast their eyes

upon those Princes as the onely furviving hope of the Gothick Nation. 46. Fafila or Favila he flew, as was lately mentioned. There was another Brother of Chindasuinth yet living, the Brother of King Reccesuinth, viz. Theodefred the Duke of Corduba, where he lived a retired life, in a Palace there built by himself, on purpose to shun the Envy and Jealousse of the Court. This Theodefred he procured to be deprived of his fight, and would so have treated his Son Ruderick, as also his Nephew Pelagius, the Son of Favila, but that they happily escaped the Tyrant's hands. Knowing the People to be much incented by his lewd practices, Difarms most of to render their Anger and Indignation vain, he resolved to disarm them, and therefore under a pretence of Peace caused the Walls of all the Cities of Spain to be raced except those of Toledo, Leon and Astorga, which he either thought he might trust, or rather feared to provoke them. Roderick the Archbishop of Toledo adds, that he took from his Subjects the use of Arms, that they might be in no capacity to refift him, but another ascribes this Practice to Roderick his Successour. To these Luca Total

crimes he added the Restitution of the Fews, who had been so solemnly banished, giving them greater Privileges than ever, and violated those of the Church, thru-lling Sindered Archbishop of Toledo out of his Chair, and putting in by force Oppas, Oham dis Apri-whom most make his Brother, and some his Son. To his lite such an end happened as was most just and agreeable, though as to the manner of it, Authours do

not agree. Some tell the Story how Roderick, the Son of Theodefred, flying from Sect. 2. that mischief which had overtaken his Father, went to the Romans, and from them obtained forces for the suppression of the Tyrant. Whom having defeated and Romans and Tyrant an taken in battel, he used in the same manner his Father had been served, putting out his Eyes, and confining him to Corduba. And there have not been wanting who alcribe this Act of Revenge to Cofta, the Brother of Roderick, whom they affirm to have reigned five years, whereas neither the Account of time fuffers any fuch thing, neither have Indorus Pacenfis, Lucas Tudenfis, Rodericus Tolletanus, or King Alfonsus the Tenth, the best Writers of the Spanish History, placed Costa in the Catalogue of Gothick Kings, nay fo much as made any mention of him. Those Writers who for Number and Diligence exceed others, affirm that Witiza died of Sickness at Toledo in the tenth year of his Reign, leaving two Sons, Eba and Sifebate, the Title of whom while most maintained, and others opposed, it in-

volv'd the State in great Calamities. 47. Yet had there Calamities an higher rife than from the Titles of these Ambi-

tious Princes. The fate of the Gothick Monarchy now pressed heavy upon it, and this fate was inforced by that which causeth and precedeth the Ruine of all States and Empires. When Kingdoms once come to an height by the force of Arms and prudent Conduct, ease and wealth beget sloth and luxury, which at length wholly enervate the minds of Princes and People, and procure the overthrow of that Dominion which their Ancestours with so great expence of bloud and treasure had raifed. Such was the condition of the Goths of Spain at this time. Their minds and bodies were both enervated and out of order; for all their time they spent in drinking, eating or whoring, the Prince had no care of the State, the Nobility thought they might juffly follow his example, and the Corimon fort could not but write after such Copies. Hence lay they exposed to all forts of Seditions, like drunken men, fit to quarrel with one another, but not able to grapple with any bye-stander or looker-on; so that that Empire and Dominion which had been obtained by their Forefathers, who had made all Countries where they came to tremble before them, now became the bait of Foreigners, and an easie prey to those Relatick chosen that would but adventure for them. Yet Roderick, who by the Suffrages of the Nobility, as many believe, had ascended the Throne, gave not any great occasion at first to cause the most considerate fort of men to despair upon his account; for he was endowed with many notable qualities both of mind and body. He was a man fit for business. Of an able head to contrive, and a resolute heart to execute, afpiring after the greatest things, and excelling in Acts of Magnificence and Liberality: He had a body fit for such a soul, most able to incounter all difficulties at tending labour, hunger and thirst, heat and cold in their extremity. But these Vertues were equalled by as great Vices, which appeared upon his preferment to the Crown. He never forgot any Injury, was most Intemperate in his use of Women, and as if the Crown had infected his head with the disease of his Predecessour, became so indiscreet in the management of publick business, that he relembled Wi-

ing and beautifying of the Palace in which his Father had lived near to Corduba. On his Cousin Pelagius he had pity, as involved formerly with him in the same calamity, and recalling him from Banishment, made him Captain of his Guard, an office at this time of greatest Dignity and Honour next the King. But the hatred he had of a long time conceived against Witiza, he could not now conceal nor forbear to turn it upon his Sons, but put all the affronts and difgraces he could possibly upon them, which not able to bear, and suspecting they would at length end in extremity, they thought it safest for them to quit Spain, and passed over in-He is severe to- to that part of Africa Tingitana, which then was subject to the Goths, commanded watch the Sons by Regnila the Count, the Deputy, as is believed of Count Julian. This Julian of Wition with others con-married the Sister of Witiza; and after the death of Favila and the slight of his Son Pelagius, who had executed the place, was made by him Protospatarius or Captain of the Guard. Now he was Governour or Lieutenant of that part of Spain which lies next to the Herculean Straits, from which there is shortest passage into Africk, and was possessed of many Towns thereabout, so that for Wealth and Power he gave place to no Gothick Subject, and became formidable even to the King himself. The Sons of Witiza being so greatly provoked in their passage, began to entertain secret intelligence with him and others, for changing the face of Affairs, and outing Roderick of his Government, Oppa the Archbishop their Un-

48. Having, as he thought, fetled his Affairs, he applied his mind to the inlarg-

tiza more than his Father, or any other of his Ancestours.

Sect. 2. cle being confcious, who by his birth and his present great Wealth and Authority could doe much; and their party was increased by many of the Nobility and others, who either defired to be revenged for former injuries, or gaped after Innova-

tion upon the Hope of future profits and advantages. 49. Roderick lying under these disadvantages, and threatned by the danger of fuch an Alliance and Conjunction, though he could not be fo fottish as to be utterly ignorant of his Estate, yet neglected them when he might have suppressed the danger in the beginning. But he was so far from healing the wound by any proper and effectual applications that he widened, and by a fatal Act of lust and violence made it deadly and incurable, provoking his Enemies to put in practice that horrid piece of revenge which hitherto in their minds they had but devised. It was the custome of Spain in those times that the Children of Noblemen were brought up at Court. 'Their Sons waited on the King at home, and followed him in his Wars, by which means were bred many eminent Captains. Their Daughters in like manner served the Queen, learnt to Sing and Dance, till being fit for Marriage, they were bestowed according to the quality and discretion of their Parents. Amongst these Maids was Cava, the Daughter of Count Julian, a Virgin of extraordinary Beauty, who, upon a time as she was playing with her equals, chancing to uncover her Body farther than usual, the King then looking out of a Window, desperately fell in Love with her. Nothing else doth he now meditate, on nothing else he looks, and each look doth not allay, but increase his grief, fending frelh darts of lust and fury unto his heart. At length he gets an opportunity, and enjoys her by force, when neither intreaties nor commands, promifes nor

threats could procure a compliance.

50. The Maid boiling with the Rage of hatred and revenge, as much as ever he did with that of brutish lust, writes to her Father, who was then sent upon some extraordinary Errand into Africk, in modest expressions telling him what had happened, and by as pathetick as she could, exciting him to revenge. This was no hard matter to doe, confidering how he and his Relations flood formerly affected. He returns speedily into Spain, and being an extraordinary Artist in Dissimulation, gets him to Court, where he betrays not the least fign of forrow or regret, but gives his Attendance with as much diligence, and as smooth a countenance as ever; and is admitted to all fecret Councils as formerly, fomething out of respect to his own Merits, but much more out of Love unto his own fair Daughter. He takes his time, and infinuates to the King, that forafmuch as Spain was now in perfect who fludying peace, and the Franks and Moors did often moleft the Countries bordering upon them, he would fend all his Horses and Arms into Gall and Africk, where they might doe service against the Foreign Enemy, rather than lye idle and rusting at home. Having persuaded Roderick to doe it, and see the thing persormed, he then pretends that his Wife left by him in Africk was there fick, and that nothing but the fight of her Daughter, whom fhe dearly loved, could recover her. With much adoe he obtained leave for her to cross the Sea, and they took Ship at Malaca, where there is an Haven bearing the name of Cava, which Tradition will have to have been so called from this Lady. In the mean time Roderick, as some have written, by his Covetouineis and Curiofity makes preparations for the meeting and hastening of his intended ruine, by opening a certain Palace in Toledo, which was made up fast with the strongest Locks and Irons that could be devised, because at the opening thereof the Destruction of Spain was portended to follow. He could not be brought from believing that vast Treasures by the provident care of the former Kings were there deposited, and his curiosity to see could not be overcome by the prayers and intreaties of all forts and conditions of men, who out of a Religious respect abhorred the thought of opening the Palace. But no treasure was found therein, onely a Chest with a Cloth, whereon were painted the strange and uncouth faces and habits of men, with an Inscription, whereby was fignified, that Spain should be shortly after conquered by those to whom such visages and garments then belonged. Both the habits and faces feemed to be those of Moors, whereupon the King and Nobles were fully perfuaded, that the mischief threatned was to come from Africk, and he too late repented of his unlucky curiofity. Some much contend for the verity of this Story, others contemn it. A third, some say the wifest fort shew an indifferency both as to the one and the other part.

Compires with 51. Julian having conferred with his fellow Confpiratours in his way, croffes the the Moors for Straits into Africk, and betakes himself to Muza, who being a man of prompt boldthe Invation of nefs, and very fagacious, governed Africk at this time as the Lieutenant of Viit,

the Miramamolin or chief Prince of the whole Nation of the Saracens. He tells him Sect. a long Story of the unsufferable Tyranny of Roderick, instances in the Sons of Witiza, who were in a destitute condition through his ill usage, forced out of their Native Countrey. He lays open to him the whole State of Spain, with the eastnefs of obtaining it, by which a way would be opened for the Conquest of all Europe, to which it stood hitherto as a firm Rampart; in conclusion, he offers if he might have, though a small yet a speedy assistence to bring this about, having very many of the Nobility at his Beck, and being Governour on both fides the Straits over which the Forces must be conveyed. The Barbarian was not difpleafed to hear of Conquering Spain, he onely doubted of the means to compass it, having the fidelity of a Christian in suspicion. Communicating the Design with the Mira-mandin, mamolin, he thought it not amiss to try Julian sirst with an inconsiderable Force, John Valso Haramamolin, he thought it not aims to try man like with the flould fee occasion, the ra-molin, Roderico and either supply him with more, or rest there as he should fee occasion, the ra-molin, Roderico and either supply him with more, or rest there as he should fee occasion, the ra-molin, Roderico ther because he had work enough for his men in that large Province. He sent momen Inter-him an hundred Horse and sour hundred Foot, which washing and plundering the print Princept. borders of the Continent and the Islands, when he saw that the thing succeeded ac- In historia Acacording to his wish, at the farther Instance of Julian, and under Conduct of one bumnunc California

CHAP. II. Contemporary with the Conft. Roman Empire. Roderick.

Which is under-

Tariff, firnamed Abenzarea, who had but one eye, he Shipped away twelve thou- mana interpretation may be supported by the better to warment discovery the best of
fand more in Veilels belonging to Merchants, the better to prevent discovery.

52. With these the said Tariff or Tarac, the Son of Atedalla, seized on the Hill Calpe; and hence the City Heraclea standing upon it, received the Name of Gebaltariff (now Gebraltrar) from Tariff and Gebal, which in the Arabian Tongue patterif (now veerauter) from tarif and veeat, which in the Arphian Tongue fignifieth an Hill; and a Neighbouring Town came to be known by that of Tariffa, * Quam ali whereas it was in ancient times called * Tarteffus. Roderick understanding the Moors Cametan ali were come over, thought seasonably to suppress them by sending away † Sanstitus Milleriam prime with an Army. But such an Army it was, as from it one might ominously pre-duc. Negau. As seen that would be the Issue of the quarrel. It consisted of the Resust and Dregs † Allis Excus, of the People sindering the suppress of the constitution of the property suppression of the constitution of the constitu fuch a business, impatient of heat, dust and bad weather, not at all disciplin'd, Wretched Souldiers, and fully as wretched Arms and Horses. This rascally Company coming to face the enemy, in all skirmishes came off still with the worst, and in a total ingagement was at length quite baffled and defeated, having lost their leader. The Barbarians elevated by the fuccess, quickly wasted Bætica and Lusitania, taking many Towns, and amongst the rest Hispalis or Sevil, which by the wife forefight of King Witiza had been deprived of its Walls and Fortifications. Having done so great things, Tariff and Julian return into Africk, where they require of Muza a greater supply of men, that they might give battel, and in one fight decide the Controversie with Roderick. Leaving Count Regnila as an Hostage, they obtain far greater supplies than they had got before, while Roderick in the mean time inflamed with the injury and difgrace, prepares warmly to receive them. He Summons in all able to bear Arms, under heavy penalties, the fear of which drew together more than an hundred thousand men, with which multitude meanly armed, and as ill provided of courage and skill, he marched into Bætica, and finding the Enemy at a place called Cafarianum, he sate down on the Plain by the River

53. Seven days they fpent in Skirmishes, whether to try the Manhood and Refolution of their Souldiers, e'er they would venture for the main chance, or because each fide watched for some fit advantage. The Goths, though necessity put some vigour into them, being to fight for their lives and liberties, yet were again dejected by fad thoughts prefaging the ruine and overthrow of their Kingdom. On the eighth day, which happened to be the Lord's day, the ninth of the Arabian month Xavel, the eleventh of November being the Feast of St. Martin, in the year of our A. D. 714 Lord feven hundred and fourteen, they came to a total Engagement. The King feated in an Ivory Chariot, and cloathed with a Robe of Cloth of Gold, as the custome of the Goths was, before they came to join battel, made an Oration to his Souldiers, wherein he used arguments taken from Religion, and the ancient Valour of their Ancestours to make them valiant. Tariff was not wanting on the other side by those drawn from Necessity (the Enemy being before them, and the Sea at their backs) and the despicable condition of their opposers to quicken the appetites of his men after wealth and honour. The Goths with Trumpets, the Moors with Brazen (or Kettle) Drums begin the fight, which lasts long, and continues dubious all the while. At last when he sees it convenient, Oppa revolts according to agreement, and carries all his men over to the Enemy, at which fight the Goths were so amazed,

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that though they now feemed to have drawn fortune to their party, they cast away both their courage and weapons, and being flaughtered on all fides, ran away as fait And the over- as they could. The King having discharged the office both of an able Commander, throw of the and a valiant Souldier, when he saw all desperate, removed himself out of his Charule of the riot, and mounting an Horse called Orelia, got out of the danger, as some say, though King and King his Robe, Crown, and Shooes adorned with Gems being found by the River Lethes, others conclude more probably, that he was either drowned or killed in the battel, none knowing ever what became of him. Yet in a City of Portugal, called Vifeum, was long after found a Stone with this Inscription: Here lies Roderick the last King His jam R.L. of the Goths. Curfed be the Impious fury of Julian because pertinacions, and bis Indig. With antion because extravagant. He was mad with sury, sterce with rage, forgot his Alle-matient giance, was unmindfull of Religion, a Contemner of Divinity, Cruel against himself, a min had Murtherer of his Lord, an Enemy of his own Domesticks, a Destroyer of his own Coun-gata prima, trey, Guilty in reference to all. Let his Memory wax bitter in every man's mouth, and Vide Walton may his Name rot for ever.

54. And well he deferved fuch a Curfe, who to his own particular revenge could once have fuch a thought as to facrifice the entire interest of his Countrey. By this one battel were such a multitude of Goths destroyed, that Authours are at a loss, and can give in no certain account of their Number. It's certain that this one battel stripped Spain of all its Ornaments; that here the Name of the Goths was extinct, their Glory in War, the Renown they had got in former Ages quite defaced, and more than this, all hope for the future quite cut off, and that Dominion of theirs subverted, which had now flood for above three hundred years together. Unspeakable are the miseries which befell the poor Provincials, more miserable than other Conquered People in this respect, that their new Masters were Meors, whose Souls, by reason of their Mahometan blasphemies, were as ugly and frightfull to them as were their Bodies. But the Moors, though with the loss of no fewer than fixteen thoufand Men, are Conquerours, and now they are so prudent as to ensorce the profecution and improvement of their victory; fuch of the Goths as escaped from the Lattel, betook themselves to Astiga, a City not far distant, strong in its Walls, and the number of its Inhabitants. The Citizens full of forrow and desperation, in a confused manner issue forth with them, resolving to give the Insidels battel, and if possible (who could know but it might be so:) redeem the liberty of their whole Nation. But the success did not answer their zeal; they were defeated as before, and those that escaped, dispersed themselves into such places as they could most conveniently reach, not flaying to fee the destruction of their City, which followed its falling into the Enemies hand. Now by the advice of Julian were the Forces of the Moors divided into two Parties, whereof one was committed to the Conduct of Magnedus a Duke, a Renegado that had abjured the Christian Religion, and the other to Tariff, the Captain that first brought them over. Magnedus marched to Carduba, and easily took it, the Inhabitants being fled to Toledo, for a Shepherd conducted his men to a part of the Wall standing near the Bridge, which was not hard to be passed over in the filence of the night, when they had once killed the Sentinels. The Governour fortified himself in the Church of St. George, and held it out three months; after which flying away, he fell into the hands of the Moors, but his men fought it out to the last, refusing to yield.

55. Tariff in the mean time wastes all the rest of Barica with Fire and Sword. Mentefa he took by florm, and levelled it with the ground. Into Malaca, Eliberis and Granata he put Garrisons. The Governour of Murcia (then called Oreola) was worsted by the Moors, but being a very expert Souldier, put all the Women in the Town into Man's Apparel, and placed them on the Walls in fuch Numbers, that the Enamy thinking him yet very strong, gave him very honourable Conditions. The Jews now being confused amongst the Moors, had Corduba and Granata asfigned them to inhabit, the Christian Inhabitants being driven into other places. Toledo, a City placed in the middle of Spain, and by fituation impregnable, the feat of the Gothick Kingdom was after a Siege of several months taken, but the manner is not agreed on. Some fay it was betrayed by the Jews, others that it was yielded up on very good conditions, as that fuch as would continue there might live after their own Religion and Laws, and fuch as would not, might take what they had along with them. The rest of the Cities, sew excepted, speedily underwent the like fate with these already mentioned, which done, the Conquerours placed Garrisons where they thought convenient, for bridling the Natives, fastining the new yoke to their Necks, which will they nill they, they must now endure. Tariff having having done his work, brings his victorious Army, gluttred with bloud, and even fatiated and burthened with wealth, back to Toledo, there to pause a little, and confider whether they were not in a dream all this while, for they could scarcely believe that condition to be substantial and real at which they had arrived. Thus was Spain in a manner subdued about a year after the Arrival of the Moors, and at the same time we find that Narbon in the Gothick Gall was reduced also by that

Contemporary with the Const. Roman Empire. Ulit.

SECT. III.

The Dominion of the Saracens, Arabians or Moors in Spain, Contemporary with the Constantinopolitan Roman Em-

From the Conquest of Spain by Tariff the Captain of Ulix Miramamolin, to the Reign of Abdeirakman the Second.

The space of One hundred and seven Years.

Spain in con-fution.

CHAP. II.

THE Conquest of Spain was so sudden and surprizing, that those whom the Arms of the victorious Saracens had not as yet reached, were as men out of their wits, and fo beforted with fear, that they knew not how to confult for the good of their Countrey being dispersed abroad, and no one body uniting fo as to make any confiderable opposition. Particular Towns concerned onely for their own fafety, chose them Governours, for quicker dispatch and more effectual execution committing all things concerning both Peace and War into their hands. These Governours being thus absolute within themselves, and acknowledging no Superiour abroad, are upon this account termed Kings by some Hifto-2. The News of the Conquest flying over into Africk was very welcome, but

yet not received with such joy by the Governour as the greatness of the Enterprize. and the confequence of the thing might feem to have required. Muza was glad that so Noble a Province was subdued, especially with so little charge and trouble, and that the Empire of the Moors was now propagated into Europe, an happiness they had had much more cause to wish, than to expect or hope for. He lik'd well of the thing, but difliked the man. It vexed him above measure that Tariff should be the instrument, that he himself should not have had the fortune to carry away the honour and profit of fuch an undertaking. Diffurbed by the Paffions of Covetousness, Ambition and Envy, he passes over into Spain with a fresh Army of Moors, consisting, say some, of twelve thousand. Being arrived, he consulted how to carry on the War. Some were for joining with Tariff, and finishing with his victorious Forces the remainder, but the fugitive Christians closed with Muza, and persuaded him with his own strength to set upon the work. Count Julian now it feems being little in favour with Tariff, the reward at last of all Traitours and Betraiers of their Countrey being to be scorned and vilified as execrable Creatures by fuch as fet them first on work. On Adonia he first made trial of his men, who took it by storm after great loss and labour. From thence they removed to Carmena, once the strongest Town of all Bætica, where toiling a long time to no purpose, Julian the Count, who was already too much engaged not to proceed, counterfeited himself a Fugitive; and being received into the Town, upon that account betrayed it to the Barbarian. This is the account that Roderick the Archbishop gives of this Siege. Rafis the Arabian will have these things to have happened after that Muza and Tariff met together at Toledo; and whereas the other writes that Julian did his business by counterfeiting a flight of his Souldiers, he saith it was done by men in the flew and habits of Merchants.

Muza with a firong Army enters Spain.

Takes Adonia.

3. Hispalis

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3. Hispalis or Sevil, though the poor distressed Goths had betaken themselves thither for shelter, yet upon the approach of the Army was deserted by its Citi-Subdues Hispalis zens, and so easily became a prey to the Infidels, the Fews being admitted to live in or Sevil.

And Pas Julia. equal right with the Mahometans. The fame was the Fate of Pax Julia, feated in

the Confines of Luftania, to which the distressed Inhabitants of Hispalis had sled, but whether it was taken by force, or delivered up upon Articles we know not, onely this is certain, that after the reduction of it, a great multitude of Christians there long continued. The next Town they fell upon was Emerita a Roman Colony, and carrying as venerable an aspect as any other of Lustrania, however batter'd and defac'd by the fury of the late Wars. Many of the Townsmen fell with Roderick in the fatal Battel; and yet had the rest that Courage and Resolution as now to go out to meet Muza, and encounter him, which having done with such Succels as might justly be exspected, they retired into their City. Muza viewing the place was much taken with its Situation, and perceived at length, that a stony Quarry which was by the Walls, would give convenient shelter to an Ambush, which there accordingly he placed, and with such Success, that the Citizens making a Sally were many of them cut in pieces, and the rest casting themselves into the form of a Wedge, hardly escaped within the Fortifications. Muza not being able to compass the Town by this Strategeme applied his mind to all Courses, by which it could be forced, sparing no Labour nor cost, for getting of battering Rams, and all forts of Engines usefull upon such occasions. The Defendants by their indefatigable pains and industry elude their deligns, being present at all places, and watching with all diligence to obviate the Strategems and Practices of the

4. But they were men, and being as lyable as others to the Inconveniences which attend such hard Services, they were reduced to such a small number, that they thought themselves upon good terms obliged to yield. But the terms they demanded were such as Muza would not give, who being now extreme old, the Deputies upon their return into the Town, affirmed, that all their hope was placed in the decrepit Age of the General, who could not in probability live many days longer. Muza hearing this, dies his Beard and Hair of another colour. whereat the Deputies at their return were aftonished, as being no less than a Miracle, and perfuaded their fellow Citizens to give place to him, who gave Laws

to Nature it felf. They covenanted therefore, that of fuch of their fellows as had been flain in Battel, or died during the Siege, the Estates should be in the power of the Conquerour. That his should be the Revenues of the Churches, and the facred Utenfils of Gold or Silver. That fuch as would flay might keep what was theirs, and those that would go away might have leave to go whither best pleased themselves. About this same time it happened, that the Inhabitants of

Pax Julia, and Ilipula being in a desperate Condition, resolved upon as desperate a Course, for perceiving Hispalis to be but meanly provided of men, they set upon the Town, and forcing out the Moorish Garrison, or killing those that resisted, quite mastered the place. But their Conquest was not of long continuance. Abdalasis the Son of Muza, was come into Spain; and blaming his Father for so slow a profecution of the War, procured leave, and a fufficient power of men to try his

subdues Valentia Fortune. Into the Borders of Valentia first he peirced, and fighting prosperously against the People, had Valentia it felf, Dianium, Alicantium, Orilinela and Olla delivered up unto him on these Conditions, that he should abstain from offering any injury to Churches, that Liberty of Conscience should be allowed all Christians, and that each man should enjoy his own, paying to the Conquerour a moderate

Tribute. By this success he was incouraged to go against Hispalis, which he reduced, putting all those to the Sword that had been Authours of the revolt; and thence passed he to Ilipula, where he slew a great number of men, and for a Terrour to others, as it feems, levelled the City with the ground, for from a great

and powerfull City, it's now become a little Village by the Name of Pennefloris, betwixt Cordova and Sevil. Rasis the Arabian wrote, that the Garrison at Eme-The Garrison of rita was cut in pieces, and that the Inhabitants of Hispalis conspired with those

Emerita cut in of Pax Julia and Ilipula. 5. From Emerita the great General Muza, marched to Toledo, and Tariff went to meet him as far as beyond Ebora, in the Countrey of the Carpentani. At the Thence they to meet him as far as beyond Egora, in the Countertment on both fides, though march to Toledon River Tietares they met with great shew of Contentment on both fides, though with minds as malitious and averse as can be imagined; Maza was even mad with Envy, and Tariff excessive Melancholy with fear of loosing his present Interest.

Muza laid heavily to his Charge that he had not obeyed his Rules and Orders in Sect. 2. managing the War, wherein though hitherto he had prospered, it was not to be ascribed to his Skill or Dexterity in Military matters, but to the mere fawning

Contemporary with the Conft. Roman Empire. Ulit.

CHAP. II.

and temerity of Fortune: when they came to Toledo, the covetous old man compelled him to give a strict Account, both of what he had spent in the War, and what the Booty thereof amounted to, which he bore with Patience, and by all means endeavoured to please and gain his good opinion. However they differed betwixt Afterwards to themselves, they agreed with joynt to Forces march against Casar Augusta, which without much difficulty they took. They had the fame Fortune in their attempts upon other Towns of Celtiberia and the Carpentani, most of which they brought under Subjection, without one bloudy Nose. And so now all Spain seemed to be Conquered, three years not yet having passed from the first coming over of the Moors, a thing to be compared with a Miracle, and merely to be resolved into extraordinary Providence. For the inner parts of the Countrey they could not without great dif-Maga and Tariff ficulty come at; and it is notoriously known that thick Woods, high and inaccessible reum to Uli Mountains and Cliffs, Fence and protect the most parts of Spain. Vlit the Miramamo-

the differentiation lin was ravished at the report of the Success which he had much suspected, by reason of the Discord of the Captains. Now he sent for them both over, and Muza having Aliis Abdularie made his Son Abdalasis Governour in his stead, over they went laden with that

Wealth which the Nation of the Goths, had been to long a time in gathering. 6. Abdalasis prudently discharged the Employment, wherewith his Father had

Abdalafis Go-

intrusted him. Out of Africk now flocked multitudes of their own accord, befides many that were fent for by the Conquerours, to plant those places which the War had rendred destitute of Inhabitants. To them he assigned Grounds and Towns, according as their Qualities and Families required; and made choice of Resides at Sevil. Sevil for the Seat of the Moorish Empire in Spain, for the Conveniency of its situa-

tion, and the strength of the Castle. Living now at ease, and being in the slower of his Age he began to cast an Eye upon Egilona the Widow of Roderick, a Lady of extraordinary beauty, and she perceiving his Passion made use of it, not to the gratifying of his Appetite, but to the advantage of her felf and her Friends, and of her Religion. But he might well now live at his ease, all Spain being at his Devotion; onely Cantabria and that part of the Pyreneans, which bordered upon the Vascons and Arragon, with the greatest part of Gallicia the Christians held, and there had a shew of Government, rather for that the Moors neglected them, because of the Barrenness and Ruggedness of the places, than that the Goths had any

Courage or Power to defend them. The Barbarians, as we before hinted, when two years were not fully past from their first Invasion of Spain, not content with the Conquest and Dominion of that Countrey, in great multitudes slocked over into Gall, with resolution to unite those parts which hitherto had obeyed the Goths, with the other Territories they had taken from them, and with hope from thence to pass into the other Provinces, which at present called the Franks their Masters. They had the same reason to expect Success there, as they had lately in Spain;

for there the Government, if not the Governours were quite out of Order. The Rings minded no business at all, being given wholly up to sloth and Pleasures. The Majors of the Palace did all that was done, and seemed now to have cast in their Heads, how to compais the Title as well as they had already the Power.

7. What success they had against the Franks, we shew in the History of that Nation; at present it's proper for us to observe, that their being employed in that Gallick War, gave occasion to those Goths that were left alive, and had betaken themselves to the Mountainous Countries to think of the Redemption of their Liberty. We may eafily imagine how Irksome was to them their present state, with what trouble they called to mind their late Injoyments, and compared them with their present Conveniences. Ease and security made them loose their Countrey; now a Sense of misery, and of the lubricity of humane Affairs, put them into fuch a true estimate of things, that by present Care and Activity they feemed to burn with Desire of taking revenge upon themselves; all seemed inspired with new thoughts and Capacities for some great Atchievements, they onely wanted a Captain to incourage and lead them on. The War had confumed in a manner all that were eminent, both for Valour and Conduct; onely Pelagius the Son of Favila, of whom we have formerly spoken, remained, a Person of Royal Extract, and of fuch Magnanimity and Courage, that he was not at all dejected with his adverse Fortune. It luckily happened at this time, that out of Cantabria, whither he had retired upon the late Revolution, he came in Afturia,

The Gaths re-flect on their Condition.

S. St. 3. it's uncertain upon what occasion, whether sent for, or of his own accord to wait for a convenient opportunity, of doing fomething worthy of himself, and the Race of which he was descended: Here as he continued all their Eyes were upon him, and as it happens to a multitude all are ready to Talk, but to be up and be doing they are flow enough. They still slay, and would find some fit and convenient occasion. But while they attend a loitering Conveniency, a certain Accident fell out, which put them upon a kind of necessity of Action.

8. Pelagius had a Sifter more than ordinarily handsome, and of such Deportment as was very Charming; with her Numusa (or Numatius) a Christian by profession, but Confederate with the Moors, and for that reason made by them Governour of the Countrey about Gegio, tell in Love, but in respect of the meanness of his Birth and his Humour, which was displeasing to Pelagius, he was in no hope of obtaining her for his Wife as he defired. He takes therefore occasion to fend her Brother out of the way on a message to Tariff, or some say Muza, who was not yet returned into Africk. He being gone, he married and enjoyed her, which gave not so great content to him, but it as much tormented Pelagius, who yet refolved to play the part of a Wife man, and conceal his Indignation, till he could find some opportunity effectually to shew it. At length he conveys away his Sifter on a sudden, and carries her to the Borders of the Astures, where he knew the People to be of a most propense Inclination to him and his Family. Numusa prefently took the Alarm, and being the more concerned, because of the loss of his Wife, gives speedy notice of it to Tariff, who dispatches away some Souldiers from Corduba, to suppress the Designs and indeavours of Pelagius, before they should come to any Maturity. And very near they were to suppressing them, by furprizing his Person altogether as yet unprovided, so great expedition they made. He had onely so much timely notice as to make his Escape, but they sol-Under the Con- lowed him so close, that he was glad to take the River Pionia, over which his duct of Palagi- Horse having carried him safe to Land, the Pursuers thought him not so great us tucy unite in Order to the a prize, as to purchase with so manifest a danger of their Lives, and so he got safe to the Valley of Canica, which at this day bears the Name of Cangas. Here he found in little time a great number which gave their Names for the recovery of their Liberty, of which they despaired not by the means of such a General. He advifed them that they would Act strenuously and betimes, e'er the Dominion of the Saracens should by continuance be confirmed, it being as yet tottering by reason of the newness of it. For their Comfort the Garrisons they had put into the Cities were but very flender, all the lately conquered People, where e'er they should come were their Friends; and the Forces of the Enemy were dispersed, most of them being gone over the Mountains into Gall. He put them in mind of the Valour and Glory of their Ancestours, and that Death it self was by much to be preferred before the Calamities, which they and theirs now underwent.

9. Though their apprehensions of danger were great, his words did much erect their minds, and he prevailed with them to enter into a Military oath, to under-And chuse Pe. take and prosecute the War against the Moors. By the universal Consent and Suflaging for King. frages, both of Nobility and People, he was chosen Captain General, and King of Spain, in the feven hundred and fixteenth year of our Lord, to which some add two years more or thereabout; fo great a matter it is to take hold of opportunity, and not to be wanting to ones felf. When all things feemed now to be desperate and beyond humane possibility, to repair the desolate Estate of the late Conquered Goths, the Foundation of a lasting Kingdom is laid, by which the Moors are in time though long before, again outed of their Possession. Pelagius knowing that from the first beginnings and Attempts, men ordinarily take their Grounds for fear or hope, spared no pains to preserve the Majesty of that Title, which he had received. He made many Inroads into the Countrey of the Moors, plundering and killing them, as he could conveniently. On the contrary he fortified all the Towns belonging to his new Dominions, relieved fuch as were in diffress, and every way to his power provided for the Ease and Convenience of all his Subjects, sparing no pains; for he had a Body fitted for Labour, his Countenance being martial, rather than beautifull, and all his Limbs every way proportionable. By this time the News of his Motions had arrived at the Ears of Alchama a notable Captain of the Moors, who came over at first with Tariff, and during the War gave many proofs Who is encoun of his Courage and Dexterity in Martial matters. He hastes to suppress him, eer treat by Alchama he should complete his numbers, with a very good Army, confisting of both a Captain of the Moors and Christians; Oppas the Bishop of Toledo coming along with him, who all the way indeavoured by fair words to preserve the Provincials in their Duty and Sect. 2. Allegiance toward the Infidels.

10. The noise of Alchama his coming grievously disordered Pelagius his Army the Goths having again lost that Chearfulness and Alacrity, which their own Meditations, and the words of their King seemed lately to have wrought in them, and behaving themselves no otherwise than Slaves, asraid to look their Lords and Masters in the Face. He perceiving their Temper, thought it not fit to expose such a Company of men naked in Body, and as unprovided of Courage to certain Ruine, by a formal Ingagement, but choic out a thouland flout Souldiers from amongst and forced to a them, wherewith he possessed himself of a spacious Cave in the Mountain Ausena(at this day called the Cave of St. Mary of Conadonga) which he furnished with all things necessary for a Siege, in Case he should be discovered, intending thence to make Sallies, and doe what mischief he could by sudden and unexpected Assaults. But he

CHAP. II. Contemporary with the Const. Roman Empire. Ulit.

was quickly discovered and pursued to the place of his Retirement, where Oppas where Oppos was first ordered to set upon him with an Oration, for they thought it better to for you him reduce them by fair words, than ingage a desperate fort of People in the Straits.

with an Oration. "He sought to persuade him to yield, by reasons drawn from the present potent "Fate of the Goths, which however it had formerly raised them to a great height, " was now ingaged to tumble them down as low; and if when all was well with "them, and the whole strength of the Kingdom was entire, they could not then make "good their Party, how should he think to doe it at such a miserable Ebb of For-tune. He spake Contemptibly of their number, and affirmed the Enemy to be "fixty thousand strong. Told him, that Almighty God for the sins of their Na-"tion blinded their minds, not yet fatisfied with the Effusion of Bloud, which "the late past Actions, and now this rash adventure of theirs sufficiently declared. "And he ended with an Exhortation to quit this their stubborn resolution, and " prefer Death to Life, or Slavery before Liberty, and the confluence of Honours, "Riches, and all other good things, which in the Name of his new Masters he " promifed them, if so be they would lay down their Arms, quit these Moun-"tainous places of refuge, and fubmit to the Conquerours, which doing, they "should therein follow the Judgment, Example and Desire of all Spain.

11. "Palagius answered him as he deserved, that the displeasure and Vengeance

" of the Almighty was to be feared by him, his Brother Witiza, and his Children, Palagiar his An "although at prefent their matters feemed to prosper according to their Wilhes. "That by their wickedness the Divine Majesty was provoked, all things facred "through the whole Province contaminated, and the Laws Sacrofanct for their "Antiquity broken and rescinded. That from these beginnings of Vilany, they " came at last to that fury and unheard-of Madness, as to draw the Moors a fierce " and cruel Nation into Spain, whence their Nation had received fo many overthrows "and fuch Effusion of Christian Bloud had followed; for which Vilanies if Almighty "God take care of humane Affairs, you must be grievously punished, both alive and dead, especially thou thy self, who forgetting the place thou bearest, hast "been the most principal Authour of all these mischiefs, and now by an impudent " Speech, darest advise us to receive the Yoke upon our Shoulders more grievous "than any Calamity, viz. to undergo again those Calamities and Hardships, of "which we have had so late experience. These are the wonderfull rewards, these "the Honours to which even now thou invited it our Souldiers. Know, Oppas, we "neither think, that Almighty God hath turned his Ear from, nor is his mind "averse, to us, so as to trust to thy Promises; but we hope he will turn the sharp-"ness of Punishment into Mercy, as he is continually wont. But in Case we are " not yet fufficiently punished, and he will not deliver us, who pray unto him " and are destitute of defence, we are resolved to change these Calamities for "Death, and a most grievous slavery (so we hope) for endless Felicity.

12. When fair words cannot persuade them to yield, rough Deeds and Blows must beat them out of the Hole, wherein so much, though with so little cause, they now confided. Such were the thoughts and resolution of Alchama, who Commanded all forts of Batteries to be made against the mouth of the Cave, but God Almighty whom Oppas had injured, by making his Providence as it were serve his ends of Revenge and Malice, fo wrought, it's faid, for the befieged, that the Stones and Darts shot against them, recoiled upon the heads of the Shooters, and being this first preserved in a miraculous manner, in as miraculous a way, they afterward quite Forces defirey. defeated their Enemies, of whom very few escaped alive, twenty thousand being killed in the fight and pursuit, and the rest drowned in the River Dena, into which

Sich. 3. part of the Mountain Aufena fell, on which they stood. Alchama was slain in the Battel, and Oppus was taken Prisoner, and put to such a Death, doubtless, as he had delerved, for henceforth we hear nothing of him. Numusa confounded at Namels knock the report of so unexpected a defeat fled from Gegio, the Inhabitants he knew to ed on the head, bear him no Good Will, and coming to a Village called Olalie, was there knocked on the Head by the People. About the same time, Muza in way of Retaliation was accused to the Miramamolin, and being constrained to give an Account of all the Money ipent and received in the Spanish War, was made to pay back great Sums More dyes with he had hoarded up, and died of Grief. Abdalasis his Son having governed Spain three years, incurred the heavy displeasure of his Countreymen, for the many Rapes he had committed upon the Wives and Daughters of the Nobility, and was flain in the entry of one of their Mosques, it's thought by the means and procurement of Egilona his Wife inraged at his new Loves fo far as to perfuade him to take the Enfigns of Royalty, and puth him on to those Courses, she certainly knew would procure his Ruine. But the Authour of the murther was Arub his Kiniman, who governed Spain, for one Month, and, as Roderick the Archbishop writes, built Ca-

latainba, a Town of good note in Celtiberia. 13. Not long before this died Vlit the Miramamolin, or chief Prince of the Saracens, Ulit dies, Zulei- and was succeeded by Zuleiman his Brother, who sent one Alahor into Spain to man succeeds as succeed Abdalasts. This Alabor was a man exceeding cruel, both to Moors and Alii Vin asks Chriftians. The Citizens of Cordula he outed of almost all their Estates, and made specific miles Inquisition after such as he said had defiled themselves with the spoils of a Conquered diseas.

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Nation. From Sevil he translated the Royal feat of the Moors to Corduba. The Sons The Seat Royal of Julian and Witiza he suspected (or pretended so) of having betrayed the removed from Sewito Cordubs Army at the late defeat received in Afturia, and having first spoiled them of their Eslates, when they had nothing left them to live on, put them to death, and Hic quidam No. fo completed the revenge of that execrable Treason of betraying Spain into the the revenge align Spain.
The Death and hands of these wicked Insidels. For Julian had received his reward before this time, as is most probable, because he is now no where mentioned, although the manner of his death is not certainly known. But a report hath gone without any confiderable Authour, that his Wife was by the Barbarians stoned to death, that his Son was cast headlong from a Tower near to Osca, on the Coast of Africk, and that he himself was committed to perpetual Prison, in a Tower of Loarres near to the same place by Command of the Moors, where without the Church of the Castle is shewn his Tomb made of stone. Roderick the Archbishop, and Lucas Tudenfis write that he was flain, and all his Wealth confiscated. And indeed when men confider of so great and dreadfull Vilanies as he committed (and he committed fuch in betraying Spain, as the Confequence thereof cannot for the weight of it be consider'd sufficiently) they are apt to conclude, without this reflexion, that God's Judgments and ways are Inscrutable, nay they are unwilling to think, that the Anthours came to any peaceable or timely ends.

Pelagius grows

14. But to return, and visit Pelagius; we find his Interest exceedingly strengthened by the late defeat given to the Moors. For his Authority and Government was not onely confirmed in Afturia, but multitudes now flocking in to him, who before stood aloof off, expecting the event, with considerable Forces he descended into the Plain, where he plundred and burnt all Towns belonging to the Moors, the Persons of whom he never spared as they came in his way, and took by Force the City Legio (afterward Leon) standing at the bottom of those Mountains, which part Gallicia from the Astures. Some are of opinion, that at this time he took the Title of King of Leon. But others deny it with greater reason and Testimony of Antiquity, which confirms this truth to us, that Pelagius and his Successours were Kings of Onetum onely. The Sepulchres of the Kings yet extant at Onetum, and other places in Asturia before the time of Hordonius the Second, who first called himself King of Leon favour this Assertion. That opinion is more worthy of Credit, which will have Pelagius now after the taking of Legio or Leon, to have changed the former Badges or Arms of the Gothick Kings, For a Lyon Rampant Gules in a Field argent (as we forefooth must blazon, because our Masters the French doe so) which still continues to be the Coat Armour of that Kingdom, and forafmuch as the City, and that Ammal are both in the Spanish Tongue expressed by one Name of Leon, the understanding of Arms but Ignorance in matters of Antiquity, have given occasion to gross mislakes. Within a while after the Conquest Legie, besides Asturia, Mansilia, Tineus and other Towns in Gallicia and Asturia, were taken from the Moors; Pelagius made himself Master also of Gegio a City very strong both by Art and Nature. Thence some suspect that he and his Successours might Sect. 2. be called Kings of Gegio, and io might come the mistake of Legio, it being very easie to fall into fuch an errour in ignorant times; the Alteration being but of one 15. Much about this time died Zuleiman the Miramamolin of the Saraceus, ha-

CHAP. II. Contemporary with the Conft. Roman Empire. Iscam.

Homar and Rit ving adopted two his Nephews by his Brother Vlit, viz. Homar and Izit. These two were to enjoy the vast Empire of these Arabians in Asia, Africk and Spain by equal Right, a thing new and of dangerous Consequence: But it happened well for them, that all danger of Envy and Emulation was prevented by the death of Himar dyes, I. Homar, who within a short time followed his Uncle. Izit being Monarch, sent git folk Monarch one to govern Spain, who has as many Names almost as Spain had Provinces. Some feeds Adham to call him Adham the Son of Melic, and others Abrahem and Azam, and the Chrogorem Spain. Call him Adham the Son of Melic, and others Abrahem and Azam, and the Chrogorem Spain. nicle of King Alphonfus mentions him by the Name of Zama or Zamam. This

Moor whatfoever was his Name, was a man of great understanding in all things, relating to Peace and War, and being as covetous as any of the reit, laid greater burthens than ever upon the conquered Cities; nay, if Rases his own Countreyman told true, from the Moors themselves he exacted the fifth part of all their Goods, under pretence of relieving the poor, but indeed that he might bring them so low, that they might not be able to rife, or doe any thing effectual against him. Being furnished with Treasure, he passed the Pyrenæan Hills, and having re-inforced Narron with a strong Garrison, laid Siege to Tolouse to his Ruine as it proved. For Eudo the Duke of Aquitain coming upon him, raifed the Siege, and killed him with most of his men after he had governed about two years. Those that survived made choice of one Abderral man to command them, till such time as a new Governour should be ordered them out of Africk, which was done as soon as the News of the

Abderrahman chosen in his

Who is flain at

defeat and Death of the former arrived. Now this new Officer some call Aza and Adha, and the Chronicle of King Alphonfus makes Zama the same with him; so that some account these men the same, although one died at Dertosa, and other was slain in Bastel, as it's faid, and some make them several, though both they write were sent by Izit the Miramamolin. There is so great Consusion of Names in Authours, relating Alii Irid.

these Moorish matters, that as John Vasæus a very diligent and judicious Writer obferves, very difficultly can any thing certain be discovered. One grand reason he thinks is, that at the same time there were many Moorish Governours in Spain, over which yet one had the Command and over-fight, who had his Seat at Corduba, as far as can

be gathered from ancient Monuments.

16. What we have written concerning him that was killed at the Siege of Tolouse, is reported of this new Governour, whom they will have by a Conspiracy of his own men killed at Dertofa. He oppressed with new and unheard-of Taxes, both Moors and Christians. Caused a Bridge to be made at Corduba, and having made War upon that part of Spain, lying near the Mountain Caunus, took by force and raced Turiafo, and was afterward killed after he had ruled Spain two years and fix months. He left for his Successours, as Roderick the Archbishop tells us, Ambuza, Odra and Jahea, so that some think Spain was now divided into three parts, or else they must have governed but few months a-piece, but here is such multiplicity and Confufion of Names, as was faid, that nothing certain can be pitcht on. It's more cerkitdying, If tain, that about this time, Izit the Miramanolin dying left Iscam his Brother his A.D. 724 Internal Brother Succession on that Condition he should adopt 4 halit his Son for his Heit which perit Makum, Successour, on that Condition he should adopt Abulit his Son for his Heir, which 107. he performed. When Iscam came to be Sovereign, he made Odayfa, Himen, Autuma, Albaytan and Mahomad his Deputies in Spain, the feveral Governments of whom if

they succeeded one another, must have been but of small continuance. For in the they increased one another, must have been but of linear continuation. For life and abdiranam Galfeven hundred and thirty first year of our Lord Abderrahman was Governour, per li Scriptores aphaps the same we not long since mentioned. This manyas an excellent Souldier, jellant, but fierce of Nature, and cruel, severe in his place, the lit to his own Nation, at this time exceeding vitious, as to the poor distressed consistency. This severity, or rather Tyrannical Carriage, procured him many Enemies of both forts, and amongst the rest, one Muries a Commander of the Moors, of great Interest and Courage, found himself so far concerned as to rise against him, drawing into his Affistence the Gothick Gall, which trusted to the distance of place, the Corretani in Spain, and Eudo the Duke of Aquitain.

17. This Eudo feems to have been a man of great Wifedom and Courage, as any of his time, onely one thing he is blamed for, not as he was a man, but a Christian. To strengthen his interest, he married his Daughter to this Muries a Mahometan, but the device prospered as it had deserved. For Abderrahman having notice of Muries

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his purpose, and how the Gothick Gall stood affected, hasted with a competent force to the Borders of Spain, and shut up his Enemy in the City Ceretania, whence not able to escape, nor deliver himself by strong hand, he ended his own Life himfelf, that it might not be at the Mercy of the Conquerour, which done, the Town yielded, and his head was fent into Africk to the Emperour of the Moors, to gether with his beautifull Wife now in the flower of her Age, an acceptable present to the Miramamolin. Abderrahman elevated with his Success invaded Gall, and proceeded by the Mediterranean Sea, as far as the River Rhosne, and laid Siege to Arles

the Governour

the principal City of those parts. Endo with as great a force as he could compass, vide Marianam came to raise the Siege, but was deseated with so great loss as seldom we have read deseated with of, manifelled by those great heaps of bones which long time were seen before 16.7.63 that City. Then turning toward the left, he carried his Victorious Arms through a great part of Gall, and came into Aquitain to be revenged upon, or to brave Endo his great Enemy at his own Doors.

18. Palling the Garonne, he came before Burdigala or Bourdeaux, which having taken, he used with no more Mercy than Angry Conquerours are wont to doe: Not far off he was again encountred by Eudo, as well upon the common Account Carrying all be of Christianity as his private Quarrel, but with the same Success as formerly.

Then were over-run these sourcest Deople the Francisco.

Then were over-run these several People the Engolismenses, Petragorii, Sanstones and Pillones, and all Christendom it self lay at the stake; for who could be imagined to be of sufficient power to oppose and repulse those who had subdued no less than Asia, and Africk, and the Empire of the once formidable Goths : Many Nations trembled afar off, and some seemed already conquered by the mere fame of their Is at length en- Actions. But there was one Charles Sirnamed Martell in France, the Master of the countred by Charles King of Palace, a fubject in Name, but Sovereign in effect, him God Almighty referved as a Scourge for these Victorious Infidels. Moved by the common danger, but solicitous for his own House, which being next Neighbour was now almost on fire, he resolved to extinguish this dreadfull flame, for which purpose he gathered an Army as strong as he could, out of France, Germany and Austrasia, many of their ownac-

cord, giving in their Names to obviate that mischief, by which else they were sure to

perish. With these he marched to Tours, where he passed the River Loire, that ha-

ving it on his back he might not be incompassed by the numerous forces of the Enemy.

19. The Infidels excelled in numbers, the Christians in their cause and Military Skill. Eudo now like a good Christian forgot the Injuries he said he had received from Charles, and preferring the publick Good before his private Respects joyned with him, and gave him great Affiftence in the Battel, though as to the thing that moved him to doe it Authours differ. The French Writers tell us, that by the Invitation of Eudo himself, the Moors came into Gall, and that when the Infidels had invaded his Dukedom, and so perfidiously broken the League they had made with him, out of revenge he changed his mind. Herein the ancient Historians of Spain are filent, but the later take Eudo's part, though they will certainly affirm nothing, charitably believing that though his Principality was in Cantabria, and he held but Aquitain in way of Dower, yet because he had lately fought no less than two Bloudy Battels against the Moors (to which we shall add that he was ingaged with Muries his Son-in-Law against Abderrahman) he did not invite them into Gall, nor changed his mind upon account of the Breach of any League he made with them. However it was, his coming was feafonable. The Moors were no fewer than four hundred thousand, many having brought with them their whole Families allured by the report of the Pleasantness and Fertility of Gall, there to inhabit. The Armies being joyned, the Victory for a long time remained doubtfull, but at

rather than the quantity of the men. Amongst those that did worthily, none surpassed Eudo, by consession of Charles Marrell himself, and by his coming in and fal-

length the multitudes of Mahometans gave way to the Valour of the Christians, who got the day. 20. Of the Infidels were flain no fewer than three hundred and feventy five thousand, and Abderrahman amongst the rest, which added to the joy conceived for the victory. And well might the joy be great, confidering the effects and fruits of it; no less than the preservation of the Christian Name and Interest, and an evident proof that this People of the Moors, how terrible foever they had hitherto been, might be overcome. The number of the flain on the Christian side amounted to a thousand and five hundred, a loss greater, in respect that those that were flain were of the best Families, and most valiant Persons, in respect of the quality,

ling upon the Rere in the heat of the Fight the victory principally was obtained. Sect. 2 But such was the success of the Christians against the Mahometans, in the seven hundred and thirty fourth year of our Lord, and the one and twentieth after the lois 4. D. 734. Abdelmelic Go- of Spain. Into the Office of Abderrahman was preferred one Abdelmelic who governed Spain four years, and was famous for nothing but the vertues proper to those of his piace, viz. Cruelty and Covetousness; and herein he had the advantage of the rest, that whereas his Predecessours had pilled and rifled a State that was already down, and at the lowest ebb of fortune, he by his Rapines checked it now when it was about to revive and make some progress towards its former flourishing condition. He was commanded to make some attempt upon Gall, which as he was about to doe, he lost many men at the Straits of the Pyrenæan Hills, and remembring the fare of his Predecessour, fairly retreated.

Pelagius dies.

21. About the same time (some say the seven hundred thirty fifth, others the thirty feventh of our Lord) died Pelagius the new titular King of Spain at Canica, and was buried at a Monastery near at hand of his own building; where his Wife Gandiesa, by name also was interred. His Son Favila succeeded him without any opposition, for Favila succeeds, his Father's sake, not his own merits. He reigned but two years, and during those most unlike his Father. He preferred his own pleasure before the Publick profit, spending his time in a mock war against wild Beasts when he should have been exercifed in a ferious hostility against the Enemies of his Countrey, and in such a fort of battel died, not by the hand of a noble Gallant enemy, but by the teeth of a Savage wild Boar which he too hotly and rashly pursued. He being dead without issue,

according to the last will of Pelagius, Alfonjus and Ormifinda were declared Kings with universal consent and applause of the People. Alfonsus was the Son of Peter Aldelonsus Tale Duke of Calabria, sprung from the Noble bloud of King Ricarede. He had com- tanto of aking manded Forces during the Reigns of Egica and Witiza when young, and of late brought a stout band of Cantabrians, and joyning himself with Pelagius had done excellent service against the Saracens, whereupon he gave him his Daughter Ormisinda to Wife, and from this marriage have the Kings of Spain proceeded in an unquestionable line; Son from Father, as writes Mariana. He was a man of excellent Parts most fit for government, a great States-man, and an excellent Souldier, well arm'd against adversity, but to be admired for his rare felicity and success in all his undertakings, and very religious, whereupon he had the firname of Catholick, a Title formerly given to Ricarede his Ancestour for his renouncing the Arian Tenets, by the Synod then held in his City of *Toledo*.

22. About this time died Eudo the Duke of Aquitain, whose Dominions in Gall Charles Martell seized, and therein placed Garrisons to defend them. His three Sons Aznar, Hunnold and Vaifer or Gaifar, sensible of the injury, and as Heirs to The Original of their Father's Courage as well as his Territories, presently take Arms. Aznar makes an Expedition in those parts of Spain which border upon the Vascons, where he takes the City Java, with many other Towns from the Moors, and gives Original to the People and Kingdom of Aragon, which some derive from the River Arago, which running through these Countries, joins it self with Ega, though others will have it framed of Taracon, whence the Taraconian Province was so called. Hunnold and Gaifer pass the Rhosne, and with great Terrour invade Gall, sparing nothing that Fire or Sword could destroy, not sucking Babes, nor such as Age had placed more than half in the Grave already. The Allobroges they haraffed most cruelly, and Vienna being with much adoe kept from them, they pierced into the more inward Parts of Gall. Not content with what they could doe themselves, they join with Mauritius, the Count of Marseilles, and all three to doe mischief to Martell, once again call in the Moors, who were ready enough to come uncalled: the last knock that they got not having so smarted, but their longing after so pleasant a Countrey made them quickly forget the pain. By this time one Aucapa had succeeded Abdelmelic in the Government of the Moorish Spain, after he was accused of ill administration, and in Bonds constrained to plead his Cause by a certain Noble man of that Nation, and a man most zealous of their superstition. Aucapa, by the affishence of Mauritius, took the City Avinion, and miserably wasted all the Countrey about it, which happened five years after the Defeat at Tours, in the first of the Reign of King Alfonsus. The Countrey was indeed very much wasted and distressed by the Conjunction of these Great ones; but by the extraordinary Valour and Conduct of Martell, all was again recovered; Avinion and Narbon both recovered, and scarcely any thing left either to the Moors or Goths in Gall.

Killing their Leader amongst the rest. SIO

23. In Africk, at this time, were as great Diforders carried on with more tumula and pertinacious wilfulness. One Belgius Abembewius, a Duke of great Interest amongit Bolg Abrils Sect. 3. the Moors, raised a Rebellion against Iscam the Miramamolin, for what reason we am know not; but probably whatever was pretended, moved by the common motive of Ambition. Many battels were fought, wherein he being often Victour, croffed over into Spain, which then was again governed by Abdelmelic, whom his Adverfary Aucapa upon his death-bed had ordered to be let out of prison. Belgius not long after his Inlargement arriving in Spain, had fent before him Abderrahman with a strong band of men, who drove him into Corduba, and there taking him alive, miserably tortured him to death to satiate his malitious mind. In the same year, Heam the Mira- which was the forty third, or the eighth Age, died Iscam the Miramamolin, after he had reigned nineteen years, a Prince renowned for the vallness of his Empire, and his great fuccess, but so excessive covetous, that he omitted no way of scraping wealth together, excelling in riches all his Predecessours. For this reason he was so hared by several of the Provinces, that they refused to pay him obedience for the space of four years, during which time, notwithstanding all the force he used,

he could not reduce them into order. But to see the extent of his Dominions, we shall present the Reader with an Account of the Provinces subject to him and the Mahometan superstition, as we have it from Rodericus Ximenius the Archbishop of Rostotic Tile. His Dominions. Toledo, who wrote the History of those Arabians. He begins with Iconia, the can 12. Metropolis whereof was Iconium; then follow Lystria, whose Metropolis was Lystris; Alapia, that had a Metropolis of its own name; Chaldaa, whose Metropolis was once Babylon, but then destroyed; Affyria, the Metropolis being Ninive of old; Media, the Metropolis of which was Echatane; Hyrcania, whose Metropolis was Anthiolas; Persia, its Metropolis being Susa; Mesopotamia, the Metropolis of which was Aram or Carra; Syria the upper, with its Metropolis Damascus; Calosyria or Phanicia with Tyre; Syria the Inferiour with Antioch; Judaa with Jerusalem; Ægypt with Alexandria; Arabia the Greater with Baldac its Metropolis; Æthiopia with Nadaver; Africk with Carthage; Spain with Toledo. All these Provinces did the Sect and Sword of Mahomet subdue. Sometimes also Sicily, whose Metropolis was Panormus; and Calabria, whose ancient Metropolis was Rhegium, part of Apulia; Gallia Gothica, whose Metropolis was Narbon; and the Vascenes, the Metropolis of which were Auxis and Bourdeaux. So vast was grown the Empire and Rule of those Sons of Ishmael, the History of which it's a great pity, we have little farther than as it concerns Christian Affairs.

Alulit succeeds.

24. To Iscam succeeded Alulit, sirnamed the Fair, the Son of Izit, with greater applause than success, as the Sequel shewed. In Africk he was sorely put to it by the Arms of Belgius, and in Spain by Doran, one of the Complices of that Rebel. Against Doran was sent Albulcatar, in the beginning of the Reign of Alulit, who much appealed the Countrey, fending the greatest part of the Mutineers into Africk, under pretence of supplying the force of that Province. But within a short time the Moors rose up against him, and he was slain by the means and procurement of one Zimael; which done, they advanced one Roba the chief Favourer and Affillant Radinio Talian of Zimael into his place, who lived not long to enjoy his Usurped power, being the probes. by the contrary Faction flain with a greater Number of his followers. About the same time dies Alulit the Miramamolin, or Sovereign of the Arabians in their Hundred, and twenty feventh year, according to Roderick the Archbishop, which fell into the feven hundred and forty fourth year of our Lord, and was succeeded by A. D. 144 Then Hershem, Ibrahem his Brother with as bad success. For Maroan, another Arabian of the Hu-Rolling Maroan, who is murther meian family conspired against him and murthered him in his Palace, when he had dame reigned little more than one year. In his time Toba governed Spain, but dying Al. Today & within a year, all the Senate of the Palace of the Arabians (as our Authour words Thesas it) made choice of one Juzeph (or Iuceph) to succeed him. He was a very old at Juceph 1 man, and as it is familiar to old age, was highly covetous; but what is not familiar, was also infamous for lust, whereby he obliterated the glory of his former than applicable that the County o Actions; and was so contemptible, that the Spanish Moors rose in Rebellion against him. During his Reign were feen at Corduba three Suns, a fight which mightily diffurbed the ignorant people, which understood not the Philosophy of a thick and opace Cloud, and shapes of men were seen carrying Forks in their hands. This might portend the Invalion of Angli, by the depredations of whom the Borders of Robatic Tide.

Spain were afflicted with a dreadfull Famine, as also the Tumults and Wars which

"" 27, 28. fhortly after befell the Moors in Africk.

25. For Abdalla descended of the most Noble Family of the Alavecius, looking Sect. 3. Par is flain by upon Maroan no otherwife than as an Ufurper, conspired against him, which he un-the forces of the derstanding, with the publick treasures fled from his Palace into Libya, there to Roderin Adales in the forces of the derstanding, with the publick treasures fled from his Palace into Libya, there to Roderin Adales in the control of the National Rodering Adales in the Control of the Control o

prepare himself for War. Abdalla searing nothing, by persuasion of the Nobility naslabeti asud was Inagurated, and fent his Uncle Zali with an infinite number of Arabians and eum. Persians against Maroan, who pursued him from place to place, for he had so ill treated the Saracens in his Government, that no where could he find any shelter. At length passing the Nile, in a place by them called Azan or Azimum, they came to an Engagement with miffile weapons, which lasted for two days, and on the third was Maroan flain, with many of his followers. Now Roderick the Archbishop tells us, that from Mahomet, till these times, the Arabians on both sides the Seas were governed by one Sovereign Prince, whom he calls their Amiramomen, and that those that were descended from the family of Benelabec, deposed or drove from the Sovereignty such as drew their Pedigree from that of Abenhumey, and endeavoured utterly to destroy them. These Families of Humey and Alabeci came of the two Daughters of Makomet, whence arose the emulation and discord betwixt them. Others reported that Mahomet had but one Daughter called Fatima, which married Alyabrietalep, the Scribe or Secretary of Mahomet, who reigned the fourth in order from him four years and eight days; and it's faid, that from him and Fatima proceeded these two Potent and Contending Families.

Contemporary with the Conft. Roman Empire. Abdalla.

26. But, in the mean while, Alfonsus (that we may see how the lately revived Kingdom of the Goths prospers) made good use of the differences and confusions amongst the Moors, enlarging his Kingdom by Arms, which hitherto had been very narrow. He had the better opportunity to doe it, because the Christians which inhabited amongst the Saracens were so weary of their new Lords, that esteeming death better than that unsupportable bondage they underwent, they thought fit to venture and try whether they could both prevent the one and shake off the other, by betaking themselves to him, and fighting under so hopefull and encouraging

CHAP II

Alfantus recovers a General. In Gallicia, Lucas, Tuda and Asturia were recovered; in Lustrania, Porfeeral places tus Cale (which standing upon the mouth of the River Durius, afterward changed the Name of Lusitania into Portugal) Pax Julia, Bracara, Viseum, Flavia, Bletisa and Sentica, which two last Cities are now known by the Names of Ledesma and Zamora. Besides these he reduced Septimanea, Domina, Miranda, Segobia, Abula and Sepulneda standing at the foot of the Hill Orospeda, and upon the bank of the River Durato, a Town strong by its natural site, formerly called Segobriga, being a Municipium of good esteem. Carried by the same course of victory into remote Parts, he conquered fome Towns amongst the Vandali. Amongst the Vafcons Pampolo, and in Cantabria that part which is now called Alava, although the various fortune of War in following times carried back again most of these Cities to the Moors, by reason of erecting of their Kingdom of Corduba, begun in those times to the great damage of Christianity, and afterward to its greater detriment carried on and inlarged. Thus much did Alfonfus doe for the recovery of the ancient Possessions of the Christians: but some would have him doe more than he did, writing that by force of his Arms all Cantabria was conquered and recovered from the Moors: wherefore it may evidently appear from more ancient Monuments, that the Moors never came beyond the place commonly called the Rock with the Hole by the Cantabrians. At length he died in the seventy fourth year of his A. D. 157-

Age, and the nineteenth of his Reign, in the feven hundred and fifty feventh year of our Lord, and was buried where he died, viz. at Canica. By his Wife Ormifinda he had four Sons, Froila, Bimaran, Aurelius and Usenda; and one by a Concubine named Mauregatus. He had a Brother, Froila by name, happy and famous for no-

thing fo much as that he was Father to Aurelius and Veremund.

27. To Alfonfus succeeded his Son Froila, according to his Birth-right, and the defires of the People, a Prince whom one can hardly call either Good or Bad, so mixt, it's said, was his Government, and his Actions different. By nature he was fierce, rigid in his manners, and by his flatterers put upon fuch courses as they called wholesomely severe, but others could not but mark them with the name of Cruel. Amongst his good deeds he is commended for founding the Noble City Onetum in Afturia, the praise of which some erroniously ascribe unto his Father. The liberty of Marriage brought in by Witiza, he took away, for which some think him worse spoken of than he did deserve. For in Military matters, though he did

Defens Just not equal, yet he seems to have imitated his Father. In the second year of his the Mouth Go- Reign, Juzeph the Moorish Governour having invaded the borders of Gallicia with a

Sect. 2. vaft Army, he met and gave him battel and defeated him, fifty thousand men perithing in the place; no Age knew a greater victory, nor more feafonable for the Interest of Christianity. This overthrow was not more seasonable for the Christianity. ans, than convenient for the defign of Abderrahman, who being of the family of Humey, and forely persecuted by Abdalla, him that had lately brought the Sovereignty to the House of Alabeci, and by all means endeavoured to root out the whole flock of the contrary faction, fled into Spain, where for the favour they bore to his Family, for the many good offices his Ancellours had done to the Countrey, he was kindly received. Onely Juzeph opposed him, and gathering an Army, met him in the field, but was defeated, and fled to Toledo. Malaca, Affidona and Sevil had before this yielded to Abderrahman, and now he laid Siege to Bela. Juzeph privately stole away to Corduba, where making no long stay, he passed to Granata, and there Abderrahman got him into his hands. But using him, it feems, too mercifully, from Corduba he fled to Emerita, where getting together nigh twenty thoufand men, he made Incursions into the Territories belonging to the Friends of Abderrahman, till by a stronger force he was restrained, and driven to Toledo, where Abderrahmanbe thinking himself in security, he was slain. The Town quickly yielded to Abderrahman, who by universal consent of the Moors, begun a Kingdom at Corduba, to

gins a Morifh Kingdom at Cor-

Is beaten by

512

which they all subjected themselves without any dependence upon, or duty acknowledged to, any other Miramamolin or Potentate whatfoever. This New Kingdom, Raderico Taleston by the means of this Abdarrahman Abenhumeia, firnamed Adahil, began in the Abdarraman. hundred and forty second year of the Arabians, in the seven hundred fifty ninth A. D. 759.

28. Against this New Moorish King, Valentia, a City of the Edetani, in the Tarraconian Province, was the onely place that stood out, and refused to acknowledge his Jurisdiction. But e'er long it found reason to yield, and whereas some of his own Nation rebelled against him, he had the good fortune to suppress the Rebellion, and animadverted upon the principal offenders by feveral forts of exemplary punishments. The Barbarian elevated by fo great felicity, made War upon the People of Gallicia, and laid Siege to Pax Julia, a place of Portugal, at this time called Beia. But he had to doe with one in those places, who knew as well to keep, as he to get, viz. Froila, by whose victorious Arms he was repulsed, as well as all the Mutineers which possibly held intelligence with him. For Froila by the same course of felicity reduced to obedience the Inhabitants of Gallicia, as also the Rebellious Vascons, in which expedition he married Menina, fome call her Momerana, the Daughter of Eudo Duke of Aquitain, and Sister to Aznar. Thus he proceeded, and might be ranked amongst great and good Princes, but that he blemished all by cruelly murthering his Brother Bimaran, a Prince beloved by the People for the beauty both of his Body and Mind, with his own hand, though probably he might not want provocation. Indifferent persons suspect there might be Ambition in the case, and that those whom the King's severity alienated from him, might push on Bimaran to fome dangerous attempt. Whatever the cause was, he could not wash away with all he could doe, the crime of reputed Paricide, being ill thought and spoken of, both alive and dead upon this account, although to redeem his credit he adopted Verenund for his Successor, the Son of his flain and Jamented Brother. But this Additional would not doe the work, whatever he did was either ill done or ill taken, so that characters. running out of one fault and inconvenience into another, he was killed at last at quant filling who is number. Canica, and was buried at his Onetum. He reigned eleven years, five months and to be able to be ab twenty days, as some ancient * Histories relate, although † Roderick the Archbishop ib 4. a.6.

gives to his Reign no fewer than thirteen years complete. 29. Froila by his Wife Menina had a Son named Alfonsus, and a Daughter called Aurelius chosen Ximena. But Aurelius who slew him to revenge the death of Bimeran (his Brother or Coulin, it's uncertain, for some make Aurelius the Son of Froila, Alfonsus his Brother) by consent of the Nation was made King in the seven hundred fixty eighth year of our Lord. He reigned fix years and as many months, being famous for no great matters performed. He suppressed indeed the Slaves, which now trusting to the confusion and uncertainty of the times, rebelled. But the fame of this Action, and more than this could not equal the dishonour he got by the League which he made with the Moors, by virtue whereof he was to pay a yearly tribute of Virgins to those Infidels. The terrour of Abderrahman's Name was so great, that it frighted them into this compliance, lest he, a man very fierce and active, should bring all his strength against their weak and scarcely setled Kingdom. Aurelius having no children (it doth not appear he had any Wife) gave his Sister Adofinda in

CHAP. II. Contemporary with the Conft. Roman Empire. Islem.

Next Sibismade marriage to one Silo, a man of great Nobility, with hopes to succeed him. His Sect. 2. NEXT THE SHOPE WAS NOT VAIN, for Aurelius being dead, for the fake of his Wife he was admitted King, and reigned nine years, one month and a day. He reduced into order the mutinous People of Gallicia, but being either by reason of his Age or his own temper unfit for Government, by persuasion of his Wife he took Alfonsus the Son of Froils to be his Partner in the Kingdom, such being the missortune of the times. that when the State, by reason of its weakness, and so powerfull a Neighbour, required the most able and most active Princes to govern it, weak and idle men happened to prefide and move the Helm.

Alfrefes reigns

30. After Silo's death, Alfonfus was confirmed in the Government, the People having forgot his Father's faults, which his own and excellent demeanour had in a great measure also covered. Onely Mauregatus his Uncle (and that by a Concubine) found himself concerned, alledging that he himself was nearer in bloud to the former Kings, and there wanted not some Male-contents, who flattered him with continual juggestions that he was injured. But finding not strength enough at home, he betook himself to the Moors, and to get assistence from them, offer'd, that in case they made him sing, to pay them a yearly Tribute of sifty Noble Virgins, and as many out of the inferiour fort. These infidels being a people above all others given to leachery, to gratifie their luft, and out of Ambition to have a Christian King, their Tributary, granted his request, and by permission of their King an Army was levied, which Alfonfus finding himself unable to resist, being as yet unsetled in his place, gave way to fortune and his Competitour, and returned into Cantabria, being now twenty five years old, hoping there to find good friends, by reason of his Mother's kindred. Mauregatus then obtained the Throne, and was eminent for nothing but the dishonesty and filthiness of his manners, wherein having spent sive years and fix months, he then left this world, and was buried at Pravia in the feven hundred A. D. 783. and eighty eighth year of our Lord. In the same year died Abderrahman King of

But outed by Mauregatus with the affiflence of the

Abderrahman

ty with an excellent Castle, rarely contrived Gardens, and such a Mosque, as being now turned into a Cathedral Cliurch for its beautifull Structure, multitude and variety of Pillars feems miraculous. He left eleven Sons and nine Daughters. Of the Sons, the eldest Zuleman he had made in his life time Governour of Toledo, and Toledo,

the Moors at Corduba, having reigned nine and twenty years, and adorned that Ci-

the Government Corduba, having got the opportunity of Cajolling the People, fet up for himfelf, Mariana Iffern.

and what he juilly or unjuffly got, in the same manner kept and preserved. 31. Against Zuleman he so stoutly defended himself, that he forced him to sell

To Mauregatus

his Pretentions for fixty thousand Aurei and to go into Africk, as did his other Brother Abdalla, with whom he also compounded, after he had made an Insurrection. Having conquered all opposition, he lengthened out his Reign to seven years, seven months and seven days. To Mauregatus succeeded Veremundus, though upon what title is not agreed, for Authours differ about his Genealogy, some making him the Son of Bimaran, who was killed by his Brother Froila, and others of Froila the Brother of Alfonsus the Catholick, which feems most probable, being most approved by learned men, and attested by the Chronicle, which hath gone under the Name of Alfonsus the Catholick. He reigned three years and five months, and of his Wife Numilo (or Ofenda) begat two Sons Ramir and Garsias; but forasmuch as he was in Orders, and a Deacon, he is faid afterwards to have abstained from her company. Otherwise he was a modest and temperate man, by confession of such as were against his marriage, of a peaceable spirit, neither by art nor nature fit for Arms. But herein his care for the Publick appears, that being not fit himself for business, he chose for his Collegue such an one as to whom those things were most proper,

Who makes Al- viz. Alfonfus his Kiniman, whom Mauregatus had banished into Cantabria, solemform the Third nizing his Inauguration or Restitution on the nineteenth day of July, in the seven A. D. 791. his Parmer in hundred ninety first year of our Lord. Alfonsus after this governed a long time, hundred ninety first year of our Lord. Alfonsus after this governed a long time, and was fecond to none for his perpetual felicity, his Clemency, Munificence, his

Religion and his Skill in matters relating to War.

32. The hope of this his Skill was much confirmed by the victory he obtained over the Moors, in the third year after his Restitution. For whereas by virtue of the agreement made by Mauregatus, such a Number of Christian Virgins was yearly to be delivered to them as a Tribute, he abhorring it as a most wicked thing, when for want of payment they made Inroads into the Countrey, he met and gave them battel at a Town called Ledes, where they received io total a defeat, that feventy thousand men were flain, and his Subjects now began to lift up their heads

Sect. 3. as freed from bondage. For the Moors were hereby so weakned, that having work made them elfewhere, they had no opportunity or power to revenge the lois; the Vascons putting them to it on one hand, and the Arms of Charles the Great, who now began to grow famous, much molefting them on the other; fo that by one means or other they lost many Towns upon the Borders. This caused Islem the Miramamolin, to fend away Abdelmolic a Captain of great Note, to restore his Interest in those Quarters, who retook Gerunda and Narbon, whence he had Slaves to help to perfect the structure of the Mosque at Corduba. He caused another Bridge to be built to the Castle in that City. He first of all the Moorish Kings used three thousand of Renegado Christians as a Guard, and had constantly two Iffem the Mira- thousand Eunuchs that followed his Court. He died in the seven hundred and

mamalin dies ninety fifth year of our Lord, leaving Albaca his Son his Succeffour, who Reigned Albaca Toltan fix and twenty years, ten months and fifteen days, being a Prince of great pru- allia Hillsana dence, Justice and Liberality as can be imagined amongst that People. And to him fome ascribe the Guard of five thousand men, Apostate Christians and Eunuchs. which others fay, was first raised by his Father.

33. In the mean time died Veremund and was buried at Onetum, where the Moleaving Alfanjus numents of him and his Wife were feen long after. Then did Alfanjus govern a-the Monarch lone, and abstaining from the imbraces of his Wife, Bertha, obtained the Sirname of the Chaste. His former Glories were within a little while fomething obscured, at least so he thought, by a Clandestine Marriage of his Sister Ximena to Sandias, or Sanctius the Count of Soldania; from which Marriage proceeded Bernard, who had the Sirname of Carpenfis, and is much celebrated for his great Atchievements by the Writers of the Spanish Story. Alfonsus for all his Vertue could not bear fuch an Indignity offered to his Family, but calling the Count to Leon, upon pretence of the Assembly of the Estates, he was accused of Treason, and having his Eyes put out, was condemned to perpetual Prison, there to bewail his own Ambition, or rather the Cruelty of the King. Semena was constrained to go into a Monastery; but the Infant he well provided for, bringing him up with as much Care and Respect, as if he had been his own Son. In the mean time the Moors could not be quiet amongst themselves. Zuleman and Abdalla the Uncles of the new King grudged him his preferment, and left nothing undone to remove him from it. Some fay, that Abdalla craved aid of Charles the Great, who fent his Son Ludovicus to assist him, and that the Army of the Franks pierced into Spain, as far as Ofca. Others write, that both the Brothers at this time came over out of Africk, Abdalla having by connivence of the Citizens first seized upon Valentia. and then sent for the other. Making frequent Irruptions into the Countrey, they made great waste round about, and at last had the Boldness to give Battel to Alhaca the Miramamolin, who had the good Fortune after great Effusion of Bloud, to get the Victory. Zuleman was slain in the Battel: Abdalla escaped to Valentia, where feriously considering of his Affairs, thought it best to be quiet, and made Peace with his Nephew on this Condition, to have such an allowance as might maintain him according to his Quality. To the King he sent his Sons, who used them with great Respect as his Cousin Germans, and to one of them he Married his Sister. These things happened in the fifth year of the Reign of Alhaca, in the hundred and eighty fourth of the Arabians. 34. These disturbances amongst the Moors, made well for Alfonsus, who had

thereby opportunity to strengthen and inlarge his Kingdom. Some Writers now relate, how by the Affiftence of Charles the Great he recovered Olifipo, or Lisbon the principal Town of Lustiania out of their hands, as also Barcelona; and that Alfonsus sent to Charles a very splendid Embassy, the Embassadours being Fruela and Basilicus, who carried with them a rich Present of Horses, Arms and Slaves, belides a Pavilion of admirable fize and Workmanship, the spoils of the conquered City of Lisbon. But fach Writers as tell these stories, are *Strangers concerned for the *Justin Maple Honour and Reputation of Charles, the Spanish Historians being herein wholly started the terms shaded lent. Barcelona indeed in these times, was by Charles the Great taken from the ream states. lent. Barcelona indeed in these times, was by Charles the Great taken from the carron Plains in Moors, and twice was Lisbon freed from the Tyranny of the Moors, and each time vita Leads to the thing was done by an Alphonsus. But this was long time after, viz. it was first taken by Alphonsus the fixth, him who also recovered Toledo, about the one cater Alobari-where to be found in any Spanish Monument of Antiquity. This we find con-

stantly reported, that Charles the Great was more than once in Spain: First imme- Sect. 2. diately after his Father's death, folicited by Ibnabala the Moor, with hope of taking Spain from that People, and at this time they will have him to have made himself Master of Pompelona, which he dismantled at his retreat after that he had fetled Ibnabala King of Saragesfa. In his return, as he passed the Straits of the Pyrenæan Mountains, he was set upon by the Vascons, and with the loss of his Treafures, and many men, returned with fmall Reputation into Germany. He had Ge-The Original of runda and Barcino put into his hands by the Moors, and thence came the Counts of Barcelona and the Original of the Catalonians, the Cathelauni, who lived formerly about Tolonfe now coming and planting themselves in this part of Spain. For as for their Opinion, who make Catalaunia a word compounded of Goths and Alans, and Quali Guidalania theirs who derive it from Catalo a Governur of Aquitain, at such time as Charles Martell seized on that Dukedom, and outed the Sons of Eudo, they seem improbable

35. A certain French Authour hath written, that Charles after a little time ha- Ibornichus apud 35. A certain French Authour nature written, and made himself Marianam, de ving taken Narbon from the Moors returned again into Spain, and made himself Marianam, de Rebus Hisp. 1. q. Malter of that which hath the Name of old Catalaunia amongst the Ceretani, and c. 11.

gave the Moors Battel in that Valley, which afterward received a Name from him. Others add that he came into Spain again, to view the Body of St. James, which they say was now found at Compostella, and that the Prelate of that place, by his Order and Command was made Primate over the rest of the Churches of Spain: Stories that have no Foundation in Antiquity. After this he went to Rome, where by means of Leo the Bishop, he was faluted Augustus or Emperour, as we shew at large in its proper place; and then again returning into Germany, they thence

Affanjus invites bring him into Spain upon this occasion. Affanjus being now old, and tired Charlet the French King in with the tedious War, he had constantly with the Moors, wherein his Success anfwered not his great pains and Travel, invited Charles into Spain, to whom he offered the Succeition in his Kingdom, as a reward, he himself having no Children. He, although he was also stricken in years, yet designing Spain to Bernard the Son of his deceased Son: Pipin whom he had already made King of Italy, refused not the terms, but with a great power of men, began his march, not doubting to carry all before him, when the Councils of both the Princes, as it's hard to conceal the purposes of such Expeditions, were betrayed. The Nobility of Spain presently began to exclaim, they flould never endure to be subject to the Franks, an insolent Nation, and Cruel, for thereby they should not shake off the yoke they underwent, but onely change for an heavier. Every one muttered these things in private, yet none publickly dared to refift the King's intentions, till Bernard Sirnamed Carpenfis his Nephew, a man whose Bloud boyled in his veins, and the Dundecimo ab uri more by reason of the hope he had hitherto had of his Uncle's good Inclinations to be Salmantica wards him, offered himself as Captain to all that would follow him; and then be-Lapide, gailes ligan Alfonfus to cool in his Defires he had to Charles his coming. Marfilius the Moor Captum Arem King of Cafar Angusta, who was at Enmity with the Emperour, upon the Ac-astination and Country of the Ac-astination and Castal Angusta, and Country of the Ac-astination and Castal Angusta, and Country of the Ac-astination and Castal Angusta, and Cas King of Caejar Augusta, who was at Eminty with the Empedor, again the Now ill Carpositics; count of Ibnabala, whom he had driven away, was drawn to the Spanish side. Now ill Carpositics; the Tide is turned, and Charles not willing to put up such an affront marcheth for Jum.

36. Here now we are at a loss, if he be not, wanting a certain guide to Conduct us in the Relation of this adventure. The French Writers tell us, that he pierced into Spain, and returned not till he had wasted the Countrey far and wide, after a Victory obtained in a fet Battel, which done, he was opposed at the Straits in his retreat. On the contrary, the Spanish deny that he ever reached the Inwards of the Countrey, but in the Valley of Roscida in the Forest of the Valcons, a flop was put to his Expedition. The Battel of the Franks, was led by Roland the Count of Britain, Anselme and Eginard principal men in the Court of Charles; but the place would not give them leave to open their Ranks, or march in any bredth; the Spaniards therefore, before they could get themselves into any posture of fighting from the higher ground killed many. In the first encounter Rolland was flain, concerning whom many Romances or fabulous Stories have been told, and written by both Nations. Charles hereat exceedingly startled, is faid by a Speech to have reprehended and quickened his men, as forgetting their former Trade of Victory, and by his Art to have put them into as good a posture, as the place and Inconveniency of it would fuffer him. Then followed a most bloudy Contest, wherein a great number of the best and noblest Franks fell; being discouraged by a report, that the Moors were come to the Affishence of the Spaniards, and had got

beyond them, and were ready to fall upon their backs. No place, now cry our Spanish Writers, was ever more noble or famous for an overthrow of the Franks, but they are so ingenuous as to tell you, that Charles did not take revenge, and wipe off the diferace of this defeat, because he was prevented by Death, dying at Aquisgrave not long after, Roderick the Archbishop writes, that Alfonsus was present at the Battel. The Vascous affirmed, that the Victory was obtained by the means of Garfias the King of Suprarbis especially. On the contrary, the Writers of the French Hiflory do not ascribe this Victory at all to the Valour of the Spaniards, but to the Treachery of one Gatalon, such diversity of Opinions there is founded upon that of Interest; and while both Nations strive one to get the renown, and the other to prevent diffrace, they have so confounded the story, that by-standers can find nothing that's certain in it. And to speak Impartially, not onely the Circumstances, but the substance of the thing may justly be called into question: As those Historians that have written of it, can scarcely in one accident as to time and place agree, so those who had most reason to know, write nothing at all of it. Eginhart, who was Secretary to Charles, and from whom nothing could be hid, never makes mention of the Fight, in the History he wrote of his Life yet extant. The Spaniards might have some cause herein to suspect his Partiality and Malice, but that if they turn over the Chronicle of their own King Alfonjus the Great, which not long after these times, he dedicated to Sebastian the Bishop of Salmantica, though by reason of his living so near to those days, he might have opportunity to know the truth, and it concerned him not to omit any thing that tended to the Glory of his own Nation, yet they shall therein find as deep a filence. Let the Reader therefore, either take the story of this Expedition, and defeat of Charles the Great for a truth, or let him if he please joyn it as an Appendix, as near akin to the samous Adventures of Orlando Furioso, the issue of the fruitfull Brain of Ariosto the

37. To return into Spain and take our leave, the rest of his time Alfonsus passed with Quiet and Tranquillity, giving him sufficient opportunity to practise the Arts of Peace and Religion, as he had done formerly that of War. And this was his great Commendation, that whereas other Princes too often make the publick Interest truckle to their private concerns, whether of Profit or Pleasure, he measured every thing by the Standard of the Kingdom, Sacrificing his own particular advantages of Pomp and Revenue, to the Enrichment and Ornament of his Countrey. The diffention and Enmity which afterward arose betwixt him and his Nephew Bernard, feems to have been the greatest part of his infelicity. Bernard having done so great Services in the Field, thought he had deserved so great a favour at his Uncle's hands, as the fetting at Liberty of his blind Father, and when it would not (out of some deep Mystery of state doubtless) be granted, conceived so great Indignation thereat, that first obtaining a dismission from Service, he departed to Saldania his Father's Town, refolving to watch for an opportunity to be revenged. And the extreme Age of the King, together with the good Inclinations of the People to him gave him opportunity enough of making Incursions and Depredations in his Territories, without controll. This proved very unhappy for them both, for Bernard revolts, Whereas Bernard if he had had but a little patience might within a little while which makes Al- have expected to have been in Possession of the Kingdom it self, and all other his finite chair Ramir his Succes. Withes with it, now was Alfonfus to provoked with the revolt, that in the Affembly of the Estates in his extreme Age, he procured Ramir the Son of Veremund to be chofen his Successour, and Bernard to be laid aside, who could never after make good his Pretences, but notwithstanding all his Indeavours died without ever obtaining that Crown he had had fo great reason to expect, though where, or in what condition Writers differ. As for Alfonsus, not long after he had made such a choice, Affonsor 3d-dies. as neither suited his Judgment, nor his Relation as an Uncle, he shortly after died 4. D. 844. when he had lived eighty five years, and Reigned fifty two, five months and thirteen days, in the eight hundred forty fourth year of our Lord, which Account differs a little from the Copy of the Chronicle of Alfonsus the Great, who began his Reign but eighteen years after, but agrees with the List of Compostella, and other ancient Monuments of History. .

38. The Quiet and Peace which we faid Alfonsus enjoyed, was very much effected by the Seditions and Troubles under which the Kingdom of the Moors laboured at the same time. Ease and plenty make a People tumultuous, and a slate if it have no Enemies without it, will not very long fland without bringing some fourth out of it's own Bowels. The Inhabitants of Toledo for no fufficient cause

must be quarrelling with the Government, many burthens and Grievances are pre- Sect. 2 tended. Alhaca their King being a cunning and very close man, and knowing Ambrefius the Governour of O/ca to be very acceptable to them, fends him to them with Letters, wherein he casts all the blame upon his Officers. They being more inclinable to rebell than furnisht with the Abilities of prudence and refolution to carry them through a bold attempt, admit him int other Town, suspecting nothing. Fic as cunningly Counterfeits himself the King's Enemy upon the account of several pretended disobligations, and persuades them to fortifie the City, by building a Caille (there where now stands the Church of St. Christopher) and receiving a Garrison. These things being noised at Court, the King sends Abderrahman his Son now twenty four years of Age to tame these Rebels, and he Counterfeiting the fame Diffatisfactions as Ambrofius had done under a shew of discontent revolts to them in the like manner, and is also received in. Now all things be-Mailacre at ing prepared, five thousand of the principal Townsmen are invited to a Feast, and when they least thought it, have their throats cut, and so the Revolt of Toledo. when they leaft thought it, have their throats cut, and to the record of section, as was congruous, Tragically ended. This might have been an example to their Rem total field fellow Subjects; but yet fuch as inhabited the Suburbs of Corduba were not hereby Redefined Interest deterred from renouncing their obedience to Albaca. To reduce them, one Abdel. Its program is the control of the Cordubated the Committee of the Cordubated the Cordu of Corduba redu- the Countrey round about it, he with less trouble reduced the Mutineers, the whole

Controversie being decided, by hanging three hundred of them, all Moors. And this was at fuch time as the Christians obtained a double victory over the Moors, who had invaded the Territories of the Christians in a double body. As a confequent of this victory, Ores the Governour of Emerita thought himself obliged to raile the siege of Beneventum, upon the coming of Alfonsus; and Alcama the Moor, the Governour of Pax Augusta, was constrained to rife from before Sentica which he had befieged. Not long after, one Mahomet an eminent Citizen of Emerita for what cause is uncertain, yet out of fear of Abderrahman committed himself to the Protection of Alfonsus, and had a place affigned him to inhabit within the Territories of Gallicia: But eight years after he rebelled and feized on the Town of St. Christine. yet were his designs frustrated by the timely coming of the King, and fifty thousand were flain on both fides, amongst whom Mahomet himself, the Great revolter. Albaca had the happiness to see this Rebellion quieted, and then died in the twenty feventh year of his Reign, the two hundred and fixth year of the Arabians: the A. D. 821. Albaca the Mira eight hundred and twenty first year of our Lord. He lest behind him nineteen Sons, and one and twenty Daughters, and was succeeded by Abderrahman his Son

manular dies, leaving Abder-rabman the Se-cond his Succefnow above the Age of forty years.

39. So went the Affairs of Spain, and fuch was the State of the Saracenian King. dom, which containing the greatest part of that vast Countrey, gives denomination to this Part of our History. The other Kingdom began by Pelagius, and the rife and progress of which we have seen was so small and contemptible, in respect of that which was in being before the Coming of the Moors, that though it was founded by those of the same stock, and its Subjects consist of men of the same Nation with the former, yet bore not the Name of the Goths as the other had done. but that of the Astures, Gallicia, Legio (or Leon) or Onetum. But besides this newly raifed Kingdom, there was another start-up at this time, of which hitherto we have taken no notice. For that of the Goths being broken in pieces as out of the Ruines of a vast building, several little ones were crected. Some of the poor distressed Spaniards flying as far as they could from the publick calamity, went into Afturia, and there fet up the Kingdom of Leon, as we have already shewed. Others feized on the tops of the Pyrenæan Hills and the places difficult of Access, where the Cantabri and Vascons were seated, besides the Lucetani, Ilergetes and Ceretani, where now are feen Ripagorsa, Suprarbe and Orgelia. The same of one John, a Religious person, caused many more to flock to those parts, where being encouraged by the natural strength of them, and invited to emulation by what their brethren had done in the Countrey of the Aftures, they began to lay their heads together, how not onely to protect themselves where they were, but to doe something for casting off the yoke of the Saracens from the neck of their Nation in general. After long and ferious deliberation they refolved, as Felagius reigned in Afturia, to Garfias Ximeni- have a King of their own to govern them, and made choice of one Garfias Xime-

nius to be the person, whom some will have descended of the Noble bloud of the

Goths, otherwise nothing a-kin to the Royal family, but rather a Spaniard, as should

seem by his Name, yet doubtless of a most Noble Race, the Regulus of Amesena

and Abarfufa. His Wife by Name Eneca was of as great Nobility. 40. At what time he began his Kingdom, Authours do not agree, though the most knowing place the Original of it near to the Advancement of Pelagius. But neither do they confent about the Name or Title of this New Kingdom, some calling it the Kingdom of Suprarbis, others of Navarre, and others of the Vascons, so great is the obscurity we have been forced to struggle with in these Spanish matters. The Arms of this Kingdom was a plain white shield, without any Pictures, say the Learned, or Charges, that we may not be blamed by our Heralds for speaking improperly. But Garstas having, it's said, no greater an Army than six hundred men, with them did wonders. He took feveral Towns from the Moors, as Jafa and Suprarbis, the chief of all Municipia or free Towns which afterward had the honour to be essemed the Metropolis of a Kingdom. This is agreed on on all sides, that he did much for his time, and died after he had reigned, fay fome two and forty years, and was buried in a Church called St. John a Pegna, from the high Rock where it was built by John the Anchoret first, but was much enlarged, beautified and enriched by Garfias, and afterward became the Mausoleum of the Kings his Succeffours. He dying in the seven hundred and fifty eighth year of our Lord, was succeeded by his Son Garfias Enecus, who took his two Names from both those of his Father and Mother. This was a Prince of great abilities, and as great felicity. By his industry and valour were the Vascons, who hitherto fluctuated betwirt the Kings of the Aftures, the Moors and the Franks, fully setled in the obedience of him Recovers Pom- and his posterity. He recovered Pompolona, the chief City of Navarre, with many other Towns and Forts, and extended his victorious Arms as far as that part of the

bordering Cantabria, which bears the name of Alava. He is faid to have reigned

forty four years, and then in the eight hundred and fecond year of our Lord For-

Fortunius Garfi- tunius Garfias to have succeeded, of whose actions many Romantick Stories are told

by the Hiltorians of the Vascons. He was at the Deseat (if a Deseat there was) of Charles the Great in the Valley of Roscida. He reigned thirteen years, and then gave place to Sanctius Garfias his Son. 41. This Santitus was a man of great Renown, did many things against the Sagreated part racers, out of the hands of whom he recovered the greatest part of Navarre. He is the Saratest. faid to have reigned twenty years, and whether he left a Son or not, is uncertain. His line failing. But either at or not long after his death his line failed, and then the Nobility is faid to have confulted with Foreign Princes, as well as amongst themselves, what Conditions to put upon him who was to be elected. Lest the next should abuse his power, The Nobility e- they enacted several written Laws, commonly called in Latin Forum Suprarbis, tenmat the Faring ding to the keeping of the King in order, who should doe nothing of moment without the confent of twelve Noblemen to be chosen for that purpose, to the maintenance of their Liberties, and to this provision, that such Lands as should be taken from the Moors should be divided betwixt the King and the Nobility. For the bet-And the Juliita ter effect of this, a middle person was chosen, commonly called the Juliita of Aragon, who having a power like to that of the Tribunes, and armed by the Laws and the Inclinations of the People, should restrain the exorbitant Power of the King. And cled Ene. He that was first elected, and submitted to these Conditions, was Enecus Santtius, from his swiftness sirnamed Arista Count of Bigorræ, or of the Bigerriones in Aquitain. But these things are beyond the extent of this present Volume, we onely defired not to break off abruptly, but to leave the Reader in as much clearness as can And the Counts be, who must farther know, that at this same time there were Counts of Aragon, descended from Aznar the Son of Eudo, as we before hinted, who mixed their bloud by intermarrying with the Kings of Suprarbis, and at length the title of the Kingdom was altered from this of Suprarbis, to that of Aragon. At the same time there Counts of caffile were also Counts of Caffile, from whom proceeded many Kings afterward as well as joyning with o Noble families, which to this very day continue. These several Houses and King-thers, drove the Saraeto and doms by degrees got ground of that of the Saraetos, and at length being united, drove the Infidels quite out of Spain. But this happened many Ages after the time whereof we write.

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